

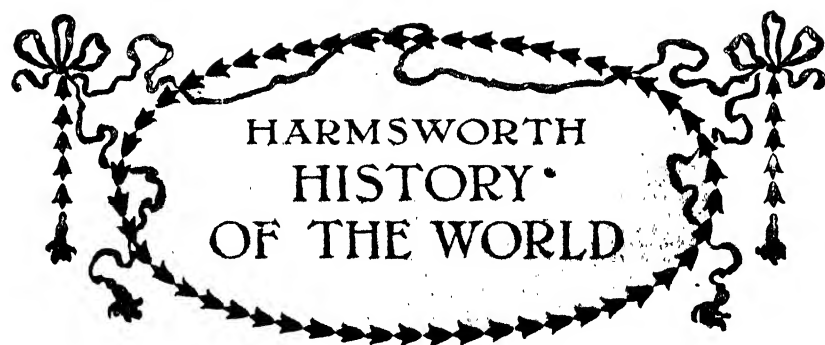
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A TRAGIC SCENE FROM ENGLISH HISTORY: PRINCE ARTHUR AND HUBERT DE BURGH. THE SCENE WAS REPRODUCED IN A STAGE PLAY BY THE NATIONAL THEATRE, LONDON, IN 1964.

HARMSWORTH HISTORY OF THE WORLD

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VOLUME X

WESTERN EUROPE IN
THE MIDDLE AGES

FRANCE : BRITISH ISLES : ITALY
SPANISH PENINSULA : CRUSADES
TRADE : SOCIETY : RENAISSANCE

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THROUGHOUT THE MIDDLE AGES

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE KINGDOM

UNDER THE CAROLINGIAN DYNASTY

THE first of the French rulers of the Carolingian family, Charles the Bald, preserved the external unity of his state, but during the thirty-four years of his reign was greatly occupied by the invasions of the Northmen and by quarrels with the East Frankish kingdom. So early as 841, the Danes had advanced to Rouen, conquered the town and carried off the inhabitants, from whom they exacted a tribute. Some fifteen years later—in 857—they reached the outskirts of Paris. In 858 they were granted a strip of land extending from the mouth of the Seine as far as the capital. They then seized Meaux, but were forced by King Charles to evacuate West Francia. Notwithstanding occasional defeats in the open field, they steadily renewed their raids, especially after the death of Charles, in 877, when France was divided by the quarrels of factions.

The grandson of Charles, Louis III., conquered the invaders in January, 881, at Saucourt in Picardy, a victory glorified in the old High German "Ludwigslied"; but in 882 they captured Laon. In 884 they again invaded France, made Amiens the base of their plundering raids, and were to some extent pacified by a payment of tribute, while a band was engaged in the conquest of Louvain. In the following year they were defeated by the united forces of the West and East Frankish armies under the command of King Charles the Fat at Louvain. They were, however, able to besiege Paris, which was defended

Paris Under Siege

from November, 885, to the autumn of 886 by Count Odo of Anjou. Eventually they were bought off by a monetary payment. These disturbances did not cease until the modern Normandy was conferred as a duchy upon the Norman Rollo, together with the hand of the Princess Gisela, in 911. Shortly before the death of Charles the Bald the West Frankish Empire entered upon a period of apparent prosperity. After the death of Louis II., the last of the three sons of Lothair I., on August 12th, 875, Pope John VIII. invested his uncle with the position of emperor, which had been thus left vacant, and the nobles recognised him as emperor on Christmas Day, 875. However, his two journeys to Rome brought little reputation to Charles, for the Lombards adopted an attitude of coolness towards an emperor who ruled by favour of the Pope. His attempt, in 876, to secure the coveted province of Lotharingia, upon the death of his brother Lewis the German, proved a failure; he was defeated at Andernach, on October 8th, by the nephews of Lewis the German, Carloman and Louis the Younger.

Upon his death, on September 5th, 877, the favourable moment had arrived for the crown vassals to assert their independence. Their homage was offered to his son Louis II., the Stammerer, only upon the condition that he would acknowledge himself as an elected king. In 878 Louis succeeded, at Fouron, to the north-east of Visé on the Mass, in securing a reconciliation

with the East Frankish Louis the Younger, as both rulers were threatened by the growing power of the papacy.

Upon the death of the Stammerer, on April 10th, 879, a number of the clergy desired to unite the two Frankish kingdoms in the hands of Louis the Younger, but the majority of the nobles firmly supported his two sons, Louis III. and Carloman. It was not until their premature deaths, in 882 and 884, that the last son of Lewis the German, Charles III., the Fat, came into possession of the empire of Charles the Great. Rarely has a ruler been so conspicuously successful with so small an expenditure of energy. In February, 881, the imperial throne was offered to him by Pope John VIII.; his supremacy was recognised in Italy, and King Boso was forced to renounce his claims to the imperial dignity and to Upper Italy.

Similarly Duke Wido II. of Spoleto, the opponent both of Charles and of the Pope, was deprived of his fief in 883, and restored to favour only in 885. The basis of these successes was a close connection with the Pope. The latter regarded the emperor as a protector against the Saracens, who were settling in Lower Italy, and even plundering the states of the Church; but the alliance implied subjection to the greater power of the Church.

Only a strong military ruler could compel the respect of the self-asserting nobles. They deposed Charles at Tribut, on the Rhine, in November, 887, but were by no means united among themselves, and the old opposition between the east and west empires broke out afresh. One party desired the appointment of Arnulf of Carinthia, an illegitimate nephew of Charles, while the majority of the West Frankish nobility supported Odo, the brave defender of the capital against the Normans, who had adopted the title of Count of Paris and Duke of Francia (Isle de France). Arnulf was

**The Empire
in a State
of Disruption**

obliged to recognise his appointment. For ten years Odo ruled with energy and decision; however, his kingdom, like the East Frankish Empire, was in a state of disruption. In Lower Burgundy Boso was ruling, and was succeeded by his son Lewis III., and afterwards by his vassal Hugo. Upper Burgundy, the country beyond the Jura, had an independent ruler in King Rudolf I., who died in 912.

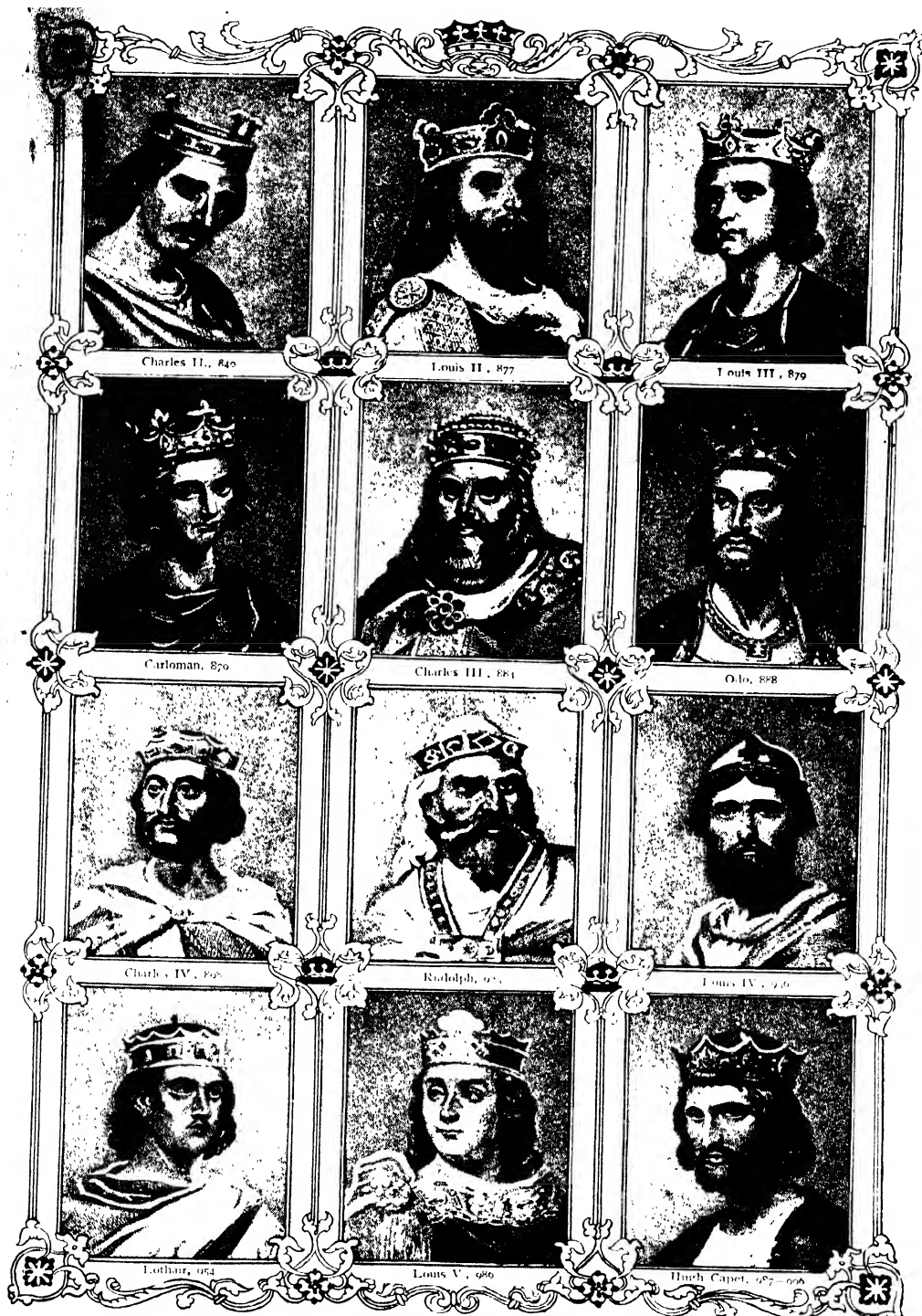
In Italy Berengar I. of Friuli, Wido of Spoleto, Hugo and Rudolf II. of Burgundy were struggling for the mastery with varying success. On February 22nd, 896, Arnulf secured the imperial throne and the supremacy over Rome and Italy; this, however, was lost to his house upon the accession of his son Lewis, known as the Child, in 899.

Throughout this general confusion both the great vassals and the Popes had secured the mastery of the royal power. There was a possibility of replacing the broken power of the French Empire by a papal theocracy which should include all nations in an iron net and overcome all other forces, ecclesiastical and temporal. This seductive prospect could not fail to arouse the ambitions of individual Popes, whose secular power had already involved them in political quarrels. During the party struggles between Louis the Pious and his sons, the project was set in circulation in a collection of councils and papal documents ascribed to Bishop Isidore of Seville. At the close of the ninth century these forgeries reappeared in the

**Papal Power
Supported
by Forgeries** episcopate of Rheims. They contained a forged donation of the Emperor Constantine, bequeathing Rome and Italy to Pope Sylvester I (314-335); the origin of the papal patrimony in the presentations of the French kings was one that did not correspond with papal ambitions.

On the basis of some sixty forged letters and decretals ascribed to Popes during the first four centuries of the Christian Church, the papal power was represented as absolutely unlimited, and all bishops as unconditionally subject to it. The Pope alone had the right of inducting, transferring, and deposing bishops. Metropolitan bishops could consecrate their subordinate provincials only as papal plenipotentiaries; the Pope could convoke councils and confirm their conclusions. The ecclesiastical functions of the crown were not so much as mentioned.

This comprehensive but purely ecclesiastical position provided the Popes with full reason for interference in wholly political matters, to secure their spiritual interests. Such was the action of Gregory IV., who joined the side of the revolted sons against the Emperor Lewis. Nicholas I. (858-867), who was the first to make full use of the forged decretals, represented



THE TWELVE KINGS OF FRANCE FROM THE YEAR 840 TILL 996

himself as the supreme judge upon earth, against whose decision there was no appeal. The power thus conferred upon himself was used only to protect Christian morality and religion. A synod summoned by him to Rome condemned the immoral proceedings of Lothair II in 865, annulled the opposite conclusions of the

Supreme Authority of the Popes Frankish episcopal synods, removed the Archbishops of Cologne and Treves, as they had permitted the king's adultery, and threatened all disobedient bishops with excommunication. His successors, especially Pope Innocent III., interfered at a later date in royal matrimonial affairs in similar fashion.

The inadequate criticism of that age was unable to discover the reality of these forgeries, and would indeed have forgiven them, as the principle of the pious fraud had often been put into practice in the early days of the Church by tampering with canonical and non-canonical letters and writings. These decretals encouraged Pope John VIII. (872-882) to give away the imperial throne as he pleased, and to act as arbitrator in disputes concerning the succession and other matters of the kind. The Popes of the tenth century, however, were too weak and degenerate to advance such high claims, apart from the fact that they were hard pressed and hampered by Italian claims to the crown, by Arab pirates, and by the Byzantine emperors. Otto the Great was therefore able to administer ecclesiastical affairs as independently as Charles the Great, and to make the papacy the footstool of his power. The offensive measures of Nicholas I. were not resumed until the time of Gregory VII.

As the Pope claimed to bestow the imperial crown according to his will and pleasure, so also the great vassals assumed the right of electing the king, without reference to the principle of hereditary succession, while in compacts, which preceded the election, they secured their privileges and their territory, making their own possessions independent and diminishing those of the king. The West Frankish Carolingians, who occupied the throne of France after the death of Odo, were Charles the Simple (898-929), Louis IV. (929-954), Lothair (954-986), and Louis V. (986-987); these were not the foremost among the nobles with equal

claims, but rather the inferior and powerless members of the class, and entirely dependent upon the good or bad will of their vassals.

As under the degenerate Merovingians the Carolingian family rose to power and eventually seized the throne, so now we may mark the rise of the family of Robert of Anjou, who had fallen in battle in 867 against the Normans; the Odo mentioned above was his son, and their descendants rose to supreme power in France first in fact and afterwards in name. Odo's brother, Robert, had already made an attempt and been crowned at Sens in 922; he had fallen fighting against the mercenary forces of Charles at Soissons on June 16th, 923. He had a large following among the nobility, and was father-in-law of Duke Raoul of Burgundy; hence his party chose his son-in-law to succeed him. However, his son Hugo, after the death of his brother-in-law, raised the Carolingian Louis IV., surnamed d'Outremer, to the crown, and enthroned him at Rheims.

Hugo's efforts were directed to extending the power of his dynasty and to weakening the royal prestige; in course of time he considered that the royal title would naturally fall to the most powerful of the vassals. Hence he secured from the king the grant to himself of the title of Duke of the Franks. His father had already been margrave of three marks and also possessed the county of Maine. These possessions were increased by Louis' successor, Lothair, so that a contemporary, the later Archbishop Gerbert of Rheims, could write that Hugo was the actual master of France, and this he was in practice between 948 and 950. Lothair's position was assured only in Aquitaine, where his son Charles had married the widow of the duke. Both Hugo and Louis married sisters of the German Otto the Great. Hugo died in 956, two years after Louis.

These phantom kings of the West Franks were guilty of the greatest impolicy through their interference in the affairs of the German Empire; they ought rather to have consolidated their weak forces against their all-powerful vassals, and to have secured the friendship of the house of Robert and of the powerful Norman dukes. Louis IV. had already quarrelled with his brother-in-law Otto, and his



THE CROWNING OF HUGH CADET AS KING OF FRANCE AT RHEIMS IN 987

With the event represented in this illustration a new dynasty sat upon the throne of France. The last of the French Carolingians passed away in the person of Louis V, and when the next heir, his uncle Charles of Lorraine, a vassal of the German emperor, failed to secure the throne it passed to Hugh Capet, the son of Hugo of Francia. The country was much unsettled when the crowning ceremony at Rheims was performed by Archbishop Adalbert on July 3rd 987.

decision of the Pope. The latter view was championed by all the adherents of the Cluniac doctrine, and appeals were made to the false decretals. Bishop Arnulf then delivered a violent speech upon the immorality of the ruling Pope, John XV., whom he compared with Antichrist. He did not venture to maintain the falsity of the decretals, the main foundation of the papal claims; even Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims, who had defended the episcopal power against the papal supremacy about 860, during the time of Nicholas I., did not venture upon this step.

The King's Way With Opponents

However, King Hugh and his ecclesiastical supporters induced the synod to agree that Arnulf should voluntarily resign his archbishopric, and that the learned Abbot Gerbert should be his successor. Hugh Capet having meanwhile treacherously imprisoned Duke Charles, who died in captivity, had thus disposed of two of his main opponents. In contrast, however, to the time of Pippin, not only the papacy, but the strict religious party among the clergy and the national enthusiasm inspired by Cluny, supported his opponents. Archbishop Gerbert found his position in Rheims extremely difficult. Mass was deserted when celebrated by himself, and no one would sit at his table, while he was actually menaced upon his journey to a council of the French bishops in 995. Otto III. contrived to relieve him of this untenable position by making him spiritual adviser at court in 997, and in 999 he became Pope Sylvester II.

King Hugh attempted to secure the favour of the clergy by confirming ecclesiastical possessions and privileges; on the other hand, he showed no hesitation in retaining his royal privileges, especially where the right of interference in ecclesiastical matters was concerned. The state over which he ruled was in a period of even greater disruption than under the weak Merovingians, or during the last century of the nominal Carolingian rule. He was not even the sovereign power in his own crown domain, the Isle de France; one record of doubtful authenticity speaks of him as possessing only five towns—Paris, Orléans, Etampes, Senlis, and Melun. The whole of the Frankish kingdom was divided, not only into a number of larger and practically

independent fiefs, but also into a quantity of secondary fiefs and smaller estates, the holders of which had formed close federations with one another. Seigneuries, châtellenies, baronies, vicomtés, and other forms of feudal possession were recognised. The vassals had resumed their power of independent administration, and only insignificant lords managed their own properties. Every village had its intendant or administrator, while larger estates were supervised by an official known in the north as *prevost*, and in the south as *bailli* or *viguier*. The great duchies and counties had their own legal codes and law courts.

Language itself was broken into different dialects. The chief groups of these were the Frankish, Norman, Burgundian, Picard, and Lotharingian or Walloon, apart from the special Provençal language in the south. Every dialect had thrown out offshoots, and was in no case strictly confined to geographical boundaries. Hence, the only uniform ecclesiastical and official language was Latin.

The unfree classes suffered severely under the exactions of numerous petty tyrants, especially during the eleventh century, when a period of commerce began to supplant the old régime of self-sufficing estates. The oppressive demands of the overlords, which were added to the former obligations of forced service, often drove the subject peasantry into armed revolt. Trade and commerce and the prosperity of the middle classes were largely impeded by the quarrels and raids of the nobles. It was difficult for the feeble power of the king to enforce the obedience of these domineering lords, each of whom had his own castle or fortified capital, and his own retainers or military comrades. It was especially impossible for the crown to assert its rights within the greater fiefs, which, as in the time of the later Merovingians and Carolingians, had secured an independence that was complete in actual fact and partially recognised by law.

Such, in particular, was the case with the duchies of Normandy and Aquitaine, and the provinces of Lower and Upper Burgundy, which since 933 had been united to form the kingdom of the Arleat, and did not revert to the German Empire until 1032–1034. The duchy of Brittany stood entirely outside of the French constitutional union. In

Divisions of the Frankish Kingdom

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE

938 it had replaced the original federation of Armorica, which was at first independent, and had been then subdued by Charles the Great and afterwards by the Normans. The counties of Flanders, Champagne, and Toulouse were in a similar position; Lorraine, with Metz, Toul and Verdun belonged to the German emperor, and Provence to the Spanish county of Barcelona.

The object of the Capets was to restore the shattered political unity, to replace feudal tyranny by law and order, to extend the crown demesnes, to advance the middle classes at the expense of the nobility, to secure their ecclesiastical powers and the independence of their bishops at the expense of the papacy, and to make their elective position hereditary; towards these purposes they were helped by a variety of circumstances. The great feudal lords were constantly at variance among themselves, and were accustomed upon such occasions to appeal to the arbitration of the king. It would have been dangerous for them to set an example of infidelity to their own vassals by showing too open a contempt for

The Days of the Clergy's Oppression

the fealty which they owed to the crown, the more so as the subject vassals would have found a ready protector in the king. The clergy needed the help of the crown against the oppression of the rapacious lords, and also appealed to the arbitration of the crown in the case of territorial disputes. They also supported the crown by a natural community of interests against the aggression of Rome, which threatened their traditional privileges. In particular, the communes which began to rise in and after the eleventh century looked for the protection of the king if they were to maintain the rights and privileges which they had bought from the greedy nobility.

In their efforts to make their succession hereditary the Capets could not venture to infringe the electoral rights of their vassals, for the result might have been a revolt with which they could not have coped; they therefore adopted the device of appointing and crowning the eldest son during their lifetime and acknowledging him as co-regent. In this way the crown descended from father to son for more than three centuries. The main care of the new rulers was naturally the restoration of domestic

peace, which was disturbed by the continual feuds and raids of the nobility. For this purpose they readily accepted the help of religion and the influence of the Church. Since the dissolution of constitutional and social order throughout the French kingdom, the clergy had endeavoured to supply the defects of secular law by ecclesiastical decrees. At the synod of the diocese of Poitiers in 989, the curse of God was uttered upon

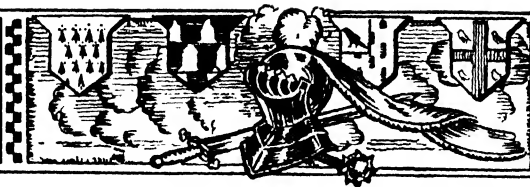
all who should plunder or even threaten churches, clergy, or poor. Excommunication or exclusion from Church fellowship, and interdict or refusal of the Church sacraments, were the weapons used against evildoers who broke the peace. National calamities helped these efforts at pacification. Between the years 1031 and 1034 France was devastated by a famine, and the desperate inhabitants sought consolation from those who dispensed the Church's favours. The Church seized this opportunity to add to their penances an oath to refrain from robbery or violence, and to found brotherhoods of peace, which soon became armed federations against all discordant elements, especially against the enemies of the churches and monasteries. Such federations were preceded by priests bearing holy banners who blessed their enterprises.

After these preparations, it was possible in 1040 for the clergy in Aquitaine to proclaim a general Peace of God (*Treuga Dei*: Trêve de Dieu), which was to last every week from Wednesday evening to Monday, and in 1041 was extended in Burgundy to include the season of Advent and the greater festivals. The monastery of Cluny and the bishoprics of Arles and Avignon were the centres of that beneficent work which protected the poor and the unfree from destruction, secured trade and commerce, agriculture and prosperity, and saved the French nobility

from degenerating into unchecked brigandage. With the beginning of the Crusades the priests assumed control of these humanitarian movements. At the Council of Clermont in November, 1085, Pope Urban II. proclaimed a general peace for the purpose of leading a united force of Christians to battle against the infidels. At a later date, the Peace of God was recognised by the canon law, and was transferred to secular legislation



THE EARLY KINGS OF THE HOUSE OF CAPET, FROM 996 TILL 1322



FRANCE UNDER THE EARLY CAPETS THE REIGN OF THE GREAT ST. LOUIS AND FRENCH KNIGHTHOOD IN THE CRUSADES

THE first three successors of Hugh Capet, Robert II. (996-1031), Henry I. (1031-1060), and Philip I. (1060-1108), are distinguished only for their lack of importance, while their governments are marked by no great events. All three were involved in constant struggles with the Norman dukes, until these latter found room in England to develop their ambitions and their pride. Philip I., who was distinguished only for his bodily size, came into conflict with the papacy through his divorce of his legal wife.

The first king of the house of Capet of importance in the general history of the world was Louis VI. (1108-1137): he was a capable ruler and a prudent politician, guided, moreover, with great skill by his chancellor, the Abbot Suger of St. Denis. The policy of Louis was directed to extending the power of his dynasty as far as possible at the expense of his

The First Great Capet King

vassals. He availed himself of their revolts to confiscate as many as possible of their estates. This fate overtook in particular certain marauding knights on his own demesnes of the Isle de France, who had been plundering Church property. Louis in consequence received the title of "eldest son of the Church." He came into close contact with Pope Calixtus II., whom he supported against the Emperor Henry V. and was afterwards immortalised in the legendary chronicles of the clergy as a miracle worker who relieved sufferers from leprosy, etc., by laying his hand upon them. Like every other king who desired to secure his own position and that of his country, he occasionally quarrelled with his own clergy and with those of Rome, but these differences invariably ended in reconciliation. In his dealings with foreign countries—for instance, in the quarrels concerning the succession in Flanders and England, where two of his vassals were fighting for

the crown—he supported the rights and position of France.

His most important achievement, however, was his attempt to secure the succession in Aquitaine, which was practically independent, by the marriage of his son Louis VII. with Princess Eleanor. Such success as this son attained, when the time of Louis VII. came for him to rule, was due entirely to the teaching of Abbot Suger. This man, who had been named by historians the mediæval Richelieu, persuaded his master to grant rights and privileges to the rising towns, raised the prestige of the royal courts, improved and reorganised the treasury, and gave an impulse to art and science.

During the inglorious crusade of Louis VII. in 1147 his kingdom was torn by faction, and would have collapsed had it not been for the energy of Suger; Louis also committed the incredible political folly of divorcing his wife, who was certainly unfaithful, but none the less a valuable possession, and driving her with her property of Aquitaine into the arms of the heir to the English crown, Henry of Anjou, in 1152. The future ruler of England already held the French territories of Anjou, Touraine, Normandy, and Maine, and this marriage brought him Guienne, Poitou, Auvergne, the Limousin, Périgord, Angoumois, and Gascony, so that he was in possession of the whole of Western France. These lands he held indeed as the nominal vassal of the king of France, but the relationship was unmeaning in view of his greater power. Louis VII. revenged himself for the cunning with which he had been overreached by joining the revolted sons of Henry II. and fostering their rebellion for twenty years. Victory, however, eventually remained with his enemy. The credit of liberating France from its English fetters belongs to his far more

How the King Found Revenge

important son and successor, Philip II. Augustus, a ruler who combined military with diplomatic capacity. His main object was to increase his financial power and to secure the unity of the kingdom. As these objects could not be obtained by peaceful negotiations, he was obliged to spend twenty-six of the forty-three years

**Philip the
Liberator
of France**

of his reign in war (1180-1223). He emancipated himself from the influence of his mother, Adelaide of Champagne, and of her brothers, and he speedily put aside his political adviser, Count Philip of Flanders. His enemies largely played into his hands by their dissensions. Like his father, he allied himself with the sons of Henry II. of England, and secured the homage of the second in age, Geoffrey, Count of Brittany.

The haughty Richard Lionheart also did homage to him as a vassal before his accession to the throne, as Philip Augustus had threatened to wrest from him his hereditary domains with the help of the nobility of Poitou. On the death of Henry II., in 1189, Philip found Richard a dangerous adversary by reason of his adventurous spirit and his military capacity: he therefore attempted, in 1190, after the fall of Jerusalem, to reduce him to impotence by joining with him in the Third Crusade; he went on this expedition rather to keep an eye upon his enemy, than to support him.

However, after the capture of Acre, Philip deserted his English ally and reappeared in Paris at the end of December, 1191. Notwithstanding his oath to abstain from hostilities against Richard, he invaded his French possessions. The misfortune of his captivity in Germany prevented Richard from offering resistance. After his liberation and a further series of struggles Pope Innocent III. secured a five years' peace between the two kings on January 13th, 1199; Richard died on April

**England
and France
at Peace**

6th. Philip had formerly been in alliance with Richard's brother and successor, John Lackland, against the captured king. John was now, in 1202, summoned by his feudal lord, Philip, to justify himself upon a charge of complicity in the murder of Arthur of Brittany, his nephew—posthumous son of his elder brother Geoffrey. John declined to recognise this unusual judicial procedure and did not appear. He was then declared to have lost his

fief in France, and all the English possessions were reconquered as far as Guienne (1204-1206). To these extended domains of the French crown were added, either by conquest or by inheritance, Vermandois, Valois, Artois, and the district about Amiens. Preparations for the incorporation of Brittany were made and completed by the end of the fifteenth century through the marriage of a step-sister of the murdered Arthur with a cousin of Philip.

John was fully occupied between 1208 and 1212 with Pope Innocent III. and his own refractory vassals, and was obliged to abandon the last of his French possessions. When he had been freed from the Pope's interdict, by accepting England as a papal fief on May 15th, 1213, he brought together against Philip a large confederacy which had been already formed in 1212; it included Otto II. of Brunswick, who had been sole German emperor since the death of Philip of Swabia in 1208, Count Ferrand of Flanders, and various nobles of North France. However, on July 27th, 1214, Philip won the most brilliant victory of the century

**The Great
Battle at
Bouvines**

over Otto II. and the Count of Flanders at Bouvines, a village between Lille and Tournai, while his son, Louis VIII., drove the English ruler and his French allies out of Poitou and Brittany. Louis even crossed to England in May, 1216, at the invitation of the barons who were in revolt owing to John's repudiation of Magna Charta, and declined to be intimidated by the papal interdict. King John died on October 19th. Louis then returned in the following year without securing any definite success, as he was unable to keep command of the sea. As in the time of Charles the Great, the want of an adequate fleet was severely felt.

Meanwhile a further extension of the French dynastic power had been planned, though it already reached from the mouth of the Loire to the borders of Flanders. In Southern France a movement had been in progress from about 1173, which threatened to undermine the foundations of the Catholic Church. A merchant of Lyons, Pierre de Vaux, or Petrus Waldus, had founded a sect the members of which travelled after the manner of Christ and His apostles, preaching and living upon the charity of pious adherents, and proclaiming to



LOUIS VII. DISTRIBUTING GOLD AND SILVER TO THE CHURCH AND THE POOR

This king of France saw his kingdom torn by faction during the inglorious Crusade in which he engaged in the year 1147, and it was due mainly to the energy and resource of his chancellor, the Abbot Suger, who has been called the mediæval Richelieu, that he maintained his position. He had certainly some reason to think well of the Church.



ST. LOUIS MEDIATING BETWEEN HENRY III. OF ENGLAND AND HIS BARONS IN 1264

From the painting by George Rouget in the Museum of Versailles

the people the downfall of the degenerate visible Church, and the triumph of the invisible Church—that is, of their own community. They rejected the sacraments, with the exception of juvenile confession, while forgiveness of sins they considered

The Rapid Spread of a New Sect

as secured only by the grace of God and not by ecclesiastical absolution. The sect was distinguished by enthusiasm, by actual poverty, by popular origin and intellectual power, and succeeded in securing a large number of adherents by preaching, reading of the Scriptures, devotional exercises and confession, and even the celebration of the Communion; it was soon disseminated throughout Italy, Spain, and Germany. It based its teaching upon the New Testament and upon certain sections from the patristic writings in a translation composed by Waldus, the text of which contained interpolations directed against the Church; the Pharisees, for instance, being described with allusions which could refer only to the Catholic clergy. As the sect laid especial claim to priestly powers, the papacy was deceived by the hope that it might become an ecclesiastical order of

monks. It was excommunicated in 1184, and missions were sent out to oppose its seductive teaching.

The Manichean sect of the Albigenses, which about the same time spread over the whole of Southern France, possessed a powerful protector in Count Raimond of Toulouse; he was a knight fond of outward show, ruling over fifty towns and one hundred vassals. Peter of Castelnau, one of the legates of Innocent III., was murdered in January, 1208, by a feudal vassal of the count; in consequence the passionate and energetic Pope threatened Raimond and his territory with an interdict. A crusade was preached against the Albigenses, in which Count Raimond was forced to take part to avert the threatened punishment of the Church. Ambition, greed,

Knights in League Against Southern France

and the hereditary hatred of the half-Teutonic North Frenchman, which had never died out, brought together a large number of knights for the expedition against the Romance inhabitants of Southern France, under the banner of Simon, Count of Montfort, whose family belonged to Hainault. Philip Augustus himself sent troops, but his suspicions of

FRANCE UNDER THE EARLY CAPETS

Rome prevented him from taking any official part in the war of extermination. Montfort had more than 50,000 at his disposal, and the strongholds of the heretical nobles fell into his hands one after another. Toulouse itself was threatened with devastation, as the count hesitated to surrender the heretics of his capital.

A wave of fierce, determined indignation passed over the Church; Innocent would have been glad to save the count, but dared not exert his influence against the resolute Montfort and his vigorous followers. Raimond lost his territory in 1213. It was taken over by Montfort as a papal fief, and the next Count Raimond was left in possession only of a narrow stretch of country. After Montfort's death, in 1218, his son Amaury resigned his claims to Louis VIII. in 1226, as he found his position difficult to maintain. Raimond succeeded in saving only the

The Crown Territory of the Capets

smaller portion of his father's inheritance, notwithstanding his vigorous resistance. The county was united with the French crown in 1271, after the death of Alphonse of Poitiers, a brother of Louis IX., who had married Joanna, the daughter of Raimond. Thus the crown territory of the Capets extended from the River Seine to the shores of the Mediterranean Sea.

The careful calculations of Philip Augustus had proved correct; in the expectation that this valuable territory must eventually fall to himself or his dynasty, he left responsibility for the heretic war to the Church, and secured the spoils

French Fiefs for the English King The remainder of the English possessions in France except Bordeaux and Gascony were conquered by

Louis VIII. (1223-1226). Louis IX., who was anxious to secure a permanent peace, and was tired of the hazardous game of war, gave back the districts of Limoges, Saint-onge, Agen, and Quercy as fiefs to the English king, Henry III., though he retained the majority of the former English possessions, Normandy, Brittany, Anjou, Poitou, Maine, and Touraine. Eventually Philip the Fair, in a war with England, in which he was supported by the Scotch, recovered almost the whole of the ceded territory in 1297. A federation of England with the Flemings and the Empire was formed by King Edward I. of England, on the model of the arrangements of 1214 and of the scheme which had been arranged in 1278 with Rudolf of Hapsburg; this, however, collapsed owing to the carelessness of the German king, Adolf of Nassau, in 1297. Philip the Fair, however, suffered a fearful defeat in his struggle



PHILIP AUGUSTUS ASKING THE BLESSING OF GOD UPON HIS TROOPS

against the democratic citizens of Bruges and Ypres in the "battle of Spurs," at Courtrai. He owed it rather to his diplomacy than to his victory of August 18th, 1304, at Mons-en-Pevèle that he was able to secure the Peace of Athis-sur-Orget in June, 1305, with Count Robert of Béthune, the successor of Guy of Dam-

How the Capets were Weakened

pierre; under this arrangement he retained Lille, Douai, and Béthune as guarantees. The royal demesnes in France proper had previously been extended, during the reign of Philip III., by the addition of the counties of Valois and Auvergne, in return for which the Venaissin was ceded to the papacy in 1271. The attempt of this warlike ruler to recover Sicily for his family by a war with Aragon in 1285 remained fruitless; his uncle, Charles of Anjou, had been expelled from the island by the "Sicilian Vespers" in 1282.

Unfortunately, the Capets weakened their great and consolidated crown demesnes by cutting off appanages for the younger princes, of whom there were eight during the second half of the thirteenth century. They allowed the occupants of these appanages to carry on an independent foreign policy, and consequently to involve the crown in wars with other states.

The Capets avoided the mistake which the last Carolingians had made in continually seeking quarrels to their own disadvantage with the more powerful German Empire; they were indeed sufficiently occupied at home with refractory vassals and other neighbouring powers, and aimed rather at alliance than at hostility with the wearers of the imperial crown. In diplomatic relations we find the French kings figuring as the subordinate or secondary party until the downfall of the imperial power, after the time of the Hohenstauffen, provided them with an opportunity for wresting fragments from the neighbouring empire. Robert I.

Peace Proposals that Failed

and Henry I., the two immediate successors of Hugh Capet, maintained friendly relations with Germany.

Robert, in conjunction with the Emperor Henry II. and Pope Benedict VIII., proposed a union for universal peace, the prototype of our modern Triple Alliance. The two secular rulers met at Ivois, on the Chiers, in August, 1023. The German supremacy over Lorraine was recognised afresh on the side of the French, but the

peace proposals came to nothing, as the Emperor and the Pope died in the following year. The acquisition of Burgundy, after the death of the childless King Rudolf III., in 1032, was facilitated for the German Emperor Conrad II. (1033-1034) by the French Henry I.; both rulers had a common enemy in Odo of Champagne, who attempted to extort from Henry the recognition of his own hereditary right, and to secure his claims upon Burgundy against Conrad by force of arms. These good relations remained unimpaired even with the emperor Henry III., whose consort, Agnes, belonged to the house of Aquitaine; for the Duke of Aquitaine, William, was also one of Odo's enemies. Dissension threatened to break out when Godfrey II., or the Bearded, sought the protection of the French king after his rights in Lower Lorraine had been infringed by Henry III.; but the difficulty was averted by the imprisonment of the Lorraine claimant in the Gieichenstein at Halle, on the Saale, in 1045.

The French kings were clever enough to avoid interference in the long quarrel of Henry IV. with the Popes. On the other

The Political Tact of the French Kings

hand, the support given by Louis VI. to Pope Calixtus II. against Henry V. nearly led to a rupture between the two kingdoms. However, the fidelity to their king of the French vassals, especially of Thibaut of Blois, the growing strength of nationality, and the increasing opposition to Germany, so intimidated the despotic emperor that he refrained from hostilities in 1124. In general the efforts of the French kings to avoid interference in the continual struggles for supremacy between the emperors and the Popes show great political tact, as they thus avoided strengthening either one or the other power.

Such was the policy followed by Philip Augustus when excommunicated by Pope Innocent III. in January, 1200, for the reason that he declined to sacrifice his mistress Agnes of Meran, to his second wife, Ingeborg of Denmark, who had been legally divorced; he refrained from interference, though this ambitious Pope was then at war first with Philip of Swabia and then with Otto IV. The war was brought about solely by the family relationship of the Guelf Otto with the royal house of England; it ended with the victory of the French at Bouvines. St. Louis also supported the passionate



KING LOUIS IX. OF FRANCE A PRISONER IN THE HANDS OF THE SARACENS
Leading a great army to the Holy Land, Louis IX. fought valiantly against the infidels, but the Crusaders were overwhelmed by the enemy, and the French king fell into the hands of the Saracens, who obtained a large sum for his ransom.
From the painting by Cabanel in the Panthéon

opposition of Pope Innocent IV. to the Hohenstauffen Frederic II. only so far as to offer his mediation, and to secure some assistance for his policy from the Council of Lyons, which excommunicated Frederic in 1245.

Philip the Fair was the first ruler who attempted to secure the advantage of France at the expense of the Germans. Like King Albert I., who then refused recognition to Rome, Philip was an opponent of Pope Boniface VIII.; and though during the lifetime of Adolf of Nassau he had joined the Hapsburg side, he met the German king in December, 1209, in the Val de l'One, near Toul, to conclude a marriage between his sister Blanche and Albert's son Rudolf, who was to inherit Austria. The German king was anxious to secure the imperial succession to his firstborn son, and Philip the Fair was therefore brought into close and profitable relations with Germany.

Philip also maintained a show of good relations with the successor of Albert, Henry VII., after the hopes of his brother Charles of Valois had come to nothing. The Luxembourg ruler, who was half a Frenchman, was anxious to find some support against the Hapsburgs, that he might accomplish his coronation journey to Rome undisturbed; he therefore offered in 1310, to receive from Prince Philip V. homage for the palatine county of Burgundy, which had been already taken by France, though he did not renounce his claim to the town of Lyons, which belonged equally to the empire and had been occupied by French troops. None the less Philip secretly attempted to disturb Henry's plans in Italy through his relation Robert of Naples and the Guel adherents of Pope Clement V., who was entirely dependent upon him, and practically a prisoner in Avignon. In the case of the Crusades the Capets adopted a waiting attitude, as

they had done in their relations with the German Empire, although three French rulers participated in these world-stirring events. The Crusades were instigated primarily by French or semi-French chivalry, but certainly not by French kings. Such names as Godfrey of Bouillon and his brother Baldwin, the Norman Boemund II. of Tarentum, Hugo of Vermandois, Stephen of Blois the elder, Robert of Normandy, are

conspicuous among the leaders of the First Crusade. King Philip I. at that time refrained from participation (1094-1096), as his unlawful marriage of 1092 had brought him a new sentence of excommunication. The credit of the enthusiasm which inspired this and the two following Crusades belongs to the papacy. It was by the personal intervention of Pope Urban II., at the Council of Claremont in the late autumn of 1095, that the Crusade was organised.

The French monarchy took but a secondary part in the Second Crusade, of 1147, as in the first. Eugenius III., through the mouth of the ecclesiastic Bernard of Clairvaux, induced two of the most powerful princes of Europe, the Emperor Conrad III. and King Louis VII., to undertake a joint expedition to the Holy Land. Conrad was reluctant and hesitated; but Louis was anxious to relieve his burdened conscience. In a quarrel with one of his bishops, imposed upon him by the Pope and his protector Thibaut of Champagne, Louis had burned 1,000 men in the church at Vitry, that is to say, in sanctuary.

Affairs in the Holy Land were highly critical. Edessa had fallen in 1144, and Jerusalem was threatened. Moreover, the enthusiasm for this high cause was beginning to fade. The descriptions given by returning Crusaders of their dangers and privations could not but discourage others and shatter their dreams of the enchantment of the East. When King Louis himself had taken the Cross he begged in vain the Abbot Bernard to inflame the masses with his powerful oratory.

In the meanwhile, however, various noble and ignoble motives brought many thousands together from France alone. As in the First Crusade, the difficulty of feeding and disciplining so large a number was the main cause of the enormous losses. In Nicæa, Louis, with his ill-disciplined army, met the haughty and much weakened German Emperor, Conrad III., who was regarded with suspicion by Byzantium. Conrad, however, fell ill, and soon returned as an uninvited guest to Constantinople, with the greater part of his remaining troops; the others were deserted by the French and put to the sword by the Seljuks. Instead of conquering Edessa, Louis hastened to Jerusalem to do penance. There he met Conrad in April, 1148, who

**Royal
Matrimonial
Schemes**

**Crusades
Without
Enthusiasm**

**Leaders
in the First
Crusade**

FRANCE UNDER THE EARLY CAPETS

had been ordered to return to Byzantium, and the two kings resolved to march upon Damascus. Strengthened by North German and English pilgrims, their army numbered some 50,000 men. However, when the siege of the great town proved fruitless, Conrad returned home in September, 1148, and Louis in the spring of 1149.

The Third Crusade, of 1189-1192, which brought the rulers of England, Germany, and France into the Holy Land, and ended the life of the Emperor Frederic I., was the work of Pope Clement III. He had reconciled the quarrel between Richard Lionheart and Philip II. Augustus, and induced the Hohenstauffen, who were again on good terms with the papacy, to

export and import trade to the rising commercial powers of his country. This dream, which reminds us of the projects of Bonaparte in 1798, soon vanished.

Notwithstanding the resistance of the Mamelukes and their "Greek fire," Louis captured Damietta in 1249, but was cut off from his army and taken prisoner in the Nile delta on the retreat from el-Mansura. He and some of his nobles were able to buy their freedom for the enormous sum of one million besants (£400,000); the common people were forced to choose between apostasy and death. Louis spent four years in Syria, calculating upon divisions among the Mohammedans and reinforcements from Europe. At length



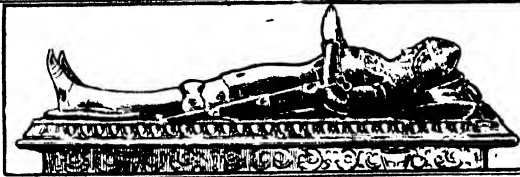
PHILIP AUGUSTUS BEARING THE BODY OF HIS FATHER LOUIS, VII., TO BURIAL

make the Crusade. The diplomacy of the French king on this occasion has been already examined.

Zeal for Christianity may have been the motive actuating St. Louis IX. when he undertook the Sixth Crusade, in 1248, at the head of numerous nobles and their retainers. He spent the winter of 1248-1249 in Cyprus in uncertainty concerning the object of his expedition, and was induced by an embassy of Christian Mongols to make his adventurous attempt upon Egypt. He immediately considered the possibility of founding a French empire upon the ruins of the local Ayubite government, of conquering Syria from this base, and so of securing for the dangerous feudal nobility of France a new sphere for ambition and enterprise, and opening a new area for

he returned home with a few faithful followers. The flower of the nobility had perished in this wearisome adventure. Previously the enthusiasm for the Crusade had fallen so low that Louis had caused crosses to be sewn upon the coats of his vassals to pledge their participation in the Crusade by this deceit; desire to see the wonders of the East now disappeared entirely.

Once more, in 1270, Louis undertook the Crusade known as the Seventh. Its object, the conversion of the Emir of Tunis, may have attracted him no less than the thought of extending the South Italian kingdom of his brother, Charles of Anjou, to African soil. After spending some weeks in Africa, with little or no fighting, Louis, like many of his near relatives, fell a victim to the climate on August 25th.



THE LAST OF THE OLD CAPETS AND THE CAPTURE OF THE PAPACY

CHARLES THE GREAT had organised the ecclesiastical affairs of his wide realm in an autocratic spirit, and had made laws as he pleased; he had also been supreme over the papacy and the Church. After his death the weakness of the later Carolingians had benefited the episcopal power in France, and had also enabled the papacy to strengthen its position. By means of the forged decretals the papacy had attempted to reduce the independent bishops to feudal subservience. The bishops, however, retained their independence, and, with the abbots, continued to be elected by the free choice of the clergy.

The Forged Decretals of the Papacy

From the outset the Capets had attempted, with the help of the bishops, to sever their ecclesiastical connection with Rome, and for this purpose they had found powerful allies in Arnulf of Orleans and the synod of 991. The kings, however, had to defend the justice of their actions against both the ecclesiastical and the secular nobility, hence any permanent co-operation on the part of the episcopate and the temporal power was out of the question. At the same time the Cluniac reform, which speedily dominated the French clergy, paved the way for the papal claims to supremacy, both in ecclesiastical and secular affairs. Of the two swords which then symbolised the spiritual and temporal powers, the one might be given to the king by the head of the Church only as a fief, and under the condition of complete obedience. Until the second half of the eleventh century the episcopate remained no less independent than the crown in matters of domestic policy.

Princes who Robbed the Church

even though these were of an ecclesiastical nature. As in the times of Charles Martel, the princes appropriated the property of the Church, while domestic disturbances and the struggles with the Northmen constantly forced the abbey and monasteries to place themselves under the protection of the king.

It was Gregory VII. who first enabled the papal power to rise in France, as in Germany, at the expense of the secular power. This Pope governed the French Church through his legates, and secured the right of appointing bishops and abbots. He opposed the usurpation of Church property by the princes. The French monarchy was unable to make head against the refractory nobles, and the monarchs were in general too weak to oppose their energetic adversary with any success. After Gregory's death the papacy attained further power, notwithstanding the precarious character of its success, owing to the great Crusading movement, which derived its origin and its stimulus from Rome. King Philip I. of France was at that time obliged to yield to Rome on the question of his marriage in order to avert the papal interdict. His successor was thrown upon the side of the Pope through his marriage connections and

The Pope's Triumphal Procession

owing to the general feeling in favour of Rome manifested by his clergy in the investiture quarrel, in which the Pope opposed the appointment of clergy by secular rulers. At the Council of Troyes, held in the presence of Pope Paschal II., a resolution was passed that every layman who conferred investiture upon a priest should be subject to deprivation no less than the recipient. The journey of the Pope to Troyes was almost a triumphal procession, and in the monastery of Cluny he was received like an ambassador from heaven.

Meanwhile the royal power increased, and as the disappointments of the Crusades diminished the prestige of the Pope and the Church, the rulers even of France were able to contemplate the possibility of recovering their old independence in ecclesiastical affairs. In this struggle Philip Augustus proved an energetic pioneer. He had submitted to Pope Innocent III. on the question of his marriage, as his realm was laid under an

interdict; he had enjoyed the alliance of the papacy for a time in the course of his policy against England. At the same time he was careful to see that bishops and abbots performed their feudal obligations, that the rights of patronage held by the laity over ecclesiastical foundations remained unimpaired, and that the courts-Christian never encroached upon secular jurisdiction. On his reconquest of the English possessions he secured a legal definition of the rights of the feudal lords as against the Church, and insisted upon their observance by the clergy. Upon property which passed to the Church by purchase or presentation he levied a mortmain tax, to compensate for the loss of reliefs and wardships which ensued when property passed into the hands of a deathless tenant; he also exacted a tax—in lieu of the *ius spoliatorum*—from benefices that fell vacant, and maintained all the other rights of the temporal power, or sold them at a high price.

The ecclesiastical policy of Louis IX. was penetrated entirely by his own ideas. Under his protection was formed an alliance of French nobles hostile to the Church, led by the Duke of Burgundy and the Counts of Brittany and Angoulême. **French Nobles versus the Church** These feudatories revolted against the aggressions of the ecclesiastical courts in secular affairs, and also against the extortions to which France, under various pretexts, was subjected by the papacy in 1246. Their argument was that the French nobility had been impoverished by the greed of the clergy, and that the Church should therefore return to its original condition of poverty and purity. Excommunication and interdict were to be respected only with the consent of the chief of the alliance. Here we may trace the after-effects of the teaching of the Waldenses.

These menacing resolves against Rome were passed at a moment when Pope Innocent IV. was staying on the frontier in Lyons, which was then part of the empire, and at a time, moreover, when this Pope had secured the zealous support of the French clergy against the Emperor Frederic II. in the council of 1245. Louis himself did his best to prevent the extortions to which Innocent subjected the French clergy in his efforts to provide resources for the struggle against the Hohenstauffen. From the very outset of his reign he was a zealous champion of

the independence of the French Church. In an ordinance of 1229 he had established the *liberties et immunités* of the Church, and had thus raised a barrier against the ecclesiastical and financial encroachments of Rome; ten years later he subjected the clergy to the jurisdiction of the state courts in civil cases, and limited the power of excommunication, which was one of the Pope's chief weapons; at the same time he regulated the process of election to prelates and their transference within the French Church, and prohibited arbitrary exactions on the part of Rome. The so-called "Sanction Pragmatic" of 1268, which was long regarded as the foundation stone of the later national Gallic Church, is a forgery of the fifteenth century, and does not concern us.

Though long deferred by both parties, the struggle between the Curia and the French monarchy became inevitable upon the accession of Philip the Fair, an autocratic and at the same time diplomatic ruler; at that moment Pope Boniface VIII. (1294-1303) revived the claims which Gregory VII. and Innocent III. had asserted. Boniface had entered Rome with great splendour on January 25th, 1295, and had then been crowned, after obliging his predecessor, Celestine V., to abdicate. This interloper had retained his position from July 5th to December 13th, 1294, and was kept in prison by Boniface till his death, on May 19th, 1296. Boniface added a second circle to his tiara, as a sign that the Pope was the representative both of the ecclesiastical and of the secular powers. He ordered the Greek Church to appoint no patriarch without his consent. In the year 1300 he arranged the great jubilee celebration, which brought many thousands of pilgrims to Rome to lay their gifts at the feet of the apostle. Meanwhile, however, the political horizon had become clouded; the crisis began with political difficulties, in which Boniface attempted to act as the overlord of the princes, and was accentuated by ecclesiastical complications. The Pope attempted to conclude the war between Philip and England, which had lasted since 1293, by arranging an armistice and obliging both kings to do penance by a pilgrimage to the Holy Land; a similar penance had been appointed by Innocent III. The two enemies declined to agree to either project,

and Philip, though a firm supporter of the faith of his time, proudly declared to the papal legates the independence of his kingdom.

Boniface forthwith issued the papal Bull "Clericis laicos" on February 25th, 1296, in which he threatened with excommunication all princes who exacted taxes from the

Louis IX.

Canonised by Boniface

clergy, and any of the clergy who paid. In this way he proposed to deprive the English, and especially the French, kings of the means for carrying on war. The prohibition was naturally disregarded by both monarchs, and hostilities were continued notwithstanding the armistice imposed by the Pope, and extended until the year 1298.

Diplomacy, however, was able to secure a reconciliation. In a quarrel between Naples and Aragon for the possession of Sicily, Boniface supported Philip's brother, Charles of Valois, and also canonised Philip's grandfather, Louis IX. A French embassy, which was sent to Orvieto, apparently composed all differences and abandoned the Colonna. The war between France and England was decided by Boniface in favour of Philip, who retained his possessions by a decision of June 27th, 1298, "issued not as a judge but as a friendly mediator"; the two kings had previously determined upon an armistice until January 5th, 1300—at Vive St. Bavon on October 9th, 1297—and only gave the Pope an opportunity of finally holding out the olive branch.

However, after the expiration of the armistice Philip inspired Charles of Valois to attack Flanders again at the beginning of 1300, while he extended his truce with England to November 30th, 1302. In general he let no opportunity slip of rousing the anger of the Pope. He appropriated episcopal fiefs to the crown—the comté of Melgueil and the vicomté of Narbonne—he supported the citizens of

Why the Pope was so Patient

Lyons against their archbishop, disregarding the rights of the empire, and in several cases oppressed the French superior clergy and their possessions. The Colonna, who had been deprived of their possessions and offices by Boniface, met with a most friendly reception from Philip; he also made a close alliance with King Albert I., whom the Pope had refused to recognise, as he was the murderer of his predecessor. We should be inclined to wonder at the gentle

patience of the Pope under all this irritation did we not know the extent to which his position was endangered in Rome itself. Boniface had incurred the most bitter hostility of the adherents of the fugitive Colonna, and was by no means certain of the fidelity of the ruling Orsini, upon whom he was dependent to an undesirable extent; in the college of cardinals there was a party which disputed the legality of his election. His opposition to the Aragonese supremacy in Sicily led him steadily back to France.

Philip also avoided an open breach, although his two most famous jurists, the chancellor Peter Flotte and the privy councillor William of Nogaret, eagerly advised this step. A South Frenchman, whose father had fallen a victim to the Inquisition, William had, though originally a cleric, the strongest personal reasons for opposing the supreme representative of the Church. He was a capable professor of jurisprudence at the University of Montpellier, and could perform excellent service to his king in the war of pamphlets which now began between Rome and Paris; at this moment—in 1300—he was sent

The Cherished Hopes of Pope Boniface

to the Pope by Philip with secret instructions, of which we learn only from the latter and apparently exaggerated reports of Nogaret. It was his business to pacify the Pope upon the question of the agreement with Albert I., and this agreement was to promote the peace of the Church and the welfare of the Holy Land; Boniface was thus to be confirmed in his cherished hopes of a Crusade.

In the following year the Pope sent to Paris the Bishop of Pamiers, Bernard of Saisset, to discuss the question of this Crusade, the affairs of Flanders, and the interference of Philip with the French Church. Saisset adopted a haughty attitude, and after his return to his bishopric he was prosecuted by the state council at Senlis, which sat under the presidency of Peter Flotte, and thrown into prison. Boniface proceeded to issue the Bulls "Salvator mundi" (Redeemer of the world) and "Ausculta fili" (Hear, O son). In the first he declared that all the privileges conceded to the king were null and void, and in the second he claimed the supremacy over all states and princes, even in secular affairs. At the same time he demanded the release of his legate, whereas Philip had insisted that this



"THE VIGIL": A KNIGHT OF THE MIDDLE AGES DEDICATING HIS ARMS TO THE SERVICE OF CHRISTIANITY

bishop should be deprived of all his spiritual privileges. Boniface also summoned all the French bishops to a council at Rome on November 1st, 1302, to discuss "the reform of France and the improvement of its king."

The Bull "Ausculta fili" was turned to clever account by Philip's jurists; they issued it in shortened and sterner form with the initial words "deum time" (fear God), but concealed the true composition, and proceeded to burn their own falsification in solemn conclave. At the same time Philip summoned the three estates of the kingdom on April 8th, 1302, forbade his clergy to take part in the council, deprived the disobedient of their possessions, and sent a threatening embassy to the Pope in November. On November 18th, 1302, Boniface issued another appeal, "Unam sanctam" (one holy Church), in which he strongly emphasised his claims to supremacy over all secular rulers; and in 1303 he sent his ultimatum to Philip in twelve articles. The French king returned an indefinite answer and prepared to employ force after Nogaret, at a council of March 12th, had accused

The "Crimes" and "Heresies" of the Pope the Pope of the worst crimes and heresies, and had advised the king to summon a general council which should judge the Pope guilty.

Meanwhile Nogaret and three of Philip's emissaries had proceeded to Italy with powers which were purposely unlimited, had provided supplies of money in Florence, and had induced Sciarra Colonna, the Pope's deadly enemy and his armed retainers to make an attack upon Boniface, who was then staying in Anagni. This attempt took place on September 7th, 1303; the accounts of it are very various, and it has been exaggerated for party purposes, but Boniface defended the dignity of his high office. The Pope was a prisoner for two days, and was saved by Nogaret from death, only that he might be brought to France. However, the inhabitants of Anagni liberated him on September 9th. Boniface returned to Rome on September 18th, but died on October 12th, 1303, in consequence of an old complaint and the excitement of the previous five weeks.

His successor, Benedict XI., was Pope for barely nine months (1303-1304), and with difficulty maintained his ground against Philip. The king proposed that

the dead Boniface should be declared a heretic by the sentence of a council, and suggested as a meeting-place Lyons, which was close to his own kingdom. He had previously interfered with the prerogatives of the Church by sending a committee to examine the prisons of the Inquisition in Southern France and liberating all prisoners without distinction; as Nogaret was a member of the committee, their duties were no doubt discharged with great thoroughness. The new Pope opposed the process against his predecessors and did not summon the council; at the same time he removed the excommunication which had been laid on Philip and the royal family, and revoked the measures of Boniface against the king and the French clergy subject to him. However, the participants in the attack of Anagni, including Nogaret, were excommunicated.

The papacy became entirely dependent upon France when the Archbishop of Bordeaux, Bertrand del Got, was, on June 5th, 1305, appointed Pope by Philip's influence in return for binding promises; he established himself first in Lyons and afterwards, from 1309, in Avignon, which belonged to the Angevin dynasty of Naples.

This second successor of Boniface VIII., who was known as Clement V., was a clever diplomatist and intriguer, but greatly wanting in personal energy. In 1308 he secretly opposed the nomination of Philip's brother as king of Germany, while in Italy he attempted to embroil Henry VII., the newly appointed ruler of Germany, with the Neapolitan Angevins; at Philip's orders, however, he was obliged to prohibit their advance upon Rome. He also played a double part in the process against the order of Knights Templar, in the guilt of which Philip hoped to involve his confederate. This order had risen from a very modest origin; in 1119 it had been founded by eight French knights

Power and Wealth of the Knights at Jerusalem, and had now gained great power and enormous wealth; it also had abandoned the rule of the order, which had been drawn up in 1128 by Bernard of Clairvaux in conjunction with the first Grand Master, Hugh of Payens.

The strict morality of the order was broken down by the growth of pride and voluptuousness and a general disobedience towards the Grand Master, who could decide important matters only with the

consent of the majority of the "general chapter" or assembly of the brothers of the order. It was necessary for the knights to give proof of noble birth, and only priests acting as lay brothers could belong to the citizen class; hence a system of caste was introduced within the order which destroyed its real significance. In the struggles with the Saracens it had often displayed a suspicious lukewarmness and had agreed to truces of a doubtful advantage for the Christian cause. By the fall of Jerusalem in 1187 and again in 1244 the order had been driven from its first centre, on the site of Solomon's former temple—whence the name Templar—and after the loss of the Holy Land the island of Cyprus had become the centre of the order, though it was widely spread in France and other countries. In France it possessed wide lands and influential connections, which had long aroused the envy and suspicion of King Philip. To these causes were added political and personal disagreements.

Rightly or wrongly, the order had gained a reputation for heresy and idolatry. The knights were supposed to be coquetting with Mohammedan and sectarian religious opinions; hence was secured the desired pretext for attacking them under the cloak of solicitude for the Church. In these proceedings the king was both prosecutor and judge. Naturally the admissions made by deserters from the order, or the confessions extorted on the rack and afterwards retracted, must not be taken as actual truth. Such wild tales as the supposed worship of the idol Baphomet—generally supposed to be a human head made of precious metal, and to govern the material world—as the servant of the heavenly God—the defilement of the crucifix, the immoral kiss of peace, etc., would hardly find credence, even if they were better attested. It is, however, highly

probable that the noble caste within the order was morally and spiritually degenerate for the most part.

The proposed process was begun as follows. During a conference with Clement V. at Lyons, in November, 1305, Philip first proposed to proceed against the order, promised the Pope to undertake a Crusade, and also threatened to resume the process against the dead Boniface; the threat was intended to force, and the Crusade to induce, the Pope to take action against the order, which

he hated. Clement actually invited the Grand Masters of the orders of St. John and the Temple to come to France for a discussion upon the Crusade. It was not, however, until August 24th, 1307, that he issued permission for an ecclesiastical inquiry into the supposed misdeeds of the order. Philip's adviser, Nogaret, who now also plays the part of *advocatus diaboli*, had meanwhile secured the evidence of former Templars, who had either been expelled from the order or had left it, and handed them over to the Inquisitor of France, William Imbert, who was also Philip's confessor, on the ground that they were prisoners for examination. Behind this Inquisitor, who was an enemy of the Templars, stood the king; apparently at his instigation all the members in France were imprisoned on October 13th, 1307, and their property was confiscated. To rouse public opinion on behalf of the process, Nogaret influenced the

clergy, the populace, the canons of Notre Dame, and the masters of the University of Paris in a series of meetings. On Nogaret's advice, the king invited the Estates General to Tours on May 5th, 1308. This body then ratified the imprisonment of the Templars, and declared them guilty and worthy of death.

Under pressure from Philip, Clement, on May 29th, undertook to begin the ecclesiastical examination of the imprisoned Templars in an assembly at Poitiers composed of ecclesiastical and

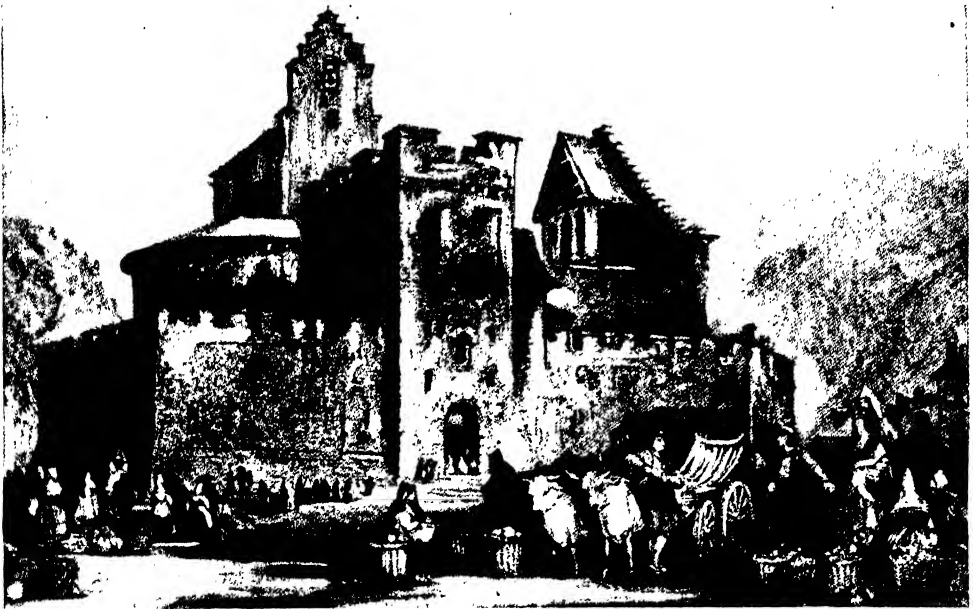


A KNIGHT TEMPLAR
Founded by eight French knights at Jerusalem in 1119, the Order of Knights Templar by the early part of the fourteenth century had acquired much wealth and power.

FRANCE: THE LAST OF THE OLD CAPETS

secular dignitaries; apart from the process against the dead Pope, Philip was able to put pressure upon Clement by his action against Bishop Guichard of Troyes, who was supposed to have killed Philip's wife, Joanna of Navarre, by witchcraft in 1305. The prisoners under examination, though formally in the custody of the Church, were actually in the hands of Philip, as also was the administration of their property. The examinations proceeded in Poitiers from June 28th to July 2nd, and in Chinon from August 17th to 20th, before a commission consisting of three cardinals, but also in the presence of the two royal

and wholly dependent body of supporters, and would accentuate his subservience to the French king. Philip, however, repeated his menace of attacking the memory of Boniface; and on March 16th, 1310, the Pope actually permitted the opening of the process against his predecessor. This led to no result. Clement naturally strove to avoid any act of dishonour to the deceased Pope, while Philip considered the action only as a means to secure the destruction of the order of Templars. When this object was conceded by the Pope in the Bull "Rex gloriæ" of April 27th, 1311, Philip



THE CHURCH OF THE KNIGHTS TEMPLAR AT LUZ, IN THE PYRENEES

This was an important fortified church of the Knights Templar, commanding a wide district of the Pyrenees. It is here shown in something like its original condition, but it is now greatly reduced in size, though parts of the old battlements still remain. Luz is no great distance from Lourdes, of modern miracle fame, and is now a popular resort.

counsellors, Nogaret and Plasian. Clement had been obliged to abandon the right of inquiry to the Inquisition, which was under Philip's influence. The admissions of the Templars are said to have been very damaging, especially in a hearing at Chinon, though the Grand Master, James of Molay, afterwards indignantly repudiated those ascribed to him.

A special hearing was begun by a new commission in November, 1309, at Paris, again in the presence of a royal official. Clement could not bring himself to decide upon the abolition of the order, which was Philip's earnest desire, for the reason that he would then deprive himself of a powerful

abandoned his most unworthy manœuvre.

On October 16th, 1311, a council was held at Vienna, which was to settle this long-standing problem. Philip attempted to influence the council by summoning the Estates. As a matter of fact, Clement, out of solicitude for the welfare of Christendom, dissolved the order by a Bull of March 22nd, 1312, which was solemnly announced to the council on April 3rd. During this announcement Philip sat at his right hand. On May 2nd the valuable property of the dissolved order was transferred to the Hospitallers, though Philip retained a considerable portion for himself. In the sequel the Grand Master, James of

Molay, and the provincial head, Guy of Normandy, were burnt at Paris on March 11th, 1314, after fifty-four members of the order had suffered a similar death on May 12th, 1310, because they had recanted the admissions extorted under torture. At the time of its prosperity, about 1260, this great order is said to have numbered some sixteen to twenty thousand members; these were now imprisoned, or perished in misery, took refuge in monasteries, or joined the Hospitallers. Their stately palace near Paris, the Temple, in which they had long been imprisoned, and from which, 480 years later, a French king was to make his last earthly progress, remained in the royal possession.

A common sense of guilt bound Clement the more closely to Philip, until their almost simultaneous deaths came upon them as a just punishment; Clement died on April 20th, 1314, and Philip on November 20th, at the age of forty-six. Fourteen years later the male line of the true Capets was extinct.

The Capets found the French state diminished in extent and far weaker in power than under the Carolingian domination. They began their work where the ancestors of Charles the Great had begun, and the objects of Charles were attained by Philip IV., though to a more restricted extent and in the face of a more vigorous opposition. The feudal nobility had been crushed, and the great fiefs were either in his immediate possession or were united to his power and subjected to his will by marriage connections and diplomatic arrangements. The Church was even more subordinate to him than to Charles the Great, and the spiritual influence which the Church had been able to exert, under Charles, upon all political matters of ecclesiastical importance had now been overthrown by the clever and worldly wise jurist. In Italy Philip ruled by means of the papal party and his Neapolitan connections, so far as the

general disruption of the Italian states and city republics permitted the exercise of any general influence. He was able to interfere to the advantage of France in the factions of the German Empire.

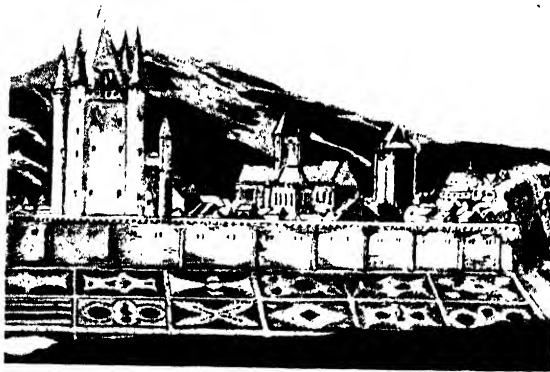
His monarchy, however, lacked that fundamental basis of every monarchical state—a standing army. In times of war he was invariably forced to rely upon the goodwill of the feudal lords, who had not yet been definitely crushed. He had provided for his state a uniform system of law and of finance; he had made the right of coinage a royal monopoly, and misused it in times of need by debasing the currency; he had modelled the Estates General until they formed a power subordinate to his will. The bureaucracy was entirely at his disposal, the nobility, clergy, and citizens offered a ready obedience, and even the refractory towns of

Flanders eventually agreed to an arrangement in Philip's favour. He had crushed all divergence from the faith with merciless severity, and had even begun a general persecution of the Jews to replenish his impoverished treasury. Yet, in spite of this display of power, his want of an

army under his own control deprived him of the strongest guarantee for an absolute monarchy. This deficiency was the more dangerous, as the power of England, with one foot firmly planted in France, threatened the frontiers of his empire.

At the same time, the means by which he secured his political ends were not merely those of force, as in the case of Charles the Great, but were also immoral and treacherous. He shrank from nothing, especially if financial embarrassments were in question. The responsibility of his crimes most often fell upon his advisers, though it must not be forgotten that shortly before his death he pointed to himself "as the cause of his evil counsel" (*ipse met causa mali consilii sui*). During his persecution of the Jews he not only

The Fall of the Templars



A MÆDIEVAL PALACE OF THE TEMPLARS
The Temple at Paris was one of the finest buildings belonging to the order. In revolutionary Paris its prison had an evil fame; and the site of it is commemorated in the present Place du Temple.

Crimes of Philip IV

FRANCE: THE LAST OF THE OLD CAPETS

confiscated the possessions of the imprisoned capitalists, but also forced their debtors to pay what was owing. His disgraceful prosecution of the Templar order was primarily inspired by his pecuniary embarrassments. He was continually attempting surprises and deceptions; witness his constant depreciation of the coinage and consequent repudiation of the state debt, or the liquidation of the war indemnity of Flanders, which he raised to the highest possible figure with the help of his accomplice, Nogaret. Combining treachery and despotism, though a strict adherent of the faith of his age, he had shown himself not only a second Pilate to the papacy and the Church, as the Ghibelline Dante named him, but also a second Herod. The papacy never recovered from the period of its "Babylonish captivity"

**Philip as a
Pilate to
the Papacy**

until long after its return to the shores of the Tiber, far from the kingdom of France. In consequence, the French kings and the rights of the Gallican Church always enjoyed special consideration, however strict the authority at Rome, and the despotism of Louis XIV. was no less a burden upon the Church, four centuries later, than the absolutism of Philip IV.

The inheritance of Philip IV. was subject to the influence of a no less malignant fate than the empire of Charles the Great. His successors were weak men who ruled but a short time, and were incapable of offering effective opposition to the process of dissolution. The three sons of Philip the Fair reigned less than fourteen years together; they were all consecrated by one and the same Archbishop of Rheims. Immediately upon his father's death the eldest son, Louis X. (1314-1316), was forced to begin the struggle with the refractory nobles. The federation of nobles demanded that the encroachments of the royal jurisdiction should be abolished, that military service should not be demanded for foreign expeditions, and in general that their old privileges should be restored. Their chief demand was for the prosecution of several unpopular counsellors of the late king. Enguerrand de Marigny in particular paid heavily for his

fidelity to Philip. He was hanged as a sorcerer, since he appealed to the orders of his former master when called upon to account for his conduct of office.

A fact of especial importance for the continuance of the dynasty and the unity of the constitution was a law passed under Philip V. (1316-1322), which was published on January 19th, 1317, proclaiming the incapability of the female line to inherit the crown; this was done to exclude the claims of Jeanne, the daughter of the prematurely deceased Louis X. Thus individuals were sacrificed to constitutional rights in the interests of political unity. This law, which was confirmed by the Pope, provided an excuse and an occasion for the outbreak of the Hundred Years' War with England; but in the factions and succession disputes of the following ages it remained the one firm point amid the

political confusion. Its natural consequence was to secure the reversion of territories to the state and the ruling family. Philip V. pursued upon the whole the domestic policy of his far-sighted father. Against the nobility, who were striving to secure their old position, he raised the bulwark of a strong citizen class, of the parliament, and the legal profession; he excluded the clergy from the highest court of justice. He also turned for support to the growing class of poor freemen, formed of those who had bought



THE LAST OF THE CAPETS
The line of the old Capets came to an end with Charles IV., who, during his brief reign of six years, from 1322 till 1328, was involved in many difficulties of foreign policy.

their freedom from serfdom and slavery.

However, he never attained the unlimited absolutism of his father. Still less was this the case with his younger brother Charles IV., who was constantly involved in difficulties of foreign policy during a reign of barely six years (1322-1328). He interfered in the affairs and factions of Flanders and England; in 1314 he even aimed at the crown of the empire, uniting with the Hapsburg party against the Wittelsbach Lewis of Bavaria, and he secured adherents among the German electors by bribery.

With Charles, the line of the old Capets closed. The principle of inheritance by and through males only transferred the crown to Philip of Valois, nephew of Philip IV. and first cousin to the three last kings.

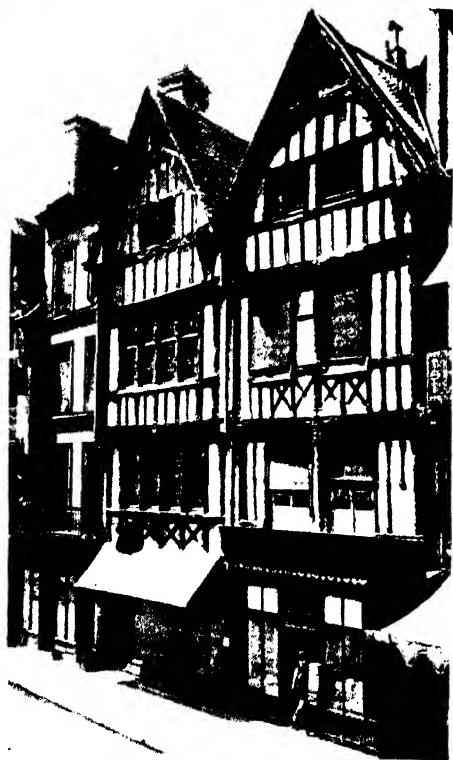
**End of
the Capet
Dynasty**



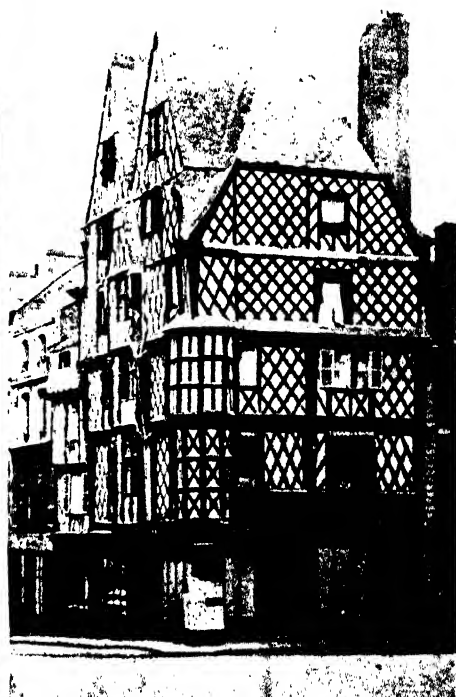
IN THE RUE SAINT MARTIN, BAYEUX



"HOUSE OF THE SALMON" AT CHARTRES



FOURTEENTH CENTURY HOUSE AT CAEN



HOUSE AT ANGERS, TIME OF LOUIS XI.

MEDIÆVAL ARCHITECTURE: FRENCH HOUSES OF THE 13th-15th CENTURIES



EVOLUTION OF MEDIAEVAL FRANCE

THE ORGANISATION OF THE CAPET KINGDOM

IN France the task of unifying a judicial system under secular law was hampered not only by the special jurisdiction belonging to the feudal lords, but also by the existence of provincial codes, which were by no means identical: of these the codes of the Isle de France, Beauvais, and Anjou were published in the time of St. Louis, or Louis IX., the others not until the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The task of unification was greatly advanced by St. Louis (1226-1270). His grandfather, Philip Augustus (1180-1223), had already attempted to make the king's court a kind of tribunal of appeal, and to throw the jurisdiction of the territorial lords into a secondary position. His government, however, was so full of disturbance and internal dissension that he found it impossible to complete the task he had begun.

Under Louis IX. a system of constitutional law grew up, patched up from Old Testament theories and reminiscences of the legislation of Roman Cæsars; this was enforced in the parliament of Paris. This supreme court of justice consisted of fractions of the old Privy Council ("Grand Conseil") and of the royal exchequer; hence ecclesiastics and secular nobles were accustomed to sit side by side with the court officials. They, however, were ignorant of the law, and had no inclination to undertake a study absorbing a large amount of time; Louis was therefore obliged to add professional lawyers ("maîtres") to the hereditary members. The duty of these experts was that of investigation and report—hence they are called "membres rapporteurs," while the responsibility of decision remained with the "membres juges." Thus the question of fact and responsibility was separated from the legal process, as it is in modern jury systems.

An appeal could be made to the parliament from the courts of the feudatories, the communes, and crown officials; all

feudal disputes were brought before the parliament for settlement. These decisions extinguished the custom of trial by ordeal or by battle, which still survived in other countries. The procedure of a sitting was similar to that of the present day: there was the hearing of evidence, the administration of oaths, documentary evidence, written as well as oral procedure. Apart from the precedents which the court itself had created, the influence of Roman law was paramount. The written judgment of this court formed a precedent for future cases and thus gained the power of law.

At the same time there grew up a legal class, dependent only on the king—the later "noblesse de robe"—which gradually made its way into the highest offices of state, and limited the privileges of the clergy. The ecclesiastical courts were thereby restricted, as were the feudal courts, since appeals could be made from ecclesiastical courts to the parliament, and in the last resort to the king himself. Louis presided in person over judicial hearings, received complaints, and secured the conscientiousness and incorruptibility of his judges. Important criminal cases were reserved for his special decision, as also were all questions of honour, after appeal had been made to one of the four chief justices of the government.

Roman law, which had formed a basis both for substantive law and for the law of procedure, was taught in the schools of Paris, Montpellier, and Orléans. The

University of Paris received a constitution of its own, giving it control over the students and the craftsmen connected with the schools; stipends ("bourses") were given, a fixed curriculum was formed, and a number of colleges sprang up. The name "université" did not then imply, as it does to-day, an educational institution, distinguished from other schools, but rather

**How Justice
was
Administered**

**French Law
Founded on the
Old Testament**

**A Period of
Educational
Expansion**

a corporation of students and teachers. Every school elected its own rectors. In accordance with the educational and religious views of the time, philosophy took the first place among all studies ; it was especially cultivated in the Sorbonne, founded by Robert de Sorbon, the chaplain of Louis IX., and also in the schools of Toulouse ; it was also naturally represented in other provincial universities, each of these having its own organisation, with no special tie or connection. Next to the theological faculty came the faculty of arts, corresponding with the modern " *faculté de lettres* " ; the legal and medical faculties rose to independence only by degrees. Students were organised by " *nations* "—that is to say, according to their geographical origin—and for the most part lived in hostels which were under the jurisdiction of the university.

The discipline of the students, who were partly of mature years, was very loose. They changed their schools nearly as often as their curriculum. The highest title that the university could confer was that of doctor ; of less importance were the degrees of licentiate and master, the least important of all being that of bachelor. In schools which were not of university rank the teaching was chiefly in the hands of the ecclesiastical orders ; the Dominicans were distinguished as theological and philosophical teachers, while learned Benedictines undertook the guidance of the younger students. The education of the lower orders and of woman was generally neglected, except in so far as it was undertaken by the regular clergy.

Administration and public order, like law, justice, and higher education, were improved by Louis IX., as they had been by his grandfather. Over the " *baillis* " and " *sénéchaux* " appointed by Philip II. — the provosts formed the lowest official rank—Louis placed the inspector class of " *enquêteurs* " ; and he issued the strongest regulations to prevent misuse of official power in the Ordonnance of 1254. As

the position of the royal officials had been thus raised, the smaller nobility aspired to that profession. In consequence, the lower stages of the feudal system were subjected to a disintegrating influence, which was increased by the prohibition, or by the limitation when prohibition was impossible, of the private feuds, duels,

and tournaments which were a vital point of the system. A feud could not be brought to the arbitrament of the sword before forty days from its announcement in order that the threatened person might have time to appeal to the king's court. Louis IX. thus actually effected those aims which the clergy had proposed in their " *truce of God*."

Owing to the undeveloped economic condition of the country, the royal income consisted chiefly of the produce of crown properties, which were administered by officials styled the " *bouteiller* " and the " *chambellan*." The first direct tax, apart from the " *taille* " and the capitation or poll-tax on the non-free, was proposed by Philip II. upon those who declined to take part in the Crusade of 1180. This tax amounted to 10 per cent. of each man's income or personal property, and was payable every year ; as the Crusade was directed against the Sultan Saladin, the tax gained the name of " *dîme saladinne*," or Saladin tithe. Apart from this exception, the taxes of that age were chiefly indirect and payable in kind ; it was not until the

time of Philip the Fair that a tax was imposed upon crown property, at first 1 per cent. and then 2 per cent. As the king's needs increased, the system of direct taxation became extended, and, with the growth of commercialism, payment in kind was naturally replaced by a payment in money.

As constitutionalism overpowered its most dangerous opponent, feudalism, so the prosperity of the towns inevitably increased and civic life developed. Of the French towns of the Middle Ages only a few can be connected with the one hundred and twelve civitates of Roman Gaul. Most of these latter had not survived the confusion of the barbarian migrations, but had been deserted or had dwindled away till they became mere " *castra*," fortified camps, of which the Romans had a great number in Gaul, as in all other provinces. It was only in the south that the Roman town system continued. Upon the remnants of the civitates, which were under the rule of the bishop, " *villa*," or townships, were often grafted, especially in the agricultural north of Gaul. The origin of the new towns is a matter of conjecture and cannot be determined with certainty. Their centre in every case was the castle of the feudal

The Life at the French Universities

An Era of Civic Prosperity

Restrictions Upon Duelling

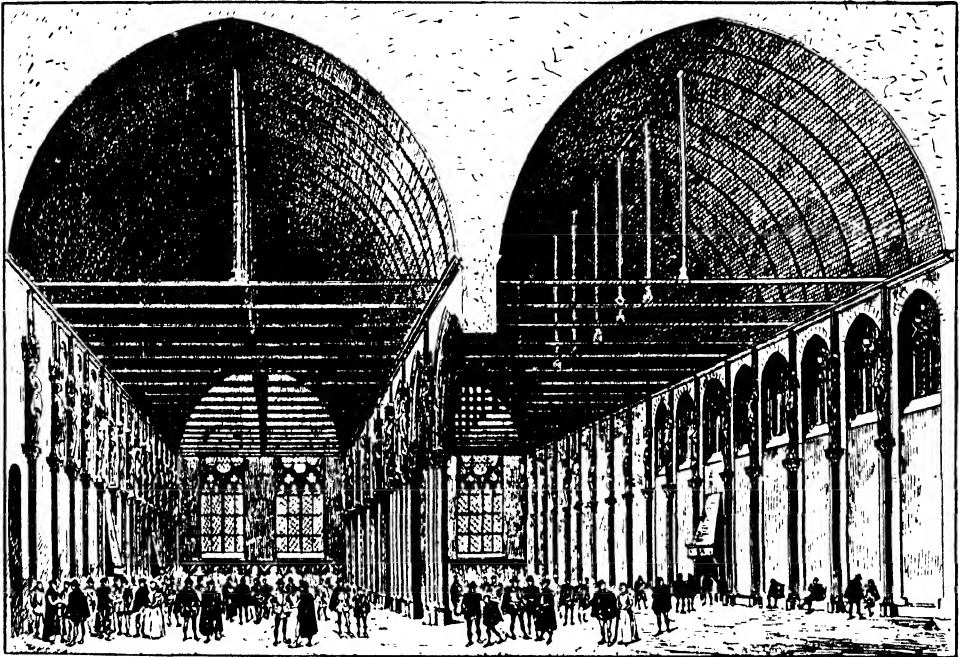
THE EVOLUTION OF MEDIÆVAL FRANCE

lord, or the seat of an abbot, round which gathered the settlements of the freemen, which were then enclosed with a wall. The Latin names for these new towns vary in the documents, in which they are mentioned as "burgus," or fortified town; "oppidum," a smaller town; "castellum," or "municipium," a community. Smaller groups of houses were known as "villæ" or "vici," villages.

The development of a town life such as had existed under the Roman Empire was greatly retarded by the agricultural economy which predominated throughout the Frankish age. The inhabitants of

were close to the dwelling-houses; they were, in short, insanitary villages.

Sanitation was then practically an unknown science. There was no inspection of public health, and the simplest precautions to prevent uncleanness, plague, and other public disasters, were non-existent. Houses and dwellings shrank from the outer world, as though afraid of light and air, while the little diamond windows of the rooms in front and behind admitted only the pestilential air of the narrow streets. The rooms in the middle of the houses, which served among other purposes as bed-rooms, were entirely dark,



GRAND HALL OF THE PALACE OF JUSTICE AT PARIS AS IT WAS IN MEDIÆVAL TIMES

the towns were forced to confine their energies to agriculture, cattle-breeding, or handicrafts; of trade and industry, or communication with the outer world, there was little or none. It was at most the market towns which became centres of intercourse with the outer world, and it was these in general which gave the first impulse to the foundation of town communities. Towns were narrow, with unpaved and badly lighted streets, and gloomy gabled houses, often entirely dark: with no open square except the market place, with no gardens, promenades, or pleasure grounds; the gates were closed at nightfall, and the stables and barns

or were lighted by the obscure passages which led to them. Only a few houses belonging to the nobles were in a tolerably sanitary condition.

Apart from this, the "free" towns were singularly destitute of freedom. Not only were they dependent upon bishops, abbots, feudal lords, and royal officials, but their guilds received a new-comer with strict and hostile exclusiveness, refused him access to any trade or profession, and exercised a ruthless control over his dependents, servants, apprentices, etc. Family life suffered no less from want of freedom and of intellectual progress. An improvement did not begin until the

eleventh century, when a commercial began to replace the agricultural economy. Trade and manufacture, intercourse and public life, began to develop, and new towns arose. The wandering traders, who had hitherto passed from place to place on rivers and high-roads, regarded with suspicion by the settled inhabitants, and conducting their business under the greatest difficulties, were now induced to settle permanently upon some favourable spot, whether under ecclesiastical or

secular government. Thus, in Verdun during the tenth century a self-contained trading colony was founded under one wall of the city and divided from the rest of the community by the river, over which two bridges provided communication for trade. These new citizens, the "bourgeois," as opposed to the old citizens, the "citoyens," were at first excluded from all partici-

pation in town administration, from the rights of the guilds or other privileges, were under the authority of a count or or viscount, and proceeded to form guilds, with their own officers and treasury.

This process was the beginning of their independence and of their later equality with the old citizens. The bourgeois secured the recognition of their own customary law, by means of "chartes de coutumes," and were able to buy their immunity from many of the feudal taxes imposed upon agricultural pursuits. The settlements in the town precincts grew steadily in number, their sign of freedom being a high watchtower, or "beffroi." All newcomers enjoyed the peace of the town and market.

All the citizens took a mutual oath of peace and enclosed themselves by walls built at the common expense. Now began their struggle for liberation from the supremacy of territorial owners,

ecclesiastical or civil, and their efforts to secure their due share of the administrative and legal privileges belonging to the privileged old citizens. At the head of the town corporation was a council of "échevins," a remnant of the Carolingian class of scabini—that is, doomsmen in the local court. The dignity of échevin was hereditary in certain old families. This council, with its elders and its presidents, decided questions of law, justice, and order, and defended the privileges of the

town against bishops, abbots, and the counts of the feudal nobility.

The new citizens, from the twelfth century onwards, proceeded to make their way into the town council, often by main force, and thus the old town corporations became communes of a more democratic, a freer, and a less stereotyped character. They had their special privileges, which were, however

subject to alteration. They were known in Northern France as "communes jurées," or sworn communities. After shaking off the yoke of the privileged citizens they had a severe struggle with the secular and ecclesiastical powers. They succeeded, however, in buying their freedom from the territorial owners, who were overwhelmed with debt by their own extravagance or by the expense of war; they were also able to secure the protection of the king, and thus to gain a confirmation of their communal rights through charters. If they could not

The Clergy's Opposition Explained

purchase freedom from the supremacy of the territorial lords, they fought for it with the help of the lower classes in the town or by themselves. These infant communes found their most bitter opponents in the ranks of the clergy, since they offered an asylum to many whose creed or morality had incurred the suspicion of



THE GALLOWES OF MONTFAUCON

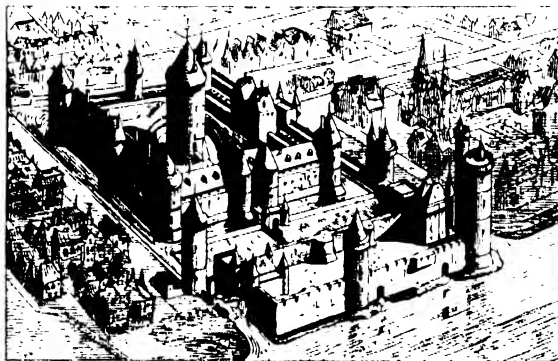
This gruesome-looking erection, the gallows of Montfaucon, was built by Enguerrand of Marigny about 1300 during the reign of Philip IV., when the growth of the bureaucracy was attended by many evils. Criminals were put to death on this gallows, and not infrequently their bodies were left hanging as a warning to others. Enguerrand was himself put to death thereon in the year 1315.

THE EVOLUTION OF MEDIAEVAL FRANCE

the Church. A Paris synod of 1213 and several Popes declared strongly against their existence within ecclesiastical districts; bishops forbade at times the administration of the citizen oath to the clergy, or preached from their pulpits against these "pestilential communities."

None the less the astute statesmanship of the French kings recognised that the communes were useful and valuable allies against the nobility and the Church. Louis VII. (1137-1180) readily granted charters to those towns which were not immediately subordinate to him, though his officials and financial administrators put the more pressure upon the communes which stood upon the royal demesne. Philip Augustus kept a careful watch over the royal towns through his "baillis" and supervisors, but readily sold charters at a high price to the towns of his vassals. Louis IX. continually found legal pretexts for interfering in the jurisdiction and administration of the towns.

The number of cases requiring to be brought before the parliament for decision ("cas royaux") was arbitrarily increased; the royal accountants carefully examined the financial administration of the towns, and severe penalties were imposed in cases of refusal or resistance. Philip the Fair made no attempt to limit the charters, but exhausted the prosperity of the towns by arbitrary extortion, since he required much money for his wars. Cruel punishment was



THE LOUVRE IN THE TIME OF THE CAPETS

inflicted upon such revolts as that of Carcassonne in August, 1305; the interference of his officials in the administrative powers of royal and of non-royal towns proved a serious obstacle to their development.

Thus during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the prospects of the communes were not particularly brilliant. The towns had no entire power of jurisdiction, for individual quarters, which had been founded upon ecclesiastical or feudal property, came under the jurisdiction of a bishop, a chapter, or a feudal lord.

The natural result was a constant succession of quarrels and attempts to shake off these impediments. The new citizens also misused their power as the old had done, and refused to grant a share of the town administration to new settlers. To these obstacles must be added the extortion of the crown officials. Later, the confusion of the Hundred

Years' War against England also injured the prosperity of the towns and forced them to procure the protection of the crown by surrendering their rights. These wounds, however, were largely healed by peace, the new impetus given to trade, the commercial connections secured by foreign treaties, and the reorganisation of the taxes when the horrors of war had been brought to a conclusion. Splendid town halls, churches, and private dwellings bear witness to the wealth of the towns after 1450. None the less, obstacles to communications and the difficulty of market trade remained as before. Business was hampered by the tolls levied along the rivers and roads; on the Loire, between Roanne and Nantes, seventy-two separate tolls had to be paid. No less complicated

were the market dues, which had been framed with the special object of excluding foreign competition. The roads, moreover, were in the worst possible condition and were infested with highwaymen and all kinds of robbers. Next to the statesmanlike

policy of the kings, the strongest impulse to the prosperity of the towns was given by the Crusades. Nobles who were starting for the Holy Land sold properties and privileges to the towns that they might have ready money for their journey; moreover, the relations which thus connected France with the East, especially after the Crusade of Louis IX., between 1248 and 1250, made the coast towns centres of Eastern trade. The passage of Crusaders and pilgrims brought great wealth to Marseilles; and far-seeing merchants seized the opportunity of settling



AMIENS' BEAUTIFUL CATHEDRAL
 Built in the thirteenth century, the magnificent cathedral of Amiens is one of the finest examples of Gothic architecture in existence.

in Syrian harbours and securing a kind of monopoly for the importation of spices, scents, fabrics, etc., from the East to the south and centre of France.

The southern towns carried on a profitable trade in the products and manufactures of the East, and exported, with less advantage, their own fruits and manufactures to Syria, Egypt, and Constantinople. The fabrics of Narbonne, Perpignan, Toulouse, and other places competed successfully with Italian rivalry. The raw material was brought from Catalonia and the north coast of Africa. Cloth weaving also became a flourishing industry in North France, in Troyes, Rheims, Paris, Rouen, while linen weaving was practised in Burgundy, in the Franche-Comté, and in the neighbourhood of Avignon, and formed an important export to the East.

Maritime trade centred chiefly in the Mediterranean ports. Upon the Atlantic, Bordeaux, Honfleur, and La Rochelle exported wine to England and Flanders, receiving wool in return. Of the market towns in the interior the most famous were Troyes and Beaucaire. At the two yearly markets of Troyes, Italians and Germans bought woven fabrics, leather, weapons, armour, metal work, horses, and other commodities.

The most successful traders at that time were the Jews and the Lombards. The pious Louis IX. issued an ordinance against their usurious practices in 1269, for he regarded the exaction of interest as entirely sinful. These and other



THE FAMOUS ABBEY OF ST. DENIS IN PARIS

This fine religious edifice was made a royal burial-place by Louis IX., and here were laid all the predecessors of that king from Dagobert I.

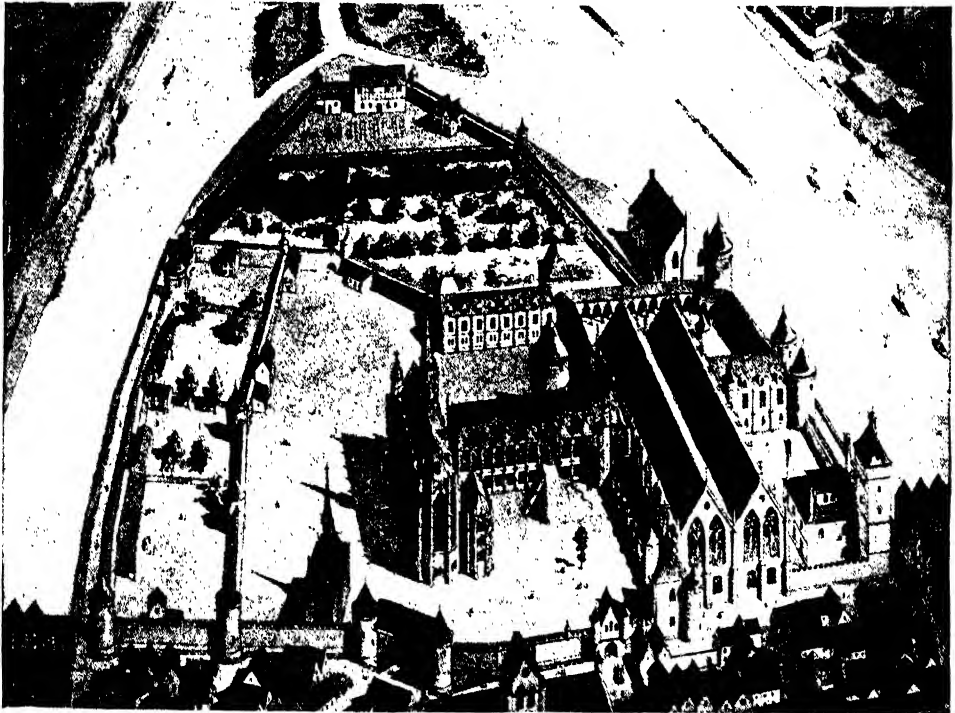
THE EVOLUTION OF MEDIÆVAL FRANCE

measures, however, produced no more effect than did the expulsions and persecutions of the Jews, which were not instigated by the princes and the Church, who profited by the sums which the Jews paid to secure their protection, and required them in any case as money changers; these outbreaks were rather the expression of popular passion, inspired by envy and greed no less than by religious animosity.

Notwithstanding his strong ecclesiasticism, Louis IX. did a great deal to further trade and communication. He arranged

measures to promote trade. The latter had conferred important privileges upon the presidents and échevins of the guilds in Paris, giving them rights of jurisdiction in trade disputes; he had relieved Orléans and other crown towns from oppressive taxation, and had conferred privileges upon smaller communes.

The position of the towns within the body politic varied greatly. Royal "communes" were self-governing, imposed their own taxes, and possessed "la basse justice." In token of these privileges they were allowed a corporate seal; they were



THE ROYAL PALACES OF PARIS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

that in his demesnes the assessment of taxes, tolls, and coinage should be concluded only under the advice of deputies from the towns, that the administration of town property and the apportionment of communal taxes, especially of the "taille," should be entrusted to a committee chosen from the citizens. In Paris he caused the Prévôt of the merchants, Etienne Boileau, to reduce the principles and customs of the several trades to writing, in a work entitled the "Livre des Métiers." He also threw open the towns to those manumitted serfs who might wish to enter, and followed the example of his grandfather in his

obliged, however, to provide military contingents and to pay taxes to the crown. The "villes de bourgeois" were in a less favourable position, possessing neither jurisdiction nor self-government. They too were for the most part subject to the king as their territorial and feudal lord. The "villes neuves" were dependent upon prelates or the greater nobles, and were merely market towns, with a right of refuge which attracted malcontents and those who feared the vengeance of the Church. The administration of the towns was in the hands of the communal council. In the south administration was exercised

by a board of "consuls." The communal council was composed of "échevins," or "pairs," "jurats," "syndics," or "capitouls." In some cases these were assisted by a committee of citizens, nearly corresponding to a modern town council. The numbers of this committee varied. In Marseilles it amounted to 80, in

Paris as the Capital of France

Bordeaux to 300, and they were known as "défenseurs." Individual towns were administered by a chosen citizen, the "maire." Most of the towns held the right, conferred upon them by the king, of levying the "octroi" duty — from "octroyer," to guarantee — upon certain goods carried into or through the town; thus ten per cent. was levied upon wine.

For a time the representatives of the towns had no share in the administration of the state. It was not until 1302 that they were summoned by Philip the Fair to the States General, as he then required their presence for the imposition of fresh customs and taxes; in 1308 270 towns were thus represented. As the kingdom became a unified state, so did Paris become the recognised capital. Hitherto the dingy town of Lutetia had been surpassed by other larger towns in trade, in public institutions, in the beauty of its buildings, and the wealth and number of its inhabitants. The Capets were the first to give the capital an appearance worthy of it. Philip Augustus lighted the streets and paved the centre of them, surrounded the town with a wide circle of walls and towers, and built market halls surrounded by walls. He removed his court from the oldest and unhealthiest part, the Ile de la Cité, to the right bank of the river, and from the island castle to the Louvre.

Louis IX. decorated Paris with splendid buildings devoted to the service of God and Christian charity. He built the Sainte Chapelle in the early Gothic style, as

What Paris Owes to St. Louis

a shrine to receive the crown of thorns, which was sent to him from Constantinople by the Emperor Baldwin II. in exchange for 11,000 pounds of silver (£50,000). Here, during Holy Week, he showed the relic to the people, acting as a priest. Henceforward Paris became the centre of noble society, of festivals, shows, and tournaments; travelling merchants, mountebanks and tumblers were naturally attracted. The inhabitants numbered

200,000 at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and steadily increased, while the prosperity of the citizens was improved by the number of foreigners, and especially by the university students, who entered the town.

The king and people vied in their effort to make the town an attractive resort for these thousands of scholars. Among other privileges they were granted the right of giving place upon the pavement to no one except the Prévôt des Marchands. Upon one occasion they caused an uproar, asserting that the wine in the suburban inns was undrinkable, and that the town authorities had imprisoned several of the ringleaders, whereupon the king ordered the liberation of the captives and the provision of better wine. The Abbey of St. Denis, in which was preserved the Oriflamme, the war banner of red cloth with green silk tassels, fastened on a golden lance, was made a royal burial-place by Louis IX., and here were laid all his predecessors from Dagobert I. The Abbot Suger (1081-1155), who advised Louis VI. with equal talent

**Paris the
Residence of
the Kings** upon matters of art, science, and government, had already decorated this early specimen of Gothic architecture with paintings on glass, depicting the exploits of the Crusaders, and to these were afterwards added paintings of the life and deeds of Louis IX.

The kings no longer changed their capitals as they had done during the age of agricultural economy; Paris became their permanent residence. Here they were surrounded by a band of high court officials. There were five chief officials, the Sénéchal, the Chancellor, the Bouteiller, the Connétable, and the Chambrier. These offices were held as fiefs by the high nobility, and were practically hereditary; the object of the kings was to place them as far as possible in commission by entrusting their responsibilities to ecclesiastical or secular nominees, who were thus dependent only upon themselves.

In this way, as under Charles the Great, was formed a professional class of court officials, in which the first place belonged to the lawyers and the jurists, known as chevaliers ès lois, knights of the law, to distinguish them from knights of noble blood. Of the high feudal offices there remained only those of Connétable, or commander of the army, the Chambrier,



ST. LOUIS IN SOLEMN PROCESSION BEARING THE CROWN OF THORNS TO THE CATHEDRAL OF NOTRE DAME IN PARIS
When the kingdom of France became a unified state in the beginning of the fourteenth century, Paris was recognised as the capital. Splendid buildings rapidly sprang up, many of these being erected by Louis IX., who devoted them to the service of God. Among these was the Sainte Chapelle, built in the early Gothic style, which the king founded as a shrine to receive the alleged crown of thorns worn by Christ at His crucifixion. During Holy Week, acting as a priest, Louis exhibited the relic to the people, and carried it in procession to Notre Dame.

and Bouteiller. The number of the chancery officials, the notaries and seal keepers, increased, as did that of the lawyers and parliamentary officials. A special room was assigned in the law courts to these attorneys as their meeting room. The clerks and the huissiers gradually became a close corporation, "La Basoche." Certain committees of the parliament were regularly sent into the provinces to hold assizes at Troyes, Rouen, and other places. The growth of this bureaucracy, which was due chiefly to Philip IV., the Fair (1285-1314), naturally had its bad side, which was marked by an increased taxation and a conjoined attempt to secure money in any manner. The king was ready to sell letters of freedom to serfs; for a piece of land conferred upon them which could be sown with 1 septier of corn (— 3½ gallons, also known as "setier de terre") a payment was made of 12 deniers or 1 sou. The king also took refuge in such devices as the debasing of the coinage (1306-1311), the sale of offices, and the plundering of Jewish and Lombard money-lenders.

The debasing of the coinage reduced the value of a "livre tournois" from 20 francs to about six, while the "livre Parisien" was still further reduced. When these financial operations proved inadequate, Philip the Fair, with the consent of the States General—that is, of the noble, ecclesiastical, and citizen deputies—imposed fresh taxation in addition to the "impôt foncier"; these were taxes upon goods of three per cent., the "matote," the army tax or "aide de l'ost," and numerous feudal aids. He also exacted forced loans from towns and church properties.

The great vassals made constant attempts to reduce the royal power to its former position of nonentity. The opportunities they required recurred upon every accession to the crown, especially upon that of a minor. The barons revolted against Louis VI. when their plan of a new royal election was anticipated by a hasty coronation at Rheims; they had desired to set upon the throne a prince born of the marriage of Philip I. with Bertha of Holland, which the Church did

not recognise, as she had been divorced by the king. The rebels found an ally in Henry I. of England, who invaded Normandy. Supported by the capacity and insight of Abbot Suger, Louis gained the upper hand of his opponents and secured the subjection even of the marauding knights, who refused to obey the decision of the royal court. Louis' relative, Pope Calixtus II., excommunicated the emperor, Henry V., from Rheims, and then secured a reconciliation with England. More serious was the revolt of the vassals against Louis IX., in his minority, and his mother the queen-regent, Blanche of Castile. The rebels attempted to capture the thirteen-year-old prince at Montlhéry; he, however, was saved by the faithful citizens of Paris, who ran together at the sound of the alarm bells. The unity of the nobles was then broken by the fact that Count Thibaut of Champagne espoused the cause of his beloved queen and bravely defended her against the rebels.

In 1241 a fresh revolt broke out under the leadership of Hugh of Lusignan, the Count of La Marche, who found allies in Raimond of Toulouse and King Henry III. of England. Louis, how-

The Feeble Louis X. on the Throne ever, drove the Plantagenet, who then held a good deal of Western France as a fief, to take flight to Bordeaux, captured part of the count's territory, and concluded the war, in 1243, by a truce for five and a half years; at the same time he forced those barons who were in feudal relations with both the English and the French crowns to renounce one or other of these incompatible allegiances. The majority left their foreign feudal lord, who was also a vassal of the French king, though England was an independent kingdom.

The ambitious designs of the feudatories revived upon the death of Philip the Fair in 1314, when his feeble and pleasure-loving son, Louis X., ascended the throne. He was obliged to limit the privileges of the king's high court of justice, to guarantee the old privileges of the nobles, and to exclude the intendant of finance, Enguerrand of Marigny, his father's faithful adviser. The decline of the royal power during the Hundred Years' War with England and its restoration by Charles VII. and Louis XI. belong to future chapters.

England's King Invades Normandy The opportunities they required recurred upon every accession to the crown, especially upon that of a minor. The barons revolted against Louis VI. when their plan of a new royal election was anticipated by a hasty coronation at Rheims; they had desired to set upon the throne a prince born of the marriage of Philip I. with Bertha of Holland, which the Church did



FRANCE AS THE LAND OF LIBERTY THE SOCIAL LIFE UNDER THE CAPETS

TOGETHER with the spirit of feudalism and the growth of corporations, the French body politic, as already described, displayed the characteristics of a modern bureaucracy and was marked by a certain uniformity. A wholly different factor meets us when we consider social life and its expression in art and poetry. Here we are immediately confronted by a line of demarcation dividing the country into two parts, distinct in language, society, and politics; these are the north, which was essentially Teutonic, and the south, which was essentially Romance, the linguistic areas of the "langue d'oïl" and the "langue d'oc," separated by the Loire. We also meet with a number of strictly exclusive classes, the ecclesiastical, the high nobility, the knights developed from the smaller nobility, the citizens, and the "menu peuple." The princes of the house of Hugh Capet had been constantly obliged to defend their

The Church Against the Princes

rights against the Church and the papacy, and in their struggles enjoyed the general support of the national clergy; but science and literature, exactly at the point where the influence of the crown was most immediate, display the inward unity of ecclesiastical belief and of intellectual power and the close adherence of the clergy to the doctrines and uses of the Church.

It is true that the theology and philosophy of the hierarchy of Northern France display freer thought and the power of independent judgment. Berengar of Tours, for example, who died in 1088, opposed the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation. His contemporary Lanfranc, a Lombard by birth, had been the leader of a dogmatic school in Normandy since 1042, and was made Archbishop of Canterbury by William the Conqueror; Berengar attempted to replace the supernaturalist theology by a more philosophical system. Within the limits of scholasticism Peter Abelard was a distinguished figure, and is better

known for his tragical connection with his pupil Héloïse than for his "Introduction to Theology," which was condemned by the synod of Soissons in 1121; his views brought him into violent conflict in 1140 with Pope Innocent II., and with that zealous defender of the faith, Bernard of Clairvaux. The power of the Church over human thought was shown by a number of new monastic foundations. Benedictine foundations had been scattered broadcast over France during the sixth century; to these were added in 1098 Cistercians in the forest monastery of Cîteaux in the Côte d'Or. At the outset they renounced the pleasures of the world and lived only in mystical communion with God, though they also deserve credit for the impulse they gave to gardening and vine cultivation. Under St. Bernard the order rose with such rapidity that its centre was transferred in 1115 from Cîteaux to the new foundation of Clairvaux on the Aube; on Bernard's death the order embraced 160 monasteries.

Rise of Monastic Orders

The struggle against earthly and sinful desires, the ideals of self-renunciation and purification, were also pursued by the Carthusians—of La Chartreuse—founded in 1084, by Bruno, at Grenoble in Southern France; their rule imposed silence, the wearing of a hair shirt and total abstinence from wine, and advised the pursuit of science. The same principles actuated the more distinguished Premonstratensian foundation, whose first monastery was situated in the wooded meadows of Prémontré near Laon in 1119.

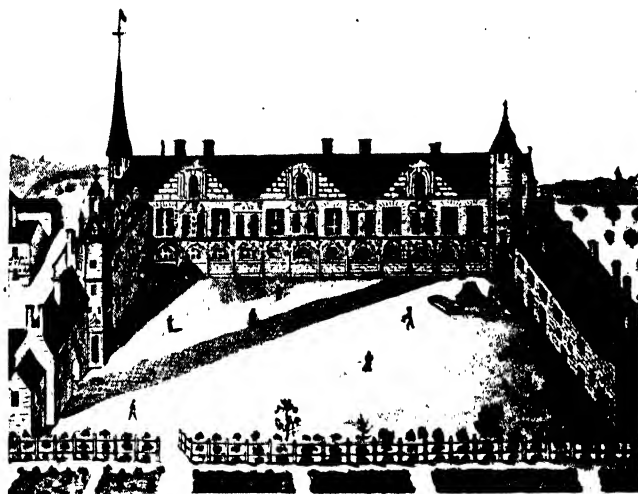
Importance of the Dominicans

These three orders, which were native to France, were eventually outstripped in importance and dimensions by the Dominicans and Franciscans, who came in from Spain and Italy, and whose organisation belongs to the second decade of the thirteenth century. The Dominicans occupied themselves with the task of higher education,

with the management of the Inquisition, which was especially active in Southern France, and with the extirpation of the Albigenses and Waldenses; the Franciscans gained a great hold on the lower

to society; these were introduced from the East Roman Empire by sectaries, the Bogumiles and Cathari, whose degeneracy and indiscretion led to extravagances which permeated the whole of Southern France.

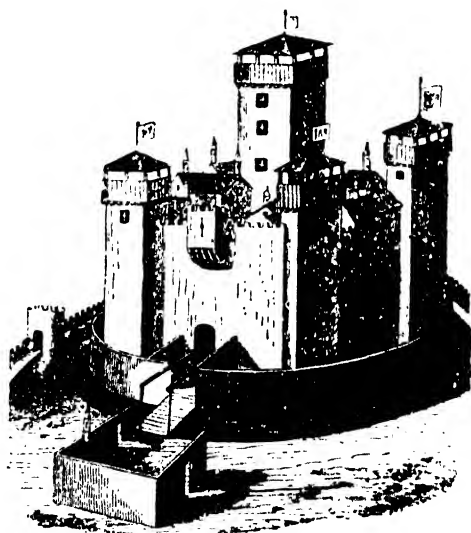
In France, as elsewhere, knights were originally drawn from the ranks of the lower nobility, who possessed no property, and were in the service of some ecclesiastical or secular noble; for pecuniary reward they passed from the service of one lord to another, and were occasionally occupied with highway robbery and plunder. But among the more highly educated and talented of this class there were men who combined the professions of singer and poet, who passed from castle to castle and sang the praises of their host and the honour of his ladies in their remote and desolate



THE CASTLE OF PLESSIS, NEAR TOURS, AS IT WAS

fortress, receiving in return presents of money and festival entertainment. These harmless parasites of society were known as "jongleurs," and were at the

classes as preachers and confessors. The Inquisition was a tool which served both the ecclesiastical and the political unity of France; under the excuse of protecting the purity of the faith, powerful opponents or rivals of the royal power were occasionally exterminated, such as the Counts of Toulouse (1207-1229) and the Knights Templars (1307-1313). Northern France presented a more exclusive front to the outer world than Southern, where great harbours were connected by trade with the west, and where great and populous sea towns were centres of the world's commerce; hence the effects of the Crusades were far stronger in the south than in the north. The knightly class then became the exponent of poetry and deprived the clergy of some portion of their influence upon the intellectual development of the nobles; the crusading movement also gave them a tendency to idealism, a burning enthusiasm for bold deeds, a devouring ambition, and a stainless sense of honour. On the other hand, this movement gave an impulse to the taste for outward show, for adventurous enterprise, for purposeless attempts to gain reputation, and for the trifling game of love. At the same time were disseminated the seeds of those heresies which were equally dangerous to the Church and



A TYPICAL FEUDAL CASTLE OF FRANCE

same time performers on musical instruments, wandering singers, and begging poets. A change took place after the Crusades, when great lords and even kings devoted themselves to the service of love



A BALLAD-SINGING COMPETITION IN THE DAYS OF THE TROUBADOURS

Drawn from the ranks of the lower nobility, the knights of France served the ecclesiastical or secular lords for pecuniary reward, and were occasionally engaged in highway robbery and plunder. But those who were more highly educated and gifted found other spheres for their talents. Combining the professions of singer and poet, they passed from one castle to another singing the praises of their hosts. After the Crusades, great lords and even kings devoted themselves to the service of love and song, and entered into keen rivalry for the laurels of the singer and the poet.

and song, entered into rivalry for the laurels of the knight and poet, fought in tournaments, and settled personal quarrels according to the customs of knighthood. Hence developed in Southern France the numerous and highly gifted class of the troubadours (inventors or poets), and in the north the less numerous "trouvères." The jongleurs became mere singers and accompanists, who followed their distinguished poetical patrons upon their journeys of love and song, to perform their compositions or to accompany them upon the harp, zither, or viola.

The first important troubadour was the adventurous Count William IX. of Poitiers, who died in 1127; his disgust with the

stiffness and affectation of court life finds scornful, bitter, and at times wearied expression in his poems. The most famous of his followers was Bertran de Born, who died about 1215 in a monastery, one of the most

political of the troubadours, and the author of many "sirventes," satirical songs or lampoons intended to serve a cause which the author considered just. This singer, who belonged to a noble family — Autafort, near Périgueux —



A GROUP OF THE FAMOUS TROUBADOURS

These old miniatures show some of the great poets and singers of mediæval France, known as Troubadours. The first is Perdigon, a knight in the service of the Dauphin of Auvergne; next comes the Monk of Montaudon, the son of a noble family; in the third figure we see Albertet, the son of a jongleur, while the last is that of Marcabru, a pupil of Cercamons.

turned his high gifts and personal charm to ill account by stimulating the princes Henry and Richard Lionheart to revolt against their father, Henry II. of England, thus evoking a series of cruel wars all over French

soil from the Garonne to the mouth of the Seine, which district included those fiefs then possessed by the English king in France.

Dante in his "Divina Commedia" places Bertran as the author of civil strife in the pit of hell, where he finds himself in distinguished company with other poets. Bertran was not merely the trumpet-toned singer of military themes; he was also a sympathetic and tender composer of love songs, and he throws the chief responsibility for the wickedness of the times upon the clergy. The anti-clericalism of the *serventes* is still more obvious in the case of Guilhem Figueira, a poet of low birth. The highest point of the Southern French lyric poetry is represented by men who are for the most part of unblemished reputation; it lasted about one hundred years, and the principal figures are such men as Bernart of Vendadour, who died about 1200, a protégé of the Count of Poitiers, Arnaut Daniel, whose name was sung by Dante and Petrarch, and Guiraut de Bornelh, who died about 1220 -- "the master of the *troubadours*."

This age, short as it was, produced a many-sided lyric poetry of love and shepherd songs of elaborate canzone with effective refrains, of careful and over-elaborate rhythms and rhymes; it also exercised a permanent influence upon the German *minnesingers* and upon the poetry of Dante.

In the second half of the thirteenth century the knightly class began to degenerate into rudeness of manner and cupidity. The tournament became a brawl and love poetry an unnatural, unmeaning, and often immoral word-play. The Albigensian wars (1208-1229) deprived the nobility of Southern France of their political power and of their great wealth, and therefore made their patronage and their presents to singers and poets things of the past. Crusades, commanded by papal legates, ended in the most cruel persecution and extermination of the

Waldenses and their chief patrons among the nobles and princes, stifled all freedom of life and thought, and put an end to the delights of society and to the enthusiasm for art. Southern France had formerly been a centre of intellectual life, ready to receive all new discoveries, whether they came from the East or from Spain and Italy; it now became an isolated desert, broken only by the passionate denunciations of heresy.

The lyric poetry of Northern France is far inferior to that of the south; on the other hand, the epic poetry of the south

cannot be compared with the productions of the half-Teutonic north. Hence lyric poetry to the north of the Loire is, in form and contents, merely a feeble echo of the south, and its representatives, the *trouvères* and *ministres*, are but feeble imitators of the southern poets and singers. The only important figure is Count Thibaut of Champagne, who was King of Navarre from 1234; he gained reputation as a poet of love songs, religious songs, and hymns to the Virgin, though in his case elaboration of form replaced the vital spark of genius. The character of the Northern Frenchmen was matter-of-fact rather than fantastic or emotional, and inclined more to the free and occasionally immoral *fabliau* than to the chivalrous poem of love.

None the less, the north retained a strong and capable nucleus of chivalry, and was preserved from southern degeneration until the fourteenth century. The education and training of the knight was ostensibly founded upon that of the monk;

How the Knights were Trained

in fact, the age of the Crusades had united the ideals of the knightly and ecclesiastical career in the persons of ecclesiastical orders of knights. The young noble who was intended for a knight was sent at an early age to his lord's castle, even as the novice was educated from childhood within the walls of the monastery and



A FRENCH KNIGHT OF THE EARLY THIRTEENTH CENTURY

FRANCE AS THE LAND OF LIBERTY

prepared for the future duties of his order. Until his fourteenth year he stood midway between the servants and companions of the household. He waited at table, went errands for his master, accompanied him when hunting or travelling, and performed duties also for his mistress. He then became a squire and his master's armour bearer, practised riding, the use of arms, and all knightly pursuits. He received the accolade in his twenty-first year with the observance of certain religious formalities. The previous night (*la veille*) was spent by the squire in the chapel in prayer; in the morning he took the bath of purification, and after several hours' rest, was clothed in red and white garments. The time of rest was to symbolise his future state of rest in Paradise, the white garment his moral purity, and the red, the battles in which he would have to shed his blood. From the priest's hands he received the knight's sword on his knees before the altar, and made his vows. He then received from some distinguished noble, in the presence of witnesses, the blow on the shoulder or neck which dubbed him knight.

The religious character even of this secular chivalry was expressed in the struggles for Christianity against the heathen—for as such the adherents of Mahomet were reckoned by the Church of the time—and in the protection of widows and orphans, of the oppressed and defenceless; at the same time ideal theories of honour and love were constantly disturbed by entirely secular thoughts. The conception of honour appears rather as the honour of a class or profession than that of a person. A knight who had been guilty of base dealing or common offence, or had shown himself cowardly in battle, was expelled, publicly denounced by a herald, and cursed by the Church, his coat of arms and his weapons were broken by the executioner, his shield was bound to the

tail of his horse and destroyed by the animal in the course of its wild career.

During the better period of the chivalrous movement the robbery of merchants and of monasteries was naturally avoided, as was any infringement of the property of others. Practice in the use of arms could be gained not only in campaigns and feuds, but also in tournaments, the organisation of which was the result of the Crusades. These took place in the presence of ladies, who gave their praises to the victors and whose colours were worn by the knights, so that the whole proceeding was connected with courtly life. In the French tournaments thousands often fought; men were killed and wounded, though the laws of the tournament insisted that only blunted weapons should be used, and that the struggle should end when the opponent had been thrown from his horse. The need for some sign by which knights could distinguish one another, as their lowered visors made recognition impossible, led to the use of coats of arms, which were hereditary in a family; there was some outward sign upon the helmet, the shield, and the surcoat, consisting either of an animal or some other device.

The knight did not trouble himself greatly with learning. He occasionally knew some foreign languages and was almost always a clever player on the zither. Reading and writing were unknown accomplishments to him. This lack of education, as is invariably the case, led to a disregard of the refinements of life and produced an inclination to drunkenness and gambling, to cruelty towards subordinates and prisoners, and even towards wife and children. The castles were usually restricted in space, as they were thus more defensible; the main room was the knight's hall, and here the lords lived, especially in winter, in great lack of occupation, cut off from all refining

An Age when Chivalry Flourished



A FRENCH KNIGHT OF THE LATER THIRTEENTH CENTURY

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The Strict Code of the Knights

A knight who had been guilty of base dealing or common offence, or had shown himself cowardly in battle, was expelled, publicly denounced by a herald, and cursed by the Church, his coat of arms and his weapons were broken by the executioner, his shield was bound to the

influences. They ate without knives or forks, with fingers or wooden spoons, sat upon benches or stools, and had little or no light when darkness came; in cold weather the heating of the rooms was generally defective. Instead of windows, they had openings in the walls, which, in bad weather, or for the protection against cold, were closed with shutters.

The education of the knights was but scanty, better provision in this respect being made for their wives and daughters. Ladies of good birth were often able to read and write, and sometimes even knew Latin or some other foreign tongue; they were clever at needlework, cooking, and the preparation of medicine, and were distinguished especially by courtly manners and refined modesty. Food and clothing in knightly families, apart from festival occasions or drinking bouts, from which women were excluded, were very simple, as their supplies depended upon the chase, the fish pond, the vegetable garden, the produce sent in by the serfs, or the small beer brewed in the castle brewery; foreign wines appeared only after the Crusades. Clothing, for the most part, was home-made also.

The service of ladies, peculiar to chivalry, bore within itself the germ of degeneration in so far as it was carried on not only by unmarried but by married knights, usually devoted to some married woman, for whom adventures were undergone, tournaments fought, though sometimes the fair one was entirely unknown or purely imaginary. The result was an unnatural and affected subtlety, which destroyed a movement contributing largely at the outset to the development of courtly manners and culture.

Chivalry, like the feudal system in general, was wholly incompatible with the conception of a uniform state as planned by the Capets. Instead of devoting their strength and their forces to their king and country, adventurous knights went fighting throughout the world, in Spain or in the East, against the "heathen," in

the civil wars of England, or in Italy or Sicily, whither they were attracted by the possibility of gaining lands and money; here Charles of Anjou, the chivalrous brother of Louis IX., won Naples and Sicily from the declining family of the Hohenstauffen. Hence it was fortunate for France that this restless and adventurous class was destroyed by internal disruption and degeneration, and became robber knights, lost life and property in the Crusades, or perished on foreign soil before the invention of gunpowder, when the consequent change of military tactics entirely put an end to their existence.

The guidance of French literature passed from the hands of the clergy to the knights, first in poetry and afterwards in history. The earlier poems of Northern France are of a narrative and legendary

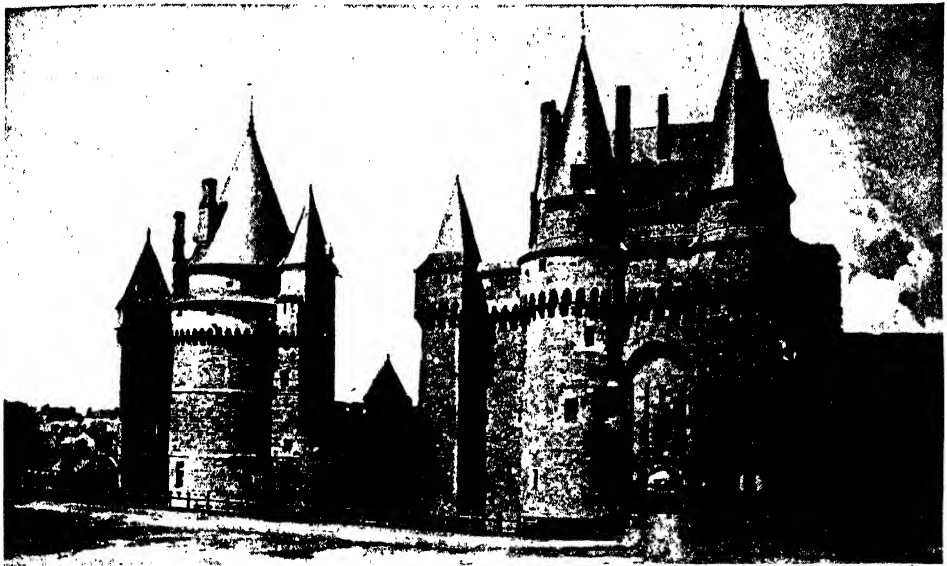
character, and deal principally with Christ and His Apostles, the Virgin Mary, the saints and martyrs of the Church, remarkable conversions, and lives of an edifying character. With the beginning of the Crusades the subject-matter is extended, and no longer confined to the immediate environment of the writer; the scene of action is often laid

in the East. It is not until the age of the Crusades that the chivalrous epic begins its career.

The personality of Charlemagne, which had now become fabulous, was first brought into local connection with the East as a result of the disagreeable reception accorded to the first Crusaders by the Byzantine Greeks and their emperor, Alexius; this connection appears in the Alexandrian poem "*Comment Charles de France vint en Jérusalem*." Charles is said to have started under the influence of his wife's pride to measure his power with Hugo of Constantinople, a king who is supposed to have been more powerful. He makes a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, where God does miracles for him and gives him the chief relics of the Passion, which he causes to be preserved in St. Denis. In Constantinople



MOUNTED KNIGHT OF THE 12TH CENTURY



MAIN ENTRANCE AND TOWER OF ST. LAWRENCE AT THE CASTLE OF VITRÉ



REMAINS OF FALAISE CASTLE, BIRTHPLACE OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR



THE MASSIVE OUTER WALLS OF THE CASTLE OF CARCASSONE

SOME OF THE GREAT STRONGHOLDS OF MEDIÆVAL FRANCE

he sees that Hugo is inferior to himself ; his companions mock at the Byzantine and his Greeks, but are preserved by Divine Providence from the misfortunes which they had deserved. Here we have clearly a Crusader's conception of his own fortunes. The influence of Crusading ideas is also obvious in the description of

French Heroes of an Earlier Day

the great emperor, ascribed to Archbishop Turpin of Rheims, but really composed at the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century ; this was the "*Historia de vita Caroli magni et Rolandi ejus nepotis*," which dealt with his struggles with the unbelievers in Spain, the heroic death of Roland, the warden of the Breton March, in the valley of Roncesvalles, and the treachery of Ganelon ; the latter subject is also treated in the Latin poem concerning the treachery of Ganelon. The figure of Charles is sometimes modelled on that of Christ, and his twelve paladins correspond to the twelve disciples ; he also appears as an idealised Crusader.

The model for Ganelon's character seems to have been the treacherous and voluble Greek who, in the opinion of the Crusaders betrayed by him, was in secret connection with the infidels. This chronicle was soon translated into the dialect of the Isle de France, which from the twelfth century onwards became a more uniform literary language. The subject of this somewhat poetical cycle was reduced to writing in its earliest form about 1090 as the "*Chanson de Geste de Roland*." It was an amalgamation of older poems, perhaps fragments from Charles' lost collection of epics, and was edited in its present form about 1170 by the minstrel Turol ; the hero resembles the Teutonic warrior rather than the Crusader inspired by religious ideals. In comparison with Roland, the Emperor Charles is a somewhat feeble figure, and is

The Great Charles in Poetry

depicted rather as a querulous old man than as the bold and energetic restorer of the empire. The character drawing is elementary, and produced by the simplest means and often by nothing more than the conventional adjective. The lights and shadows are distributed unequally. On the one side we see subtlety and cunning, on the other invincible heroism and supernatural power, friendship and fidelity to death, and heartrending grief, inspired by

the warmest patriotism, for the death of so many nobles. The poem arose within the area of the Norman dialect, and was intended to celebrate the praises of the Breton race, to which the historical Roland belongs. Several other narratives from the Carolingian cycle describe the battles of Charles with his disobedient vassals, apparently modelled upon that war of suppression which the Capets waged against the feudal nobility of the twelfth century. As the poets belong to the retinues of the great lords who were conquered, they are invariably found in sympathy with the losing side.

About the middle of the twelfth century a fresh body of material for French epic poetry was provided from England and Brittany. In the sixth century the Britons had retreated from modern Britain before the Anglo-Saxons and brought with them their legends of King Arthur and the heroes of the round table ; these stories had also been disseminated by Geoffrey of Monmouth, who was for some time in French service, in his "*Historia Britannie*," or "*Historia Britonum*," com-

posed before 1135. In the
**King Arthur
and the
Holy Grail** "*Roman de Brut*" of Robert Wace, Arthur, like the legendary Charlemagne, is represented as the chief of twelve peers, and as accomplishing marvellous exploits with these bold knights. The religious element was introduced into this cycle by the amalgamation of the Arthur traditions with the legend of the Holy Grail.

The best known of these Grail epics is the "*Perceval*" of Chrestien de Troyes, a poet acquainted with Latin authors and especially with Ovid ; his works were composed at the courts of Champagne and Flanders between 1155 and 1188. In this epic is shown the picture of a knight inspired by religious enthusiasm and moral purity, without fear or reproach, which is expressed in a series of adventures, and at times in exquisite form ; the same poet in his "*Chevalier de la Charette*" (*Lancelot*) and in his "*Tristan*," which is now lost, depicts two knights of more human character, who are made traitors or weaklings by the seductions of love. The remarkable versatility of this epic poet appears in another form in the love epic of "*Erec and Enite*" and the "*Chevalier au Lion*." Love is here a source of true heroism and chivalrous spirit. Chrestien thus displays a series of knightly crusades

FRANCE AS THE LAND OF LIBERTY

in their most different forms, especially as affected by the service of love, which may bring either destruction or blessing.

Two German epic poets entered into the labours of Chrestien, Hartmann von Aue, the author of "Erec" about 1190 and of "Iwein" about 1200, and Gottfried of Strassburg, the author of "Tristan and Isolde" about 1210. Wolfram von Eschenbach in his "Parzival" shortly after 1200 uses the material which appears in Chrestien's poem of the same name, and follows his model very closely. Connected with the Grail legends is also the Lorraine poem of the swan-rider "Lohengrin." Like the old Carolingian, Breton, and Lorraine legends, the history of antiquity, the Trojan war, and the deeds of Alexander the Great, were also treated so as to transform the Greek heroes into mediæval knights and Crusaders.

The rising citizen class was bound to express its thoughts in literature no less than the knightly class. This was done in the *Fabliaux*, which originated in the East, but were modelled on the daily life of the citizen as it was at that time. Their satire is directed against the upper classes or the cultured clergy and physicians, but also depicts the gloomier side of citizen life, the narrow-mindedness, drunkenness, and jealousy of the men, the infidelity and falsehood of the women. The needs of the middle class upon the stage were satisfied by such productions as the two musical plays of Adam de la Halle—about 1235 to 1287—while mystery and miracle plays taken from the Bible and the legends of the saints attracted the whole of the people to the Church. There were at the same time allegorical pieces, or "moralities," also based upon

the teaching of Christian morality. The ironical mockery of the lower classes at the court and the clergy is expressed in the thirteenth century by the "*Roman du Renart*," with its later continuations, which was composed in the Netherlands upon Northern French models. The fox is here a satire upon the intriguing courtier who insinuates himself within the

despotic government of the king of beasts, the lion, and brings ruin upon defenceless or honourable people. The monks are his accomplices, and he shows a hypocritical submission to the Popes and the Church.

The animosity which was cherished against the feudal system and the mediæval Church, with its miracles, pilgrimages, crusading sermons, and ritual, and also that against the laity with their different classes and representatives, appears in the "*bibles*" of Guyot de Provins and Hugues de Berze; these are encyclopædic narratives, in metrical form, of some 34,000 lines. They originated at the beginning of the thirteenth century; men of every class co-operated in their production, laity and clergy alike, and their composition, like their general tendency, thus far resembles the encyclopædias of Diderot and D'Alembert.

A compendium of the thought and knowledge of this scholastic age, with a criticism of Church, religion, and morality, may be found in the

allegorical, stilted, and wearisome "*Roman de la Rose*," which was composed and continued by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, who lived in the thirteenth century. The sleeping poet attempts in a dream to pluck a rose from the hedge of love; Obstacles and annoyances of every kind try to defeat his object and to drive him



THE LEGENDARY KING ARTHUR

The deeds of the half-mythical Arthur and his knights have been immortalised in poetry and romance. According to the legend, he led the Britons to the overthrow of the Saxon invaders. From the bronze statue on the monument of the Emperor Maximilian at Innsbruck

HARMSWORTH HISTORY OF THE WORLD

from his purpose. Only when his guardian spirit, Belaccueil, has freed him from the prison in which Jalousie has confined him can he pluck the rose. The subject-matter of this romance was turned to account by Molière; the truly French flavour of the

The Early Literature of France

satire consoles the reader for its weary scholasticism and the dryness of the allegorical treatment.

One of the most charming productions of early French narrative art is the novel "Aucassin et Nicolette." Thus we see that the poetical literature of North France, which attained its highest point rather in the twelfth than the thirteenth century, gives a many-sided and yet a true picture of the general and varied society of the time.

This poetry reflects with a special clearness the transition from the age of the Crusades, which began with the triumphs

writing decayed; the chronicle of Regino at the outset of the tenth century was the last attempt for the moment to produce a universal history from the beginning of the world. In the Eastern, as in the Western empire, local history takes the place of imperial history. The disruption prevailing in France during the tenth and eleventh centuries held out no inducement to the historian. It was not until later that Philip Augustus and his grandson Louis IX. found important historians of their deeds in Rigord, who died about 1209, and William of Nangis, who died about 1300, but the historical revival is closely connected with the Crusades.

With the thirteenth century the description of the Crusades passes into the hands of the Crusaders themselves, the knights. In place of the Latin chronicles of the



A HOME OF THE TROUBADOURS: THE CASTLE OF TARASCON

The Castle of Tarascon, picturesquely situated on the Rhone, was founded by Count Louis II. in the fourteenth century. In the days of the Troubadours and the Courts of Love this castle was a notable centre of these knights errant of literature.

of the Church in religious belief, but ended with the undermining of both by the influence of foreign religions and philosophies. Perceval marks the height of Catholicism, the earnest belief of undoubting devotees; the bible of Guyot is inspired not only by the heresy of the Waldenses, but is also the expression of that destructive worldly wisdom which Voltaire was to represent five centuries later.

After centuries of torpidity, the writing of history was revived by the general shock of the Crusading movement. Great changes in French history have invariably introduced new departures in historical writing. Gregory of Tours was inspired by the foundation of the Frankish state under Clovis, the authors of the Frankish annals by the greatness of Charlemagne. When his empire broke up, historical

monks come French histories inspired with the chivalrous spirit. Godfrey of Villehardouin (1160-1213) describes with dramatic power and ruthless regard for truth that Fourth Crusade which placed the Byzantine Empire for some decades in the hands of the Northern French Count Baldwin of Flanders and his successors. John of Joinville (1224-1318) describes in a straightforward, faithful, and religious

narrative the personality and deeds of St. Louis. Historical writing had thus emancipated itself from clerical control and had assumed a national character. On the other hand, philology and philosophy, with painting, architecture, and music among the arts, remained for the moment entirely or principally in the hands of ecclesiastics. RICHARD MAHRENHOLTZ



FRANCE UNDER THE VALOIS THE HUNDRED YEARS WAR WITH ENGLAND

A PART from the so-called Salic Law, the next heir to the throne after the death of Charles IV. would have been Joan, the daughter of Louis X. and grand-daughter of Philip IV., but her claim was hardly discussed at the time; she was given Navarre as an indemnity. But the right of Philip of Valois to the crown was formally challenged by Edward III. of England (1327-1377), who claimed as grandson of Philip IV., whose daughter Isabella was his mother. At first, indeed, Edward did homage to the new king as Duke of Guienne, and thus acknowledged him in his character of a feudal lord, which was due, however, only to his royal title; but so soon as his intimate relations with the Flemish town of Ghent, where Jacob van Artevelde was in power, and his growing influence in the Netherlands generally—the Emperor Lewis had nomi-

English King Claims France

nated him Stadtholder of the empire in Lower Lorraine—led him to believe that the moment was propitious, he assumed the title of King of France and invaded the country in 1339 in order to conquer it. But no battle was fought. In the spring of 1340 Philip collected a fleet in the harbour of Sluys in order to prevent Edward's crossing; the latter, however, won a brilliant naval engagement in June in that very harbour. The land forces were less successful; Tour-nay offered a vigorous resistance, and Edward, through pressing need of pecuniary resources, could not wait any

longer and concluded a truce. A dispute had broken out in Brittany in the year 1341 about the ducal dignity. One claimant was supported by France, the other sought the help of Edward, who

England's Great Victories

thus had a pretext for a new war. An English army marched victoriously through Normandy in 1346, and then went up the Seine to the gates of Paris. There first the French under the command of their king confronted it. But no decisive blow was struck until Edward, falling back towards Flanders, took up a strong position at Crecy-en-Ponthieu, and was immediately attacked by the advancing French on August 25th; in spite of an immense numerical advantage (68,000 against 20,000) Philip was defeated. The day marked a glorious victory for the English arms. Edward then marched to Calais, and besieged the town, so important to him, for eleven months; when it finally surrendered, English settlers were placed in it, in order to create a permanent base for the English regal power.

But the resources for carrying on the war were exhausted by these operations. Through the good services of the Pope a treaty was concluded, which did

not, however, at once apply to Brittany. The struggle for the supremacy in the country still continued there. In August, 1350, Philip VI. died; he was succeeded on the throne by his son John, surnamed "the Good" (1350-1364), who tried to prolong the truce with England. But he



KING PHILIP VI., AND HIS SON, JOHN "THE GOOD"

The right of Philip VI. to the throne of France was challenged by Edward III. of England, who claimed the throne as grandson of Philip IV. This claim was the pretext for the Hundred Years' War. On the death of Philip, in 1350, his son John, surnamed "the Good," succeeded him; he was defeated at Poitiers and taken to England as a prisoner.

did not succeed in changing it into a permanent peace, for Edward trusted to the fortune of his arms and had not yet relinquished his hope of the French throne. His son also, Edward the "Black Prince," to whom the victory at Crecy was chiefly due, would not hear of a peace. When, therefore, John refused to comply with the demand of Edward that the English possessions on French soil should be relieved from feudal jurisdiction, the war began afresh in 1355. Its outbreak was hastened by the circumstance that Charles of Navarre, with whom John had

A two years' truce between the two hostile powers had been arranged even before the return of the young Edward to Bordeaux: but dangerous disturbances in the interior shook the monarchy during John's imprisonment. The government, and especially the method of levying taxes, had aroused discontent among the towns, which were increasing in wealth, and formed the most powerful part of the States-General. When, after the king's imprisonment, the dauphin, afterwards Charles V., summoned the states of North France and asked for their support in the



QUEEN PHILIPPA PLEADING BEFORE EDWARD III. FOR THE MEN OF CALAIS

Wishing to be king of France as well as king of his own country, Edward III. of England landed an army on French soil and won a great victory over King Philip VI. at Crecy-en-Ponthieu. Advancing next on Calais, Edward took it after a siege of eleven months. The picture shows his queen, Philippa, on her knees making her successful appeal for the lives of the men of Calais, whom Edward, enraged at their stubborn resistance, had determined to execute.

From the painting by H. C. Selous

quarrelled, implored the help of England against him. The opportunity for new enterprises was eagerly seized. The Black Prince with a small force raided the Loire district from his headquarters at Bordeaux. John met him with superior numbers. After a vain attempt to come to an agreement, John was completely defeated at Poitiers on September 19th, 1356, and himself fell into the hands of the English. He was conducted to England, where the king of Scotland also was living as a prisoner of Edward.

crisis, the representatives of the towns desired redress for all abuses in the administration, and had their definite demands laid singly before the dauphin by a committee. Under the stress of circumstances the crown was compelled to concede every request of the towns.

Nevertheless, an open insurrection broke out in Paris in 1358. Charles of Navarre, who was still in captivity, was liberated, his adherents, who had been executed, were declared innocent, the prisons also were opened, and the red and blue cap,



EDWARD THE THIRD OF ENGLAND AT THE HISTORIC SIEGE OF CALAIS, WHICH ENDED IN A GREAT ENGLISH VICTORY
From the painting by Sir John G. D. S. P., R.A. By permission of the Corporation of London

the badge of the revolutionists, was forcibly placed on the head of the dauphin himself. The example of the towns was followed by the rising of the peasants in the country, the so-called Jacquerie, which was suppressed only by most merciless severity. Common cause against the peasant revolt drove the nobility over to the side of the dauphin, and the Spiritual Estates stood by him. When he escaped

of Navarre, however, began a war against him which did not end until 1359.

In that year Edward appeared again with an army on French soil, after the States-General had rejected the terms of peace already accepted by King John; but he was unable to capture Rheims, in spite of a siege which lasted many weeks. The investment of Paris, which he attempted in the next year, proved in-

effective owing to deficiency of provisions. A peace, therefore, was concluded at Bretigny in May, 1360, according to which France renounced all feudal jurisdiction over the English possessions, while Edward abandoned his claim to the throne of France, and at the same time handed over Normandy and Anjou to John. But, notwithstanding the conclusion of peace, for a long time there was no tranquillity in France, for the English soldiers remained in the country, contrary to the royal orders, and actually defeated a French army specially levied to oppose them.

The raising of the heavy ransom for King John, who returned to his country after a five years' captivity, produced much misery. In one place only could John record a favourable result. The duchy of Burgundy had fallen to the crown in 1361, and the king conferred it, two years later, on his youngest son, Philip the Bold. The latter founded the new Burgundian dynasty, and through Margaret of Flanders acquired the Franche Comté, belonging to the German

Empire, and the Flemish provinces. As one of the princes who was detained in England as a hostage for the ransom had escaped, John himself returned to England once more in 1363, and died there in captivity in the spring of 1364. The father was succeeded by the eldest son, Charles V. (1364-1380), who as dauphin had already conducted the government after 1356,



EDWARD III., OF ENGLAND, ON HIS WHITE PALFREY AT CRECY

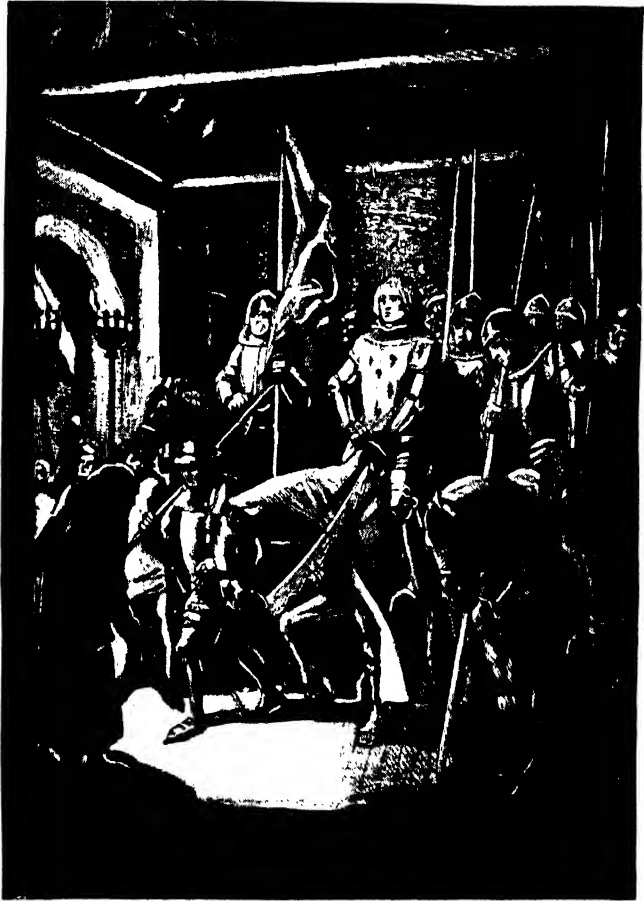
from the hands of the Parisian mob he had a considerable body of adherents at his command. In Paris the insurgents were not agreed among themselves. There were three factions who fought against each other. The dauphin was soon able to march into the capital, hold a Bloody Assize, and in due form carry on the government for his captive father. Charles

FRANCE UNDER THE VALOIS

and had acquired some experience in home politics. Certainly he had no ability as a commander, but Bertrand du Guesclin, a distinguished soldier, stood at his side and conducted with great success the king's wars against England. Charles' system of government was based mainly on a steady resistance to the towns, which prided themselves on their strength, while through economy he restricted the meetings of the States for granting supplies. Besides this, he abolished the representation of the towns by self-chosen deputies. In the municipal administration also the royal power was increased. The nobility and the towns, in spite of the perpetual crushing weight of taxation, felt themselves gradually bound to the king, and differences were adjusted. The gratitude which the people felt toward the king found its expression in the surname "The Wise."

The mercenary troops, which at the beginning of the reign were marauding everywhere, had been led across the Pyrenees in consequence of the war for the succession in Castile, so that at last French soil was rid of them. Since Prince Edward, who governed absolutely in the continental territories of England, took the side of King Peter in the Castilian dispute, the Anglo-French war was renewed on Spanish soil. But Charles V. also considered the moment suitable for an advance on his part, especially since great dissatisfaction with the foreign rule was manifested by the population in the English territory. The conditions also of the Peace of Bretigny were not yet carried out. The war, therefore, began afresh in 1369 with the French invasion of Guienne. The Black Prince, who had desolated parts of the country and committed cruel barbarities, worn out by illness, was now compelled to return to England, and there died before his father. Du Guesclin

then succeeded in conquering all the English possessions by the end of 1372. Calais was the only fortified place remaining in English hands. All the English attacks on France were fruitless, since the French on their side avoided every battle, but were indefatigable in skirmishes and pursuits. Du Guesclin, indeed, was the first great guerrilla leader of mediæval times. King Edward III. died in 1377, leaving



PHILIP VI. OF FRANCE AFTER HIS DEFEAT AT CRECY

Philip VI. was resolved to expel the English from France, but sustained an overwhelming defeat from Edward III. at Crecy in 1346. The English lost very few of their small army, while the French loss has been estimated at 30,000.

his kingdom to his grandson, Richard II. (1377-1399), who was only eleven years old. Charles outlived him three years, and was succeeded by his son, Charles VI., aged twelve (1380-1422).

An inevitable struggle for the guardianship of the youthful king immediately loosened the hitherto compact fabric of the sovereignty. In Paris and elsewhere sanguinary riots broke out, and the royal

coffers were plundered; and simultaneously disturbances again arose in the Flemish towns. Ghent had assumed a democratic constitution under Philip van Artevelde, and seriously menaced Count Louis. Philip of Burgundy, Louis' son-in-law and the future heir to Flanders, espoused his cause, marched with the chivalry of France into Flanders, and defeated the burghers of Ghent at Roosebeke in November, 1382.

The result of this campaign was primarily in the interests of Philip's dynasty; but it was generally thought throughout France, with good reason, that the example of the Flemish towns had not been without its influence on their own country, and it was hoped, therefore, that the subjugation of Flanders would restore tranquillity to France as well. The royal authority, supported by the nobility, was completely in the ascendant at Paris after this success in the neighbouring country, and a similar result was visible in the other towns.

In 1388, being then twenty years old, King Charles took over the government. But since after 1392 he became completely mad, the administration was necessarily conducted by a regency under the king's two uncles, Philip of Burgundy and Louis of Orleans. The two brothers and their followers were most bitterly, even disgracefully, hostile to each other. When,

after Philip's death, in 1404, his son, John the Fearless, received the government in Burgundy, open civil war threatened. As John approached the city of Paris in 1405

with a large army, the Duke of Orleans fled with Queen Isabella. A temporary agreement was made. But in 1407 John of Burgundy had his cousin, Louis of Orleans, treacherously murdered, and then, being hailed by the burghers of the towns as their protector, came forward as the real ruler of France. But the family of the murdered man, supported by the Count of Armagnac, wished to avenge Louis' death. Troops were levied by both sides, and a calamitous party struggle ensued. The town of Paris at first, under the government of the guilds, was entirely

Burgundian, and the Orleans family, whose party were known as the

Armagnacs, succeeded in gaining the upper hand only after the year 1413.

These disturbances did not fail to rouse the ambitious schemes

of the energetic King Henry V. of England (1413-1422). He claimed the English possessions on the Continent, and the payment of the still outstanding ransom for King John, as well as the hand of Katherine, daughter of Charles VI., with a large dowry. Since his wishes

were not met by France, in 1415 he landed with an army in Normandy. Charles VI. and the dauphin, Louis, took the field in person, and a French army



THE GREAT BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN

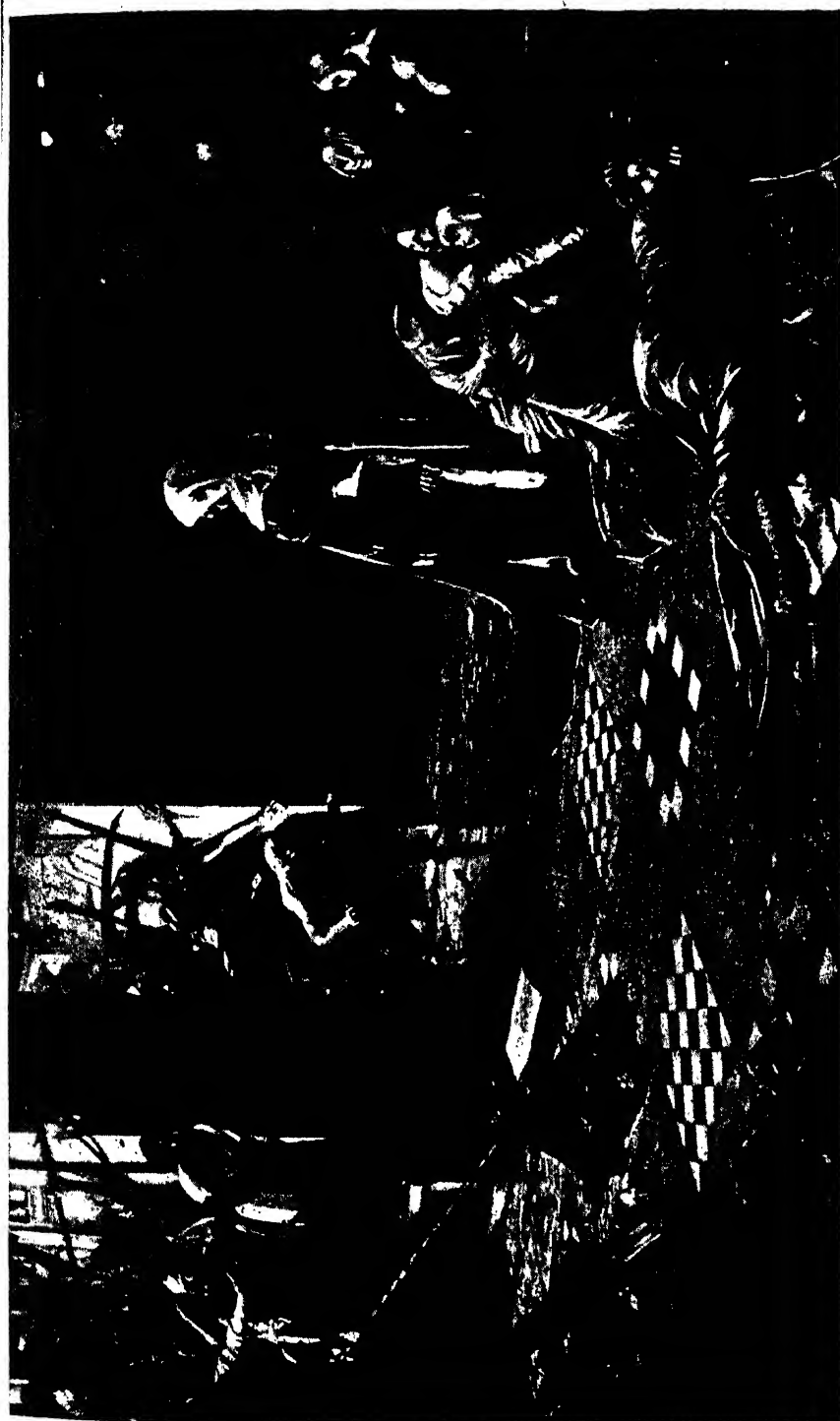
Described as the first guerrilla leader of mediæval times, Bertrand du Guesclin took a leading part in the wars of France against England, and by the end of 1372 he had succeeded in regaining all the English possessions, Calais being the only fortified place remaining in English hands.



THE FRENCH KINGS CHARLES V. AND CHARLES VI.

The eldest son of King John, who died in captivity in England, Charles V. ascended the throne in 1364, and ruled so well that he became known as "The Wise." His son Charles VI., aged twelve, succeeded him in 1380.





AN INCIDENT IN THE GREAT RISING OF THE FRENCH PEASANTRY IN THE YEAR 1358
France was in a disordered condition in the fourteenth century, and the towns rose in revolt against the government. The example of the towns was followed by the rising of the peasants in the country, and it was only after the most merciless severity that the revolt was suppressed. The illustration represents an attack of the peasants upon a noble's home.
From the painting by George Roulegrasse



PHILIP THE GOOD, DUKE OF BURGUNDY
Along with his brother, Louis of Orleans, Philip of Burgundy conducted the affairs of France when Charles VI. was afflicted with madness, but between the two brothers and their followers the bitterest feelings existed.

met him and placed the English in a very dangerous position : but, as at Crecy and Poitiers, the English arms triumphed once more in a pitched battle at Agincourt. Henry, however, was obliged to return to England without making full use of his victory to enforce his demands, owing to the want of money.

The Orleans party by this time held the chief power in France. The government rested in the hands of Count Armagnac, among whose chief adherents was Charles, son of King Charles VI., who, after the death of his four elder brothers, had become dauphin, and was now only in his fourteenth year. The count banished the queen to Tours, where she held a rival court. Isabella now publicly proclaimed that the regency for her mad husband and the youthful dauphin belonged to her, and that she was resolved to conduct it with the help of John of Burgundy, by whom Paris was taken in 1418. But even the Burgundian troops were not able to restrain the excited populace. Armagnac was murdered, and a great part of his

followers met the same fate. Isabella and John made their solemn entry into the capital some time afterwards, and banished from the city all who had sided actively with the Armagnac party.

Henry V. had already resumed hostilities in 1418. Normandy came into his power in 1419, owing to the fall of Rouen, but the parties in France continued to fight each other and forgot the common foe. At last, when John of Burgundy had been murdered, in September, 1419, by a follower of the dauphin, Charles, who was now considered the leader of the Armagnacs, his son, Philip, surnamed the Good, sought the help of England and allied himself to Isabella, who now declared the dauphin a bastard. Philip and Isabella made a treaty with Henry V. at Troyes in May, 1420, according to which Henry was to marry Katherine, sister of the dauphin, and at the same time was to become the successor of Charles VI. and immediately undertake the duties of regent. This treaty made France a province of England. Henry entered Paris, assembled the Estates, and procured from them a ratification of



THE FAMOUS XAINTRAILLES

One of the most valiant and renowned captains of France, who, with La Hire, drove the English out of the country.



THE BEGINNING OF THE GREAT BATTLE OF AGINCOURT

In this picture we see illustrated an incident at the beginning of the great battle between the English and French at Agincourt in 1415. Sir Thomas Erpingham, having arranged the troops, exhorted them to fight vigorously, and then throwing into the air the baton which he held, he cried, "Now strike!" The army responded with a great shout, at which the French marvelled greatly. Thus began the fight which ended so gloriously for England.



JOHN THE FEARLESS, DUKE OF BURGUNDY
Civil war threatened in France when John the Fearless received the government in Burgundy. After having had his cousin, Louis of Orleans, murdered, John was hailed by the burghers of the towns as their protector. In 1419 he was murdered by a follower of the dauphin, Charles.

the treaty. The parliament declared the dauphin, Charles, to have forfeited his rights, and ordered him to quit the kingdom. Henry conquered almost the whole country north of the Loire, but died in the midst of his victorious career on August 31st, 1422. Charles VI. died two months later.

Charles VII. was long unable to enter on the heritage of his father, for the English regarded their new king, Henry VI., son of Henry V. and Katherine of France, an infant hardly a year old, as the lawful sovereign of the land. The rights of the infant king were guarded for the time by his uncle, the Duke of Bedford, who had twice conquered the partisans of Charles in the field.

But the war was waged desultorily, until, at the end of 1428, the Earl of Salisbury appeared with fresh troops and undertook the siege of the important town of Orleans. The town offered a vigorous resistance; the English leader and many of his soldiers lost their lives

in the battle, but the brave citizens could look for no help from their king, Charles. In this desperate state of affairs a saviour appeared to them—Joan of Arc, born on January 6th, 1412, in Domrémy, a hamlet situated on the Lorraine frontier of Champagne. She regarded herself as the heaven-sent rescuer of her country, and demanded permission to place herself at the head of an army, in order to free Orleans and lead the king to Rheims for his coronation. She triumphantly overcame the resistance of her incredulous hearers, and finally was received by the king and given a detachment of soldiers, in order that, mounted as their commander and in male attire, she might lead them to the relief of the beleaguered town.

Inspired by heaven, Joan bore a white flag, with the picture of the Saviour, in front of the warriors, and fortunately succeeded in gaining entrance to Orleans during a sortie of the besieged at the end of April, 1429. She then began at once an attack on the English, who soon feared the "Maid of Orleans" as if she were



LOUIS, DUKE OF ORLEANS
When John the Fearless approached Paris in 1405 with a large army, the Duke of Orleans fled with Queen Isabella, but was afterwards treacherously murdered at the instigation of his cousin, John of Burgundy.



THE SOLEMN ENTRY INTO PARIS OF THE QUEEN-REGENT ISABELLA

The unhappy affliction which befell King Charles VI. was the means of plunging France into disorder, rival parties fighting for power and honour. For a time the Orleans party held the chief power, and the Queen was banished to Tours. Isabella, however, proclaimed that the regency for her mad husband and the youthful dauphin belonged to her, and making a solemn entry into the capital she banished from the city all who had taken sides with the Armagnac party.

a daughter of Satan. After a brilliant victory of the French on May 7th, the enemy gave up the siege. All Orleans was filled with joy, and convinced of the supernatural mission of Joan, for she had kept her first promise; Orleans was freed. A peasant girl had performed what no com-

Joan of Arc mander had yet successfully
Assists done, and that in a few days.
King Charles The royalist party revived,
and their spirit was renewed.

Charles' throne seemed rescued, and without any action on his part, for he was only too much inclined to neglect energetic measures. Joan now wished to keep her second promise, and to lead Charles to be crowned at Rheims. A start was made, notwithstanding the opposition of the generals, who proposed a conquest of Normandy first. The advance was made with a few thousand men; the English were driven from all their posts during the victorious progress, and the king's following was increased on every side. Before Charles entered the city where he was to be crowned, deputies came out to meet him, and promised submission. The king entered the city of Rheims, and on July

17th the coronation and anointing were performed. Joan stood during the ceremony at the king's side, holding a flag. Her mission was completed, according to her own ideas. She now held back in the council, and only inspired the masses of soldiers by her presence. Her family was raised to the nobility, and her native place freed from all taxation.

Charles' position had been completely changed at one blow. He ceased to be the head of the Armagnac party. Numerous former adherents to the Anglo-Burgundian party now submitted to him. But Paris persisted in its old hostility, chiefly perhaps from fear of the king's vengeance. An attempt of Joan's to take the city

The Brave failed, because the king did not
Joan support her, and she herself
in Prison was wounded. She soon had
presentiments of her capture.

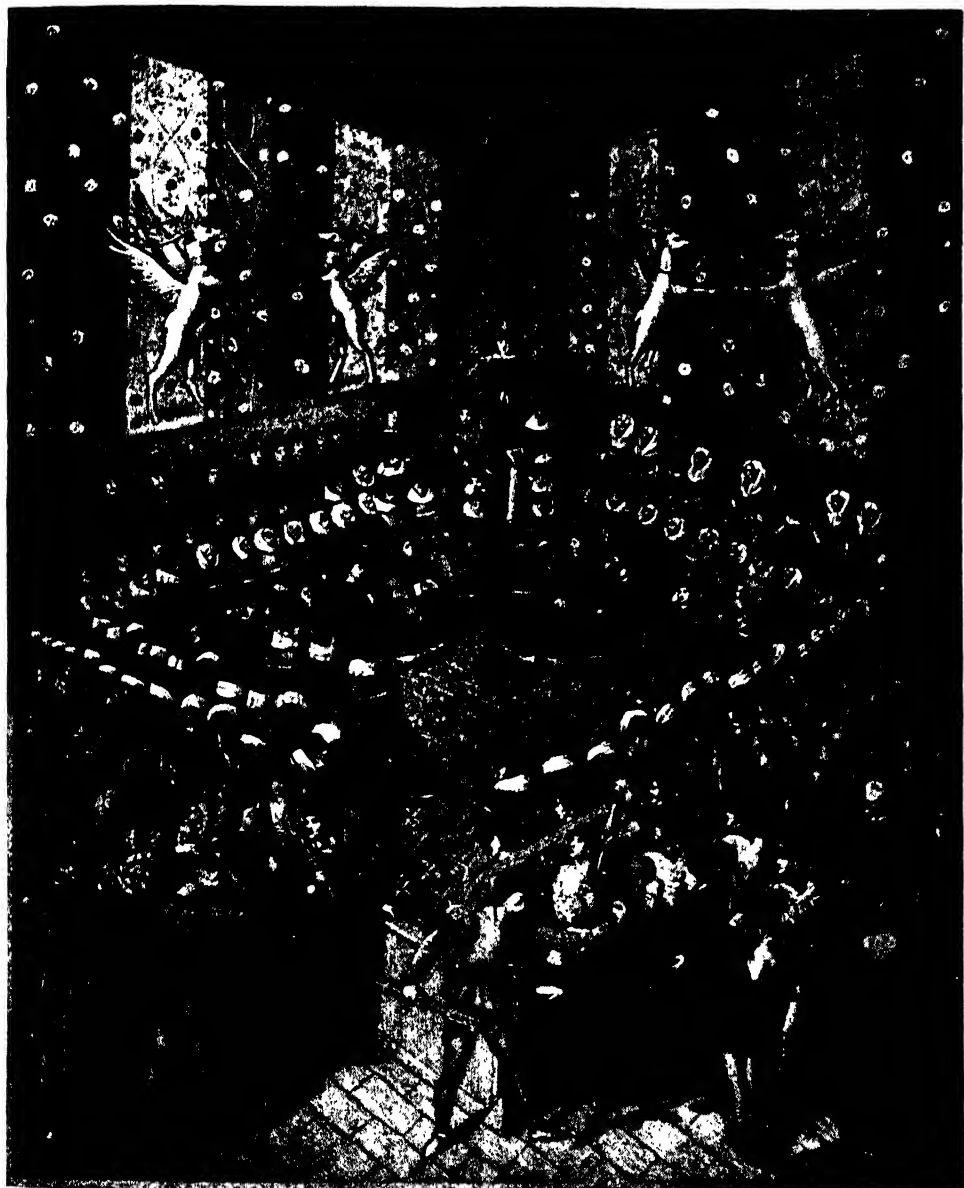
Nevertheless, she defended the town of Compiègne against Philip of Burgundy. There she was actually made prisoner during a sortie on May 23rd, 1430, and was abandoned to the vengeance of the English, who saw in her alone the cause of their disasters. After long languishing



THE PRIEST'S BLESSING: BEFORE THE GREAT BATTLE OF AGINCOURT

Like Edward III., King Henry V. of England was ambitious to sit on the throne of France, and with a huge army he crossed the Channel to make good his claim by force of arms. At Agincourt he met the French army, winning a great victory after one of the most famous battles in England's history. In this picture we see a priest blessing the troops,

From the painting by Sir John Gilbert in the Guildhall Art Gallery



CHARLES VI., KING OF FRANCE, HOLDING A PUBLIC AUDIENCE

From a miniature by Jean Fouquet in the Royal Library at Munich.

in prison, she was condemned by the spiritual court of French ecclesiastics as a witch, handed over to the "secular arm"—that is, the English—and burned in the market-place of Rouen on May 30th, 1431. The ungrateful king never once took up her cause, though it would have been well in his power to do so. The revision of the judgment, which took place twenty-five years later at the command of Pope Calixtus III., and ended in the complete vindication of Joan, can only partially reconcile the world to the ingratitude of the king.

The position of the English did not alter after Joan's death, especially since no such ample reinforcements as might have been expected arrived from home. The most important point was that the Burgundian party, with whose help England had previously made such great conquests, now drew back; in fact, tried for a reconciliation with Charles. This was actually effected by a peace at Arras in 1435. Philip of Burgundy was liberally compensated by gifts of land, and released from feudal obligations for the term of

Charles' life. Besides this, the Duke of Bedford, the English commander on the Continent, had died, and among the citizen population of Paris there was a keen wish to see the king once more in their midst. In April, 1436, Charles' army was able to enter Paris, after a complete amnesty had been promised to all who had opposed him, and in 1437 the king himself entered his capital.

The whole country, especially the north, had suffered severely under the war and the internal party feuds, so that nothing was more sincerely desired

before Chatillon, and his army completely defeated. The English power was thus driven out of France except for Calais, the only town which England could hold for the future.

The great enemy had been expelled. But these lasting, unspeakably calamitous wars had cruelly affected the country. The devastation of the fields could be remedied only gradually and by the unwearying toil of the people. Besides, it was necessary to take prompt and vigorous measures against the bands of robber mercenaries, or "free companies," who roamed the



THE PEASANT MAID OF ORLEANS IN THE HANDS OF THE ENGLISH

Clad in white armour, the simple peasant maid, Joan of Arc, marched at the head of a troop of French horsemen to drive the English from Orleans. The enemies of France were scattered, but the heroic maiden was betrayed by some of her own countrymen and fell into the hands of the English, who burned her alive at Rouen, as depicted on page 3821.

From the painting by Roland Wheehright, by permission of the Autotype Company

than peace. Negotiations led finally to a truce in 1444, since the internal affairs of England made a continuance of the war seem impossible. In France, however, the opportunity was taken to develop an appropriate military system, and on the renewal of hostilities in 1449 the English were deprived of the whole of Normandy in a single year. The province of Guienne also was conquered without any appearance of help from England. At length an English army went to Southern France in 1452 under the command of the veteran Talbot. But the general was killed the following summer

provinces. The first duty was to exterminate them. In 1444, Charles, at the request of the Emperor Frederic III., had sent a considerable part of these pillagers of the country into Switzerland to fight against the confederates. The best of the remainder were picked out, and thus a paid body of fifteen troops of cavalry was formed, which was to be permanently under arms. It was now an easy task to deal with the remaining and inferior mercenaries, especially since the regular police force was now available against these hordes. The defence of the country had then to be better organised



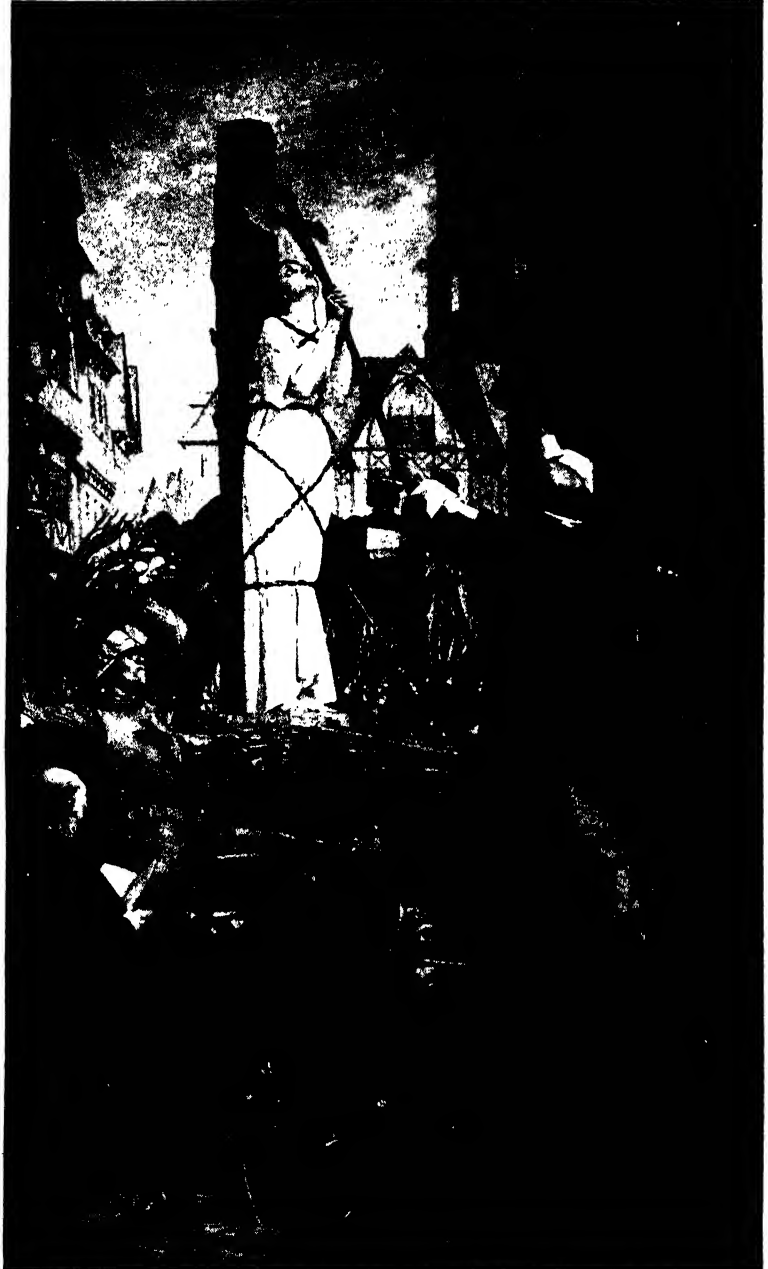
THE HEROINE, JOAN OF ARC, AT THE CROWNING OF KING CHARLES VII.

The wonderful story of Joan of Arc is one that will never die. A simple peasant maid, she put on armour that she might fight for her king and country, and in this picture we see her in one of the greatest moments of her life, when she took her place by the throne of the king of France, whose peaceful coronation was due entirely to her great victories.

From the painting by J. E. Le Sueur in the Pantheon

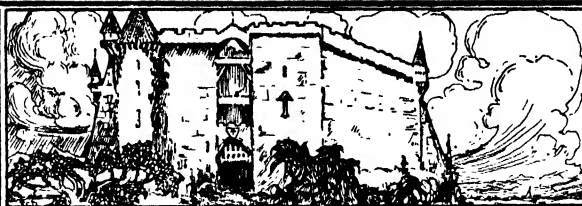
to meet all contingencies; a regular reserve was therefore formed, which might be called out in case of war, since every parish was responsible for the arming and training of a guard. A national militia organised on this basis was bound to represent an immeasurably stronger power than the town contingents which had been attached as a whole to the royal army. The fate of the feudal army was sealed in France by these measures, since the means requisite for the maintenance of the troops were obtained by a special universal tax. The Estates were now less frequently summoned, and the towns lost the power which they had formerly possessed in the assemblies of the realm. In 1453 a decree was passed requiring all customary rights to be defined in writing, and in this way the procedure and jurisdiction of the courts of appeal were distinctly improved. The Church developed more than before into a national Church in connection with the resolutions of the Council at Basle. The abilities of Charles VII. were doubtless more adapted for the work of organisation than for vigorous action; indeed, his modern methods of government provoked the opposition of the

nobility, who attempted to incite the dauphin, Louis, against his father. He succeeded, indeed, at first in frustrating their designs; but just when it seemed that the son would once more rebel against his father, death removed the father in the summer of 1461.



THE BURNING OF JOAN OF ARC BY THE ENGLISH AT ROUEN
From the painting by Lenepveu

WESTERN
EUROPE IN
THE MIDDLE
AGES



DEVELOP-
MENT OF THE
NATIONS:
FRANCE VII

FRANCE UNDER THE LATER VALOIS

THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE NATION

THE former rebel was now himself crowned king as Louis XI., and pursued the same objects as his father. His efforts extended to the building up of an absolute monarchy, even if he expelled from among his councillors precisely those who had previously been at the helm, and collected new men round him. Nothing was more important than to bind the powerful crown vassals, the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, more closely to the throne. He was successful in the beginning, but Francis of Brittany ventured to resist the claims of King Louis XI. He effected an alliance of the most prominent members of the nobility, and threatened an open attack. Louis tried to win the support of citizen inhabitants of the towns. A war with the nobles ensued, and the Burgundians pressed on to Paris itself. A battle in the summer of

The King's Enemies Besiege Paris

1465 was indecisive, and the united enemies of the king began to besiege the capital. Louis avoided a battle, and tried to keep his enemies at bay. The feeding of such mighty armies was bound soon to break down. After an armistice, they concluded a peace towards the end of October, according to which the brother of the king, the Duke of Berry, who belonged to the insurgents, became ruler of Normandy, while the Duke of Brittany maintained his independent rights unimpaired.

The peace was tantamount to a victory of the nobles; but the king did not intend to abandon his policy. It is true that he recalled some of his father's councillors to his court, doubtless a concession to his opponents. But one by one all were overcome who had previously united themselves in common cause against him. The Duke of Berry soon lost Normandy again; other nobles were won over to the plans of the king, and the weaker ones were suppressed by force.

Burgundy alone offered a strenuous resistance; in place of Philip, now an old man, his son Charles, surnamed the Bold, had for some years held the reins of government there, and in the summer of 1467 became the lawful successor. Louis would have been glad to turn to his advantage the long-existing quarrel of Charles with Liège, but the Burgundian would not entertain the proposal, and after the conquest of the refractory town in autumn, 1467, his position became still stronger.

Brilliant Court of Arras

The Burgundian domain, which extended from Luxemburg to the sea, had only in the last generations, through the skilful policy of aggrandisement practised by its princes, become an important power interposed between France and Germany. The brilliant court of Arras became a model for other courts of European princes. Trade and industry, art and intellectual life flourished splendidly in the rich towns. But the government of the country, under Philip, and still more under Charles, had suppressed the local authority and attempted a uniform organisation of all political forces after depriving them of their independence.

The rich resources of the land enabled the duke to maintain permanently a powerful army, and to furnish it with artillery and waggons, so that it possessed the most complete military equipment of the time. His policy aimed at the protection and enlargement of his power on two sides especially; he wished to be as independent of France as he was of Germany. Even if the foundation of a Burgundian kingdom at the cost of Germany, a demand that Philip had made in 1447 from Frederic III., had not been realised, yet the position of Charles the Bold, in view of the importance of the German kingdom, which could not prevent

Independence of Charles the Bold

the growth of Burgundian influence in the territories of Western Germany, was really equivalent to independence. The oath of fealty, which was still taken to the French as well as to the German crown, could have little significance in the circumstances.

King Louis XI. had been obliged in 1467 to resume the war with the Dukes of Brittany and Berry and had been successful before Charles of Burgundy was able to lend aid to his friends. War with the latter seemed inevitable. Louis tried in vain to stir up the people of Liège once more against their lord, and to pacify Charles himself with money. At last he had a personal interview with his opponent at Peronne in order to come to terms. But while he was still with him, the terrible tidings spread of a rising of the Liégeois, who had driven out their bishop, and Charles' fury was now turned on the king, since he thought that he

possessed unmistakable proof of his treacherous policy. It was with difficulty that Charles was induced to spare the king himself, and he did so only on the concession that he himself should rule for the future as sovereign over what had hitherto been the feudal dependencies of France. He exacted also some compensation for the Duke of Berry. Louis swore to all demands and was forced to consent to take the field in person against the rebellious town of Liège.

Possibly Louis was never very sincere in his concessions. He succeeded in persuading his brother, the Duke of Berry, to be content with the richer but more distant Guienne in place of the provinces of Champagne and Brie, so closely bordering on Burgundy; and by 1469, he effected a complete reconciliation with him. Other rebellious vassals were crushed. By these means the king soon felt such renewed



KING LOUIS XI.
The eldest son of Charles VII., Louis XI. succeeded his father on the throne; he did much to improve the internal administration of the country, and has been described as "the first of modern statesmen."



LOUIS, KING OF FRANCE, A PRISONER AT PERONNE

The feudal nobles of France were not too kindly disposed towards Louis XI., and in alliance with Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, they gave the king much trouble. When war with this powerful lord seemed inevitable, Louis had a personal interview with him at Peronne in 1467 with the object of coming to terms, and was there practically a prisoner in the hands of his enemy. It was only with difficulty that Charles was prevailed upon to spare the king's life,

FRANCE UNDER THE LATER VALOIS

security that he began to despise the sovereignty of Burgundy, and commanded an assembly to proclaim the feudal tenant, Charles, guilty of high treason.

Since the duke did not appear before the court at Paris, royal troops invaded Burgundy at the beginning of the year 1471, and occupied some important places. It was only in February that Charles on his side proceeded to besiege Amiens. But he achieved no successes, and bad news came from home, so that in April he was willing to make a truce for a month. He again sought an alliance with the king's brother, but the latter died, possibly from poison. Before the expiry of the truce Charles renewed hostilities and now was more successful; but his army committed such depredations in the country that the inhabitants were roused to fury, and the citizens of Beauvais in particular offered a most stubborn resistance. The town was not captured, for the Duke of Brittany, being hard pressed by the king, did not come to aid.

Charles, therefore, was forced to retreat, owing to terrible scarcity of provisions, due to the devastation of the land. His retreat was rendered difficult by numerous skirmishes; at last he was compelled to make a new armistice. Louis availed himself of it to subdue his rebellious vassals in the south, especially the Duke of Alençon. But Charles did not remain quiet, and hoped by an alliance with Edward IV. of England finally to conquer Louis. Edward declared himself ready for a campaign against France in 1475, and actually appeared in June before Calais. Charles, however, whose forces had been considerably lessened by the disastrous siege of Neuss, could not give the expected assistance, especially since Louis had again fought with success in Burgundy. Edward had pictured to

himself a more favourable state of things in France, and in his disappointment he did not hesitate to accept the arrangement proposed by Louis, and, in consideration of a large indemnity, to return home again. Charles also, who now was intent on other plans, agreed in 1475 to a nine years' truce. France seemed freed from her most dangerous enemy, although Louis was always counting on a renewed attack of the Burgundian. The complications,

however, with Lorraine and the Swiss now claimed the attention of the ambitious warrior so closely that he could not think of other hostilities. On January 5th, 1477, Charles the Bold was killed after his defeat by the Swiss at Nancy.

His realm, however, through the marriage of his daughter and heiress Mary with the young Maximilian, son of Frederic III., passed to the house of the Austrian Hapsburgs, and not to France. Of all the enemies of Louis the only survivor was Duke Francis of Brittany, whose secret league with Edward of England had been discovered by the king in 1477. He here contented himself with the confiscation of one county and with a renewed oath of loyalty. But he treated the Duke of Nemours according to his old principle, and took bloody vengeance.

His despotic aim, the conquest of all imaginary and actual enemies of his kingdom, was attained. He acquired Provence by inheritance, and the people trembled more than ever before the king—but still more did the king tremble before the people. He suspiciously looked out for conspiracies everywhere among servants and ministers, and punished with great severity.

After a life of anxiety, at once full of work and empty of pleasures, Louis XI. died at the end of April, 1483. The government of France by the States had



STATUE OF LOUIS XI.



CHARLES THE BOLD, DUKE OF BURGUNDY

He headed the league of vassal nobles against Louis XI., and when he became Duke of Burgundy, on the death of his father, Philip the Good of Burgundy, in 1467, he made an attempt to throw off all allegiance to France and its king. He met his death fighting at Nancy in the year 1477.

completely disappeared under him and mainly through him. Modern absolutism, which influences all powers by the constitution, took its start under him, and reached its height through Louis XII.

Charles VIII., son of Louis XI., was only thirteen years old on his father's death. Of little ability, and still less education, he was incapable of reigning independently, and was entirely under the influence of his sister Anne, who was married to Peter, the subsequent Duke of Bourbon. In conformity with the wish of the people, the States-General were summoned at the beginning of 1484, and sat for two months at Tours. Complaints were raised on all sides about the pressure of taxation, but the deliberations had no lasting results.

The appointment of a regular regency was refused, to the injury of the country; for once more, as at the beginning of the century, civil war broke out. The husband of Louis' daughter Joanna, Duke Louis of Orleans, did not wish to acknowledge the influence of his sister-in-law, Anne, and, in alliance with the Duke of Brittany, began war against the party of the king,

but was defeated in the summer of 1488, and taken prisoner. Charles, however, wished to act independently and did not allow himself to be guided any longer by his sister. He released the Duke of Orleans from prison, and married, at the end of 1491, Anne, daughter of the deceased Duke Francis. Thus Brittany, the lords of which had hitherto been bitterly opposed to the king, was annexed to the crown of France.

The intended union of this heiress with Maximilian, king of the Romans, had thus been frustrated, and he demanded compensation for this as well as for the fact that the previously arranged marriage of his daughter Margaret with the French king had now become impossible. His ally, Henry VII. of England, was indemnified by a money payment. Maximilian himself lacked the means to make war; for this reason he finally, in 1493, preferred an amicable arrangement, and received back the counties of Burgundy and Artois, where the feeling of the population had already decided in favour of the German sovereign.

Since Charles, Count of Maine, had died in 1481, King Louis had acquired the



A CONSTABLE OF FRANCE

Under Louis XI., the Comte de St. Pol was Constable of France, an office equivalent to that of Commander of the Forces. This high official was executed at the Bastille.



LOUIS XI. ENTERING PARIS ON JULY 18th, 1465, AFTER THE BATTLE OF MONTLHERY
From the painting by Tattgrain

heritage of Provence as well as claims to the kingdom of Naples, and Charles wished to assert this claim when, after the death of King Ferdinand in the beginning of 1494, party hatred began to spread its horrors over Italy. In order not to let slip the favourable opportunity of interference, Charles marched in the autumn with a large army over the Alps. Contrary to expectation he obtained favourable concessions from Piero de Medici, but by so doing caused the banishment of the princely family, and could gain little from the indignant citizens of Florence. He now went to Rome, where Alexander VI. lived in the greatest fear. The Pope agreed to cede to the French some fortresses as bases of operation, and to hand over his son, Cesare Borgia, as hostage. Charles left Rome at the end of January, 1495, and marched to Naples, where Alfonso II., son of Ferdinand I., was governing, tormented by the stings of conscience for his past cruelties. In order to escape the hatred of the people, he resigned his rule and gave over the country to his youthful son, Ferdinand II. The success of the French arms soon disheartened the Neapolitan troops; some of them deserted to Charles, who was able in February to enter Naples and was soon in possession of the whole country.

Where the French Triumphed

The French conquerors did not, however, understand how to win the goodwill of the people. The brutal treatment which the population received from the French soldiery roused a burning hatred which could not be quenched by the hastily introduced remission of taxation and the inauguration of public amusements. The Pope also refused to crown Charles king at Naples. The lords, formerly at enmity with each other, now united against the common foe, the French intruder. Lodovico Sforza of Milan, who had especially invited Charles to make the Italian expedition, Pope Alexander VI., Venice, Ferdinand of Sicily, and the king of the Romans, Maximilian, all united against the king of France. He marched away unsuspectingly from Naples, in May, left half his army behind, and turned

homewards with the remainder. But in July an army of Milanese and Venetians attacked him in superior force near Fornuovo; nevertheless, he succeeded in worsting them and continued his march. Before he left Italian soil, in October, a



KING CHARLES VIII.

The son of Louis XI., whom he succeeded as King of France in 1483. By his marriage to the heiress of the Duke of Brittany, he added Brittany to his own domain.

treaty was made with the allies, but nevertheless the final results of this Italian campaign were very unfavourable for Charles. Even before he reached France, the banished Ferdinand had attempted to recover his realm, and the revolt of the people against the French yoke assisted his effort. The remains of the French army disappeared in battle or from sickness, and King Charles VIII., in April, 1498, soon after his return home, died from the result of an accident.

Since Charles' sons had predeceased him, he was succeeded on the throne by his cousin Louis, of the elder

house of Orleans, as the twelfth of this name (1498-1515). He was in the prime of life when he took the reins of government, and had hitherto played little part in public affairs. But the people soon recognised that the best qualities of a ruler—justice, clemency, and appreciation of a nation's needs—were not wanting in him. In foreign policy, it is true, he was no better than the other monarchs of the time in a somewhat inglorious statesmanship, and ambition drove him to the most rash schemes. He procured a divorce from his wife, and married his predecessor's widow, Anne, the heiress of Brittany, in order to annex this duchy permanently to the crown. His predecessor on the throne had opened the road to Italy. Louis was determined to take it.

The acquisition of Milan was now the object of the French policy. The grandmother of the king had been the daughter of Galeazzo Visconti, the first Duke of Milan, who died in 1402. After preparations of every kind, which proved the shrewd and far-sighted calculations of the king, an army crossed the mountains in the summer of 1499, and conquered the country, from which the Duke Lodovico Sforza had to fly with incredible swiftness.

FRANCE UNDER THE LATER VALOIS

The French king made a solemn entry into Milan, and Genoa surrendered to him. Venice indeed, by virtue of an earlier treaty, received a share of the French victory; but France had thus won a strong base of operations which dangerously menaced Italy.

Soon after the departure of the king the storm burst against the foreign dominion; the inhabitants, bitterly exasperated by the outrages of the conquerors, welcomed the old duke when he entered his land in February, 1500, with an army of foreign mercenaries. The French garrisons could offer no resistance, and withdrew. Louis, however, sent reinforcements, and Sforza's Swiss mercenaries refused to fight against their countrymen in the French service.

The duke's cause was lost; he wished to fly, but was betrayed and led prisoner to France, where he spent ten years in captivity. Louis was not yet satisfied with his success: his wishes were now centred on

Naples. There he came into contact with the powerful Ferdinand and the Catholic of Aragon, who, as husband of Isabella of Castile, represented a formidable opponent. The two therefore joined, according to the terms of a treaty, in common action against the uncle of Ferdinand II., Frederic of Naples, whose friendly relations with the Turks were to form the pretext.

The two kings, thirsting for conquests, posed as the protectors of Christendom. Nothing was known of this alliance at Naples, where the people thought that Louis alone was their enemy, and actually hoped for Ferdinand's aid against him. When, in the summer of 1501, a French army appeared in Rome, the treaty was disclosed, since both sovereigns demanded and received the papal investiture of Naples. Under these circumstances Frederic could not resist; he surrendered to the French, and lived in



THE ENTRANCE OF CHARLES VIII., KING OF FRANCE, INTO NAPLES

It was the great ambition of Charles VIII. to conquer Italy, and he invaded that country in 1495. Entering Naples, he found the people eager for French rule, and soon he found himself in possession of the whole country. But the conquerors did not understand how to win the goodwill of the people, who quickly rose up against them. Though Charles defeated the Milanese and Venetians at Fornuovo, the results of the Italian campaign were not at all to his advantage.

France with a large yearly allowance until his death, in 1504. Louis' pleasure at the possession of Naples did not last long. Since no agreement could be made with Ferdinand as to the frontier, war resulted. In it the Spanish general, Gonsalvo Hernandez de Cordova, the "Great Captain," was repeatedly victorious, and finally gained sole possession of the capital. Louis, in furious indignation at the failure of his undertakings, immediately equipped several armies against the Spaniards; but at the end of 1503 the most powerful of them was completely routed by Gonsalvo on the Garigliano. A three years' truce was concluded in February, 1504, by the terms of which the whole of Naples was annexed to Spain. The events in Italy were of decisive importance for the king of the Romans, Maximilian, whose vassal had been



LOUIS XII. OF FRANCE
He succeeded his cousin, Charles VIII., in the year 1498, and reigned till 1515, dying three months after his marriage to Mary, the sister of Henry VIII. of England.

unceremoniously banished from Milan, and the acquisition of Naples threatened to furnish the French king with another strong centre for operations. King Maximilian, in order not to let his claims on Milan disappear, had already consented to the betrothal of his grandson, Charles, aged a year and a half, to Claudia, infant daughter of Louis, on the condition that both should inherit Milan, and had promised to invest Louis with the duchy. This treaty was, in 1504, extended, so that in the event of Louis dying without male issue, Naples, and both Brittany and the duchy of Burgundy in France, should fall to the future wife of Charles. Thereupon Louis was actually invested with Milan. But soon afterwards all idea was abandoned of a marriage between Claudia and Charles. Louis had possibly never seriously contemplated it. In fact, the fulfilment of the compact of



DEATH OF GASTON DE FOIX AT THE GREAT BATTLE OF RAVENNA, IN THE YEAR 1512
In this great battle the army of Louis XII. of France, under the youthful commander, Gaston de Foix, met the papal and Spanish forces and inflicted upon them a decisive defeat. France, however, lost her brilliant leader, who fell in the battle.

FRANCE UNDER THE LATER VALOIS

1504 would have been equivalent to a partition of France.

In all the negotiations between the kings, Louis and Maximilian, an important part had been played by the latter's son Philip. Out of hatred for him the Spaniard, Ferdinand, was drawn more closely to Louis, and received the hand of his niece, to whom Louis had granted his claims on Naples. Claudia was betrothed a little later to Count Francis of Angoulême, the heir-presumptive to the French throne, and the brilliant prospects of the Hapsburgs were destroyed. Philip would gladly have avenged the affront, but he died in 1506, and King Maximilian was too weak to venture on war with Louis, who successfully crushed a rising in Genoa in 1507.

Maximilian soon afterwards engaged in an unfortunate struggle with the powerful republic of Venice, which refused him a passage for his troops to Rome, and was forced to conclude a truce in April, 1508. Since the republic seemed equally dangerous to Louis and Maximilian, a treaty was signed at Cambray on December 10th, 1508, when it was arranged that each party should recover from the republic the territories to which he laid claim. The Pope and King Ferdinand of Aragon

joined the league, as well as some smaller rulers. In the spring of 1509 a powerful Venetian army was in the field when the French advanced to the attack. Victory rested with the French arms, and each of the allies received the districts which he wished to occupy. Attempts of the Venetians to separate the allies by formal offers proved ineffectual. They succeeded, however, in regaining Padua by the help of the population. Shortly afterwards, King Maximilian, with a powerful army, supported by French and Spaniards,

appeared before the city and began the siege, but discontent and want of money finally forced him to abandon it. He marched back to Germany and dismissed the greater part of his army. Pope Julius II. also had obtained from Venice what he wanted. Ferdinand was invested with Naples, and desisted from the struggle, so that now only France and King Maximilian continued the war.

In order to crush the opposition of the Pope, their former ally, the two kings, supported by some cardinals arranged to hold a general council in November, 1510. It was actually summoned at Pisa, but Julius forbade the assembly, and on his

part convened a Lateran Council at Rome. The Pope had now allies in Venice and the Swiss; Ferdinand of Aragon also was a firm supporter. Thus the so-called "Holy League" was formed in order to drive out Louis. But the French again were victorious, and captured Brescia with terrible slaughter in 1512. The Pope won over Henry VIII. of England for the League, and induced King Maximilian to make a truce at any rate with Venice, so that Louis now had to trust to his own power alone. He once more won a decisive victory at Ravenna, but, unfortunately, Gaston de Foix, the youthful



BAYARD WOUNDED AT BRESCIA

During the capture of the town of Brescia by the French in 1512 many brave deeds were witnessed, but they were all eclipsed by the exploit of Bayard, "the knight without fear and without reproach," who defended a castle against an overwhelming body of troops.

French commander, fell in it. The Pope, deeply concerned by the reverse, breathed again when he learned that an army of the Confederates had invaded Milan, and with the help of Venice was driving the French out of the country. Maximilian Sforza, a son of Lodovico Sforza, now became duke of the territory, reduced by the loss of some districts. A new danger was threatening King Louis from Spain, where Ferdinand brought the kingdom of Navarre under his dominion. Thus the end of the year 1512 showed a much less favourable prospect.

HARMSWORTH HISTORY OF THE WORLD

However, Pope Julius, who had been the soul of the league, died in February, 1513. Soon afterwards Louis concluded with his former bitter enemy, the republic of Venice, a treaty with regard to the joint conquest of Milan. The new Pope of the family of the Medici, Leo X., a determined enemy of the French, allied himself against them with King Maximilian, Ferdinand, and Henry VIII., in order to offer resistance to the combined power of Venice and France. After a preliminary success the French were defeated on June 6th, 1513, at Novara by the Swiss soldiers of Sforza, and the Venetians now saw themselves abandoned by Louis. Picardy was overrun by an army of Henry VIII.,

which, supported by German knights, conquered the enemy in August and captured Tournay. At the same time an army of Swiss wished to conquer Burgundy. But the French commander entered into a treaty with them— which the king did not ratify—and thus this threatening danger was averted. Louis now tried to make terms with his enemies, and succeeded in doing so. Henry VIII. actually gave him the hand of his sister Mary. But on January 1st, 1515, only three months after his marriage, Louis XII. died, deeply mourned by his people, and left his kingdom to Francis, Count of Angoulême, a great-grandson of their common ancestor, Louis of Orleans. ARMIN TILLE



THE DEATH OF THE BRAVE BAYARD, FIGHTING FOR FRANCE IN 1524

Bayard, the most chivalrous hero of the Middle Ages, whose famous exploit at Brescia is referred to on the preceding page, met his death fighting for his country against Milan in 1524. With a handful of men he remained behind to hold the enemy in check while the French army retreated from a difficult position. He was thus engaged when a stone from a crossbow struck him, snapping his spine in two places. He was lifted from his horse, and laid beneath a tree, as shown in the above picture, and after breathing a prayer he begged his friends to turn his face to the foe.

From the painting by Benjamin West



THROUGHOUT THE MIDDLE AGES

By H. W. C. Davis, M.A. and Arthur D. Innes, M.A.

ENGLAND BEFORE THE NORMAN CONQUEST ALFRED AND THE SAXON KINGS

WE left Egbert of Wessex, in the early years of the ninth century, engaged in establishing what may be called a single suzerainty among the various Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. But the progress of the work begun by him was delayed by the descent of a new storm of invaders on the English coasts. The Northmen, driven out from the Scandinavian countries by the love of adventure, the hope of booty, and repugnance to the centralising policy of their native kings, began to plunder Northumbria at the close of the eighth century. Gradually their raids brought them further to the south, and in the year 832 their bands wintered for the first time on English soil, in the Isle of Sheppey. From that year to 878 the English kingdoms were fighting for bare existence against ever increasing hosts, who came at first in the hope of plunder, and afterwards with the intention of founding a new state.

England was not the only victim: on the coast of Ireland, and from the mouth of the Rhine to that of the Garonne, the Northmen made themselves felt as the worst foes of peace in a period of general anarchy; but in England they performed their work of destruction with special thoroughness. They destroyed the kingdoms of Northumbria, East Anglia, and Mercia, and Alfred the Great, who came to the throne of Wessex in 871, found it necessary to

purchase a respite from the attacks which had brought his kingdom to the last gasp. After seven years of incessant fighting, and a final victory at Ethandune, in 878, the young king divided England with his enemies. By the Treaty of Wedmore a

**The Great
Alfred and
the Danes**

line drawn from Reading to the point where the Ribble takes a western turn in the direction of the sea was fixed as the boundary between the English and the Danes. In East Anglia the invaders formed a kingdom under the rule of Guthrum; in Eastern Mercia there arose a federation of five Danish boroughs. The rest of the Danelaw was settled by smaller communities organised on a republican model.

Alfred survived the treaty of Wedmore by more than twenty years. This period he occupied partly in warfare against new bands of Danes, partly in the reorganisation of his shattered kingdom. The pains which he took to improve his army, by a stricter enforcement of the service and by calling out the ordinary militia in relays, bore fruit even in his own time. He secured Wessex and West Mercia against sudden raids; he reannexed Essex and the town of London. He also fortified boroughs as places of refuge and posts of observation, and he was wiser than most of his successors in his attempts to create a powerful navy for the defence of the English coasts. But his warlike exploits were eclipsed by those of his descendants,

and he is more justly celebrated for his endeavours to revive religion and education, for his translations of such standard works as Boethius, Orosius, and Gregory's "Pastoral Care," and, finally, for his connection with the first English Chronicle, which appears to have been compiled under his supervision. His code of laws, though no more than a summary of custom and previous enactments with some few improvements, is at once a testimony to his care for the good order of his kingdom, and a historical monument

lands which had been ceded at the Peace of Wedmore; and every stage of their advance was marked by the establishment of new strongholds and the restoration of an ordered government. Edward the Elder (900-925), aided by his sister Ethelfleda, the lady of the Mercians, encroached steadily upon the Danes in the midlands and the eastern counties. Before his death the Five Boroughs and the kingdom of East Anglia had been incorporated with Wessex. Athelstan (925-940) is famous as the victor of Brunanburh, a battle



AN EARLY TRIAL BY JURY IN THE TIME OF KING ALFRED

In this picture the artist, Mr. C. W. Cope, R.A., depicts a trial by jury in the early days of English history. In his account of the reign of Alfred the Great, the historian Hume describes trial by jury as an institution "admirable in itself and the best calculated for the preservation of liberty and the administration of justice that was ever devised by the wit of man." Though trial by jury is generally supposed to have been founded by Alfred, the authorities are now agreed that it was probably transplanted from Germany and introduced by the Saxons after their settlement in England.

of the first importance. It is doubtful whether he should be regarded as the inventor of the administrative system which we find in the later Anglo-Saxon period; but his authentic acts are in themselves sufficient to place him among the heroes of the English nation.

The immediate successors of Alfred (900-978) were men of more than average ability and resolution: and it is less their fault than that of our authorities that the men, apart from their deeds, live only as shadows in the page of history. Step by step they completed the reconquest of the

which gave him possession of Northumbria. Edmund the Magnificent (940-946) crushed a rebellion of the Five Boroughs, conquered Cumberland, and gave it to Malcolm, King of Scots, as the price of an alliance which English vanity magnified into a submission. Under Edgar the Peaceful (958-976) and his able minister, Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, there was at length a respite from warfare. The chief energies of the government were now devoted to Church reforms, such as the enforcement of celibacy upon the clergy and the diffusion of a strict monastic rule, and to the obliteration

ENGLAND BEFORE THE NORMAN CONQUEST

of the feud between the native English and the Scandinavian immigrants. At this point we may pause to survey the political institutions of the West Saxon state, which in this period reached their highest point of elaboration and efficiency. Unless their nature is clearly grasped, much of later English history cannot be understood, for the story of the English constitution is one in which there are no violent breaches with the past, and the influence of West Saxon legislation remains a living force in England long after the close of the Middle Ages.

The English crown was regarded as the monopoly of the house of Cerdic—that is, the Wessex kings—but it was admitted that as between the members of that family the nation might exercise the traditional right of election, and that an incompetent or tyrannical king might always be deposed. But the prominent part taken by the crown in the struggle with the Danes, a brilliant series of conquests, and the moral support of the Church, gave to the West Saxon monarch of the tenth century a power as much greater in degree as it was more extensive in sphere than that of German tribal sovereigns. He had no standing army; but a large body of thegns held land from him as the price of military service, and every freeman was bound to muster at his summons for a defensive war. He imposed no taxes, but his demesnes and customary dues supplied him with ample resources for his ordinary needs. The old nobility of birth (*eorls*) had become extinct or had lost its former consequence; and the king's thegns, who now counted as nobles, were no mean

counterpoise to the hereditary aldermen in whose hands the government of the more recently conquered provinces was allowed to remain as a concession to the spirit of local and tribal independence. Absolute, however, the king was not, in theory or in practice. A folk-moot of the whole body of the freemen was impossible in a kingdom which extended from the English Channel to the Scottish border, but in all matters of importance the king was bound to take the opinion of his Witan, or wise men—a council composed of aldermen, bishops, and king's thegns. It was through this assembly that the national prerogative of electing and deposing kings was exercised.

For purposes of local government the whole of England south of the Mersey and the Humber was divided into shires, of which some, such as Kent and Essex, represented kingdoms of the so-called

Heptarchic period, others were provinces of the old West Saxon state, while a third class were of more recent origin, the creation, as it would seem, of Alfred and his immediate successors. New or old, each shire possessed a folk-moot which met in full session three times in the year, to act partly as a local parliament and partly as a law court. For judicial purposes it might be summoned specially at other seasons, when only those immediately interested as judges or parties to the suits in progress were expected to attend. The position of president in the shire-moot was shared by the bishop, the

sheriff, or royal steward of the shire, and the alderman, who was in theory elected by the Witan, but in practice was a hereditary official. The sheriff



EGBERT THE GREAT

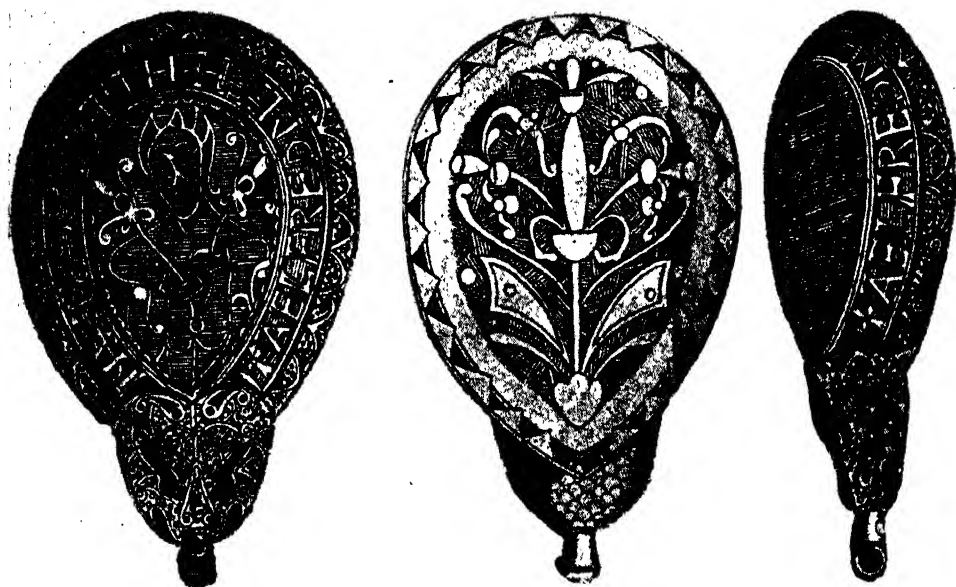
Driven in his younger days to seek refuge at the Frankish court, Egbert of Wessex there learned many lessons that were valuable to him on his return to England. He extended his kingdom, and fought the invading Northmen.



THE GREAT KING ALFRED

The name and fame of King Alfred will never pass from the grateful remembrance of the English people. Born in 849, he was crowned at Winchester when twenty-three years old, and for many years he fought against the Danes.

From the portrait in the Bodleian Library at Oxford



THE CELEBRATED "ALFRED JEWEL" IN THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM AT OXFORD

This notable example of ancient cloisonné enamelling was found at Athelney in Somersetshire in 1693, and it is considered possible that the jewel, or, at any rate, the enamelled part, was brought from the East, and is not an example of Saxon workmanship. Around its edge is the legend, "Aelfred mec heht geuweran"—Alfred ordered me to be made.

administered the royal demesnes, collected the king's customary dues in kind or money, and enforced the three primary obligations of the freeman—that is to say, service in the field, repair of fortresses, and maintenance of bridges. The alderman led the

The Primitive Operations of the Law

militia of the shire to the royal host, and received in payment the third penny of the profits arising from the shire court. The shires were divided into districts, known by the name of hundreds, which appear to be in many cases of great antiquity, representing the original settlement of a single clan or military unit. In the tenth century the hundred is important for purposes of justice and police. Minor disputes and infractions of the peace were settled in the monthly hundred court; malefactors were pursued by the hue and cry of all the lawful men within the hundred.

The efforts of the hue and cry to suppress wrongdoing were supplemented by a system of sureties. Every lord was responsible for his men, and the inferior ranks of the population both in the country and in boroughs were divided into groups or tithings, in each of which each member was responsible for the good conduct of the rest. Often the tithing was coincident with a village. This system of frank-pledge

is the chief purpose for which the village community is recognised in Anglo-Saxon law. Yet there is evidence to show that villages, whether they still remained free, or whether they had fallen under the dominion of a lord, were communities with a truly corporate feeling. The common-field system of agriculture necessitated universal conformity to the traditional methods of cultivation; and private owners were thus debarred from making special profits by the development of improved methods. Hence it was only by trade, and in the towns, that capital could be accumulated. Of towns there were a fair number in the tenth century; and we have evidence of some degree of foreign trade with Normandy, Flanders, and the Rhine lands. But the towns had been founded, as a rule, more with a view to military requirements than to the convenience of buyers and sellers. Though

Where the Kings Lived

they received the privilege of special law courts, managed by their own portreeves, and of markets under the protection of the king's special peace, their prosperity developed slowly except in the southern and eastern counties. Gloucester, Winchester, and London were important as royal residences; Exeter, Bristol, and London, possessed some

ENGLAND BEFORE THE NORMAN CONQUEST

foreign trade, and Norwich was beginning to attain prosperity. But London alone had any pretensions to influence the policy of the government.

In the institutions which we have described there is nothing of importance

Christianity's Influence on Legislation

which can be ascribed either to a Roman or a Keltic model. And what is true of institutions is also true in the main of private law, so far as it is preserved for us in the legislation of Alfred and his descendants. No doubt Christianity brought with it some maxims of the Code and Digest—the law relating to ecclesiastical persons and cases was constructed upon this foundation; we may also trace to the same source the right of testamentary bequests of movable property, and one form of real estate ("boeland").

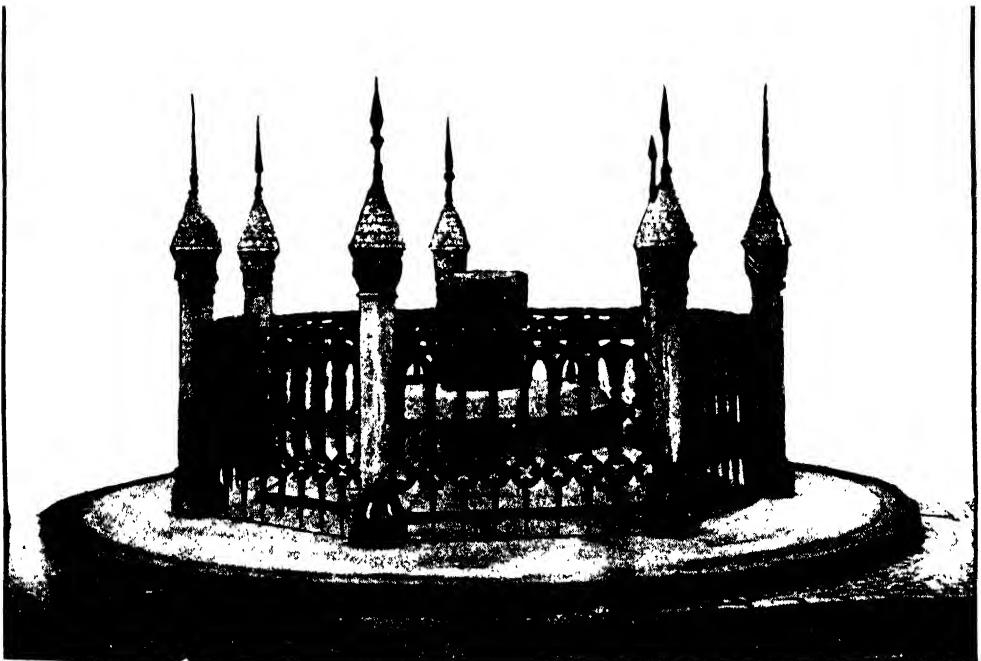
But the main substance of the customary law is Germanic. In the districts colonised by the Danes it received a Scandinavian tinge, as the very name of the Danelaw denotes; even under the rule of Edgar there was no attempt to impose one uniform law upon the local courts. In the Danelaw also we find some peculiar modifications of the Teutonic administrative

system: a patriciate of "lawmen" appears to exercise considerable influence in the Danish boroughs, and some of the eastern shires are divided, not into hundreds, but into ridings and wapentakes.

But the Danes, although by no means such barbarians as their enemies would have us believe, were inferior to the English in political intelligence; their fusion with the English race was more important for its invigorating effect upon the national type of character than for any changes of political theory which it produced. It must, however, be remembered that the struggle with the Danes accelerated the growth of a tendency towards feudalism which was inherent in the English, as in all other Germanic societies. During the period of invasions

How Feudalism Grew

it became increasingly common for the poor freeholder to "commend" himself and his land to the protection of a powerful lord. Society began to crystallise into groups, within which the bond of union was the tie of personal fidelity to a common superior. But, independently of the invasions, royal policy and the natural pressure of economic development did much to promote the



THE CORONATION STONE OF EARLY ENGLISH KINGS

This celebrated stone, on which some of England's earliest kings were crowned, stands at Kingston-on-Thames, in Surrey, and, as shown in the illustration, is protected by a stout iron railing. The kings crowned on this stone were Athelstan in 925, Edmund I. in 940, Edred in 946, Edward the Martyr in 975, Ethelred II. in 978, and Edmund II. in 1016. Under each of the columns surrounding the stone is a penny of one of the kings mentioned.

growth of feudalism. The crown was always ready to utilise the feudal tie for purposes of police, by making the lord responsible for the good conduct of his men ; and a bad harvest probably did as much as the worst of Danish raids to swell the ranks of the dependent class.

The last and the worst of the conflicts with the Northmen had still to come. In 980, immediately after the accession of Edgar's younger son, Ethelred the Unready—really *Unrede*, redeless or ill-advised—new hordes made their appearance on the English coast ; in 907

geld ") was introduced. The subsequent attempts of the king to collect a fleet were frustrated by the dissensions or treachery of his aldermen ; and when, in 994, Olaf Tryggvesson, king of Norway, and Sweyn Forkbeard, king of Denmark, descended upon England, with designs of conquest and lasting colonisation, they found the country an easy prey. Their ships were repulsed from London by the valour of the citizens, and they were bribed by Ethelred to accept a truce ; but they withdrew from one point of the coast, only to reappear upon another. The



EDGAR THE PEACEABLE BEING ROWED DOWN THE DEE BY EIGHT TRIBUTARY PRINCES
Known as the Peaceable, King Edgar brought a time of tranquillity to his kingdom to which it had long been a stranger. He reigned for thirteen years before his coronation took place, and it is said that when he visited Chester shortly after the ceremony, he was rowed on the Dee from the city to the Minster of St. John by his eight vassal princes, Kenneth of Scotland, Malcolm of Cumberland, Maccus of the Isles, and five Welsh princes. Edgar was canonised after his death, at the age of thirty-two years, and miracles are said to have been worked at his shrine.

Brihtnoth, the heroic alderman of Essex, was defeated and slain at Maldon by Norwegian pirates, his household thegns falling to a man around the body of their lord. Their loyalty inspired the noblest of Anglo-Saxon ballads, and presaged success for their country in the coming struggle :

Mind shall the harder be, heart shall the keener be,

Mood shall the more be, as our might lessens.

But the sequel was not worthy of the prelude. Ethelred made peace with the invaders, giving them a bribe of ten thousand pounds of silver, and thus the fatal practice of paying blackmail (" Dane-

central government lay in the hands of Mercian favourites, who were mistrusted by the men of other provinces.

Combined preparations for defence were frustrated by provincial jealousies and by the shortsighted selfishness of the shire militias, who would arm only to defend their own homes. The English foot soldiers, moreover, toiled vainly in pursuit of the marauders, who seldom failed to obtain horses when they disembarked. Such was the discouragement of the English that small bands of Danes roamed freely through the length and breadth of the kingdom. Again and again the country



THE MILLENNARY STATUE OF ALFRED THE GREAT AT WINCHESTER
The thousandth anniversary of Alfred's death was celebrated in 1901 at Winchester, England's ancient capital, and this striking statue of the great king, the work of the well-known sculptor, Mr William Thornycroft, was then erected.



WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR

A natural son of Robert, Duke of Normandy, the Conqueror was born at Falaise in 1027 and in 1066 invaded England.

was oppressed with taxes to provide new Danegelds, which resulted in encouraging new visits.

In 1002 the English king sought to strengthen an alliance with Richard II. of Normandy by marrying Emma, the sister of the duke: he was successful in his immediate object of excluding the pirates from the harbours of this Scandinavian colony, which had enjoyed since the year 912 a recognised position as a dependency of the crown of France. The later results of the Norman alliance were portentous, and it at once produced a new phase in the Danish wars. The marriage emboldened Ethelred to command the massacre of St. Brice's Day -- November 11th, 1002 -- in which a number of the more recent Danish settlers in England were slaughtered during a time of truce. But Sweyn, now king of Denmark, returned with an overwhelming force to avenge his countrymen; and a protracted war ended with the flight of Ethelred to Normandy in 1014 and the prostration of his king-

dom at the feet of Sweyn. The death of the conqueror in the same year enabled Ethelred to return and continue the struggle till his death in 1016. His son and successor, Edmund Ironsides, proved a warrior of no mean skill and fortune, but met his equal in Knut, or Canute, the son of Sweyn, and died, worn out, perhaps, with the strain of five pitched battles in six months, at the moment when his enemies had been forced to compromise with him for the partition of the kingdom. Upon his death Canute was elected king by the Witan, since all were weary of a struggle which now seemed hopeless. The remaining children of Ethelred and Emma found a shelter at the Norman court.

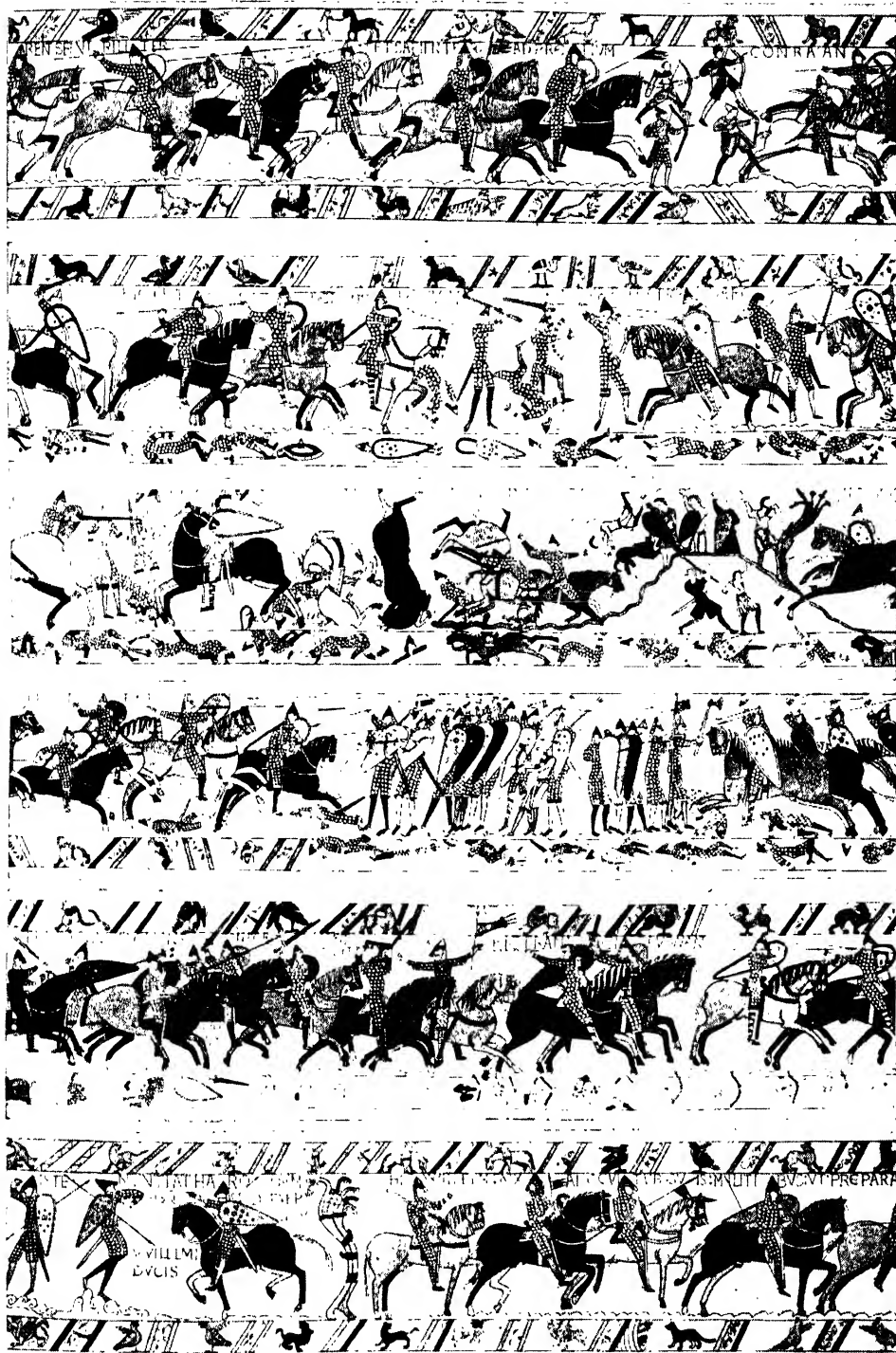
Under Canute and his sons Harold and Harthacnut (1016-1042), England became the leading province in a Scandinavian empire, which included Norway, Denmark,



THE CORONATION OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR

The coronation of the Conqueror at Westminster Abbey on Christmas Day, 1066, witnessed an outburst of ill-feeling between the two peoples. When the Saxons within the Abbey shouted their assent to the coronation, according to time-honoured custom, the Normans outside mistook the noise for an attack on their leader and set upon them. The nobility rushed from the Abbey in alarm, and it was with considerable difficulty that William was able to quell the tumult.

From the picture by John Cross



THE NORMAN CONQUEST OF ENGLAND TOLD IN THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY

The extraordinary piece of needlework, 214 feet long, known as the Bayeux Tapestry, from which the above illustrations are reproduced, is said to have been worked by, or under the superintendence of, Matilda, the Conqueror's queen. It contains a detailed representation of the events connected with the invasion and conquest of England, and it is now preserved in the Library Museum at Bayeux, where it had for centuries been kept in the Cathedral, to which Matilda had presented it. As a historical document the tapestry is of the utmost value and it is wonderfully preserved.

and the south of Sweden. In Europe Canute held a position second only to that of the Emperor Conrad II.; and by his presence at Rome on the occasion of Conrad's coronation in 1027 the Danish sovereign proclaimed his desire for friendship and peaceful intercourse with the chiefs of Christendom. He aspired to complete the conquest of Scandinavia, but it was in England that he fixed his residence. Norway and Denmark were left to be ruled by his sons or other viceroys, and he attempted to civilise these countries on the English model. He endeavoured, not without success, to win the favour of his English subjects, dis-

and Harold, son of Godwin. It appears that he resisted the temptation of colonising England with his countrymen. The acts of treachery and injustice with which he is charged fell entirely on the few great families which were dangerously powerful. But his early death, in 1035, and the unpopularity of his sons snapped the tie with Scandinavia. On the death of Harthacnut, in 1042, there being no obvious Danish candidate for the vacant throne, Edward, the sole surviving son of Ethelred, was recalled from Normandy and elected by the Witan, acting under the suggestion of Earl Godwin.

From this point to the year 1066, the government was in dispute between the



RIVALS FOR ENGLISH TERRITORY: EDMUND IRONSIDES AND CANUTE

These two men, Edmund Ironsides and Canute, were engaged in a bitter struggle for the possession of English territory, and the outcome of the duel was that the country was partitioned between them in 1016. On the death of Edmund, Canute was proclaimed king of all England, which became the leading province in a Scandinavian empire.

missed the greater part of his fleet, retaining only a small force of huscarls as a bodyguard, enforced the best laws of his predecessors, and, as his position became better established, relied more and more upon Englishmen as his assistants. Of the four great earldoms into which he divided England, the most important, that of Wessex, was entrusted to the Englishman, Godwin.

The introduction of regular taxation was his one unpopular measure. Under the name of Danegeld he introduced an impost of 2s. on the hide of land (120 acres); but the tax was continued by his English successors, Edward the Confessor,

house of Godwin and the rival house of Mercia. The king was a puppet in the hands of these two families; he had little taste for political affairs, made it his chief ambition to provide for his Norman favourites, and incidentally earned the title of Confessor by attempting to infuse something of the austere Norman discipline into the degenerate English Church. He married Godwin's daughter, and lent himself to that ambitious statesman's plans of self-aggrandisement. Earldoms old and new were conferred upon the queen's relations, until only Mercia and Northumbria lay beyond the range of Godwin's influence. But the king chafed against



KING CANUTE REBUKING HIS FLATTERING COURTIERERS

When he became king of all England, on the death of Edmund Ironsides, Canute ruled with wisdom and with power, winning and subduing men by the greatness of his personality, and he gave to the distracted country eighteen years of peace and order. Troubled by obsequious courtiers, Canute, it is said, took them to the seashore, and rebuked their flattery by showing them that the advancing waves would not retire at his word and had no regard for his kingship. The story goes that never after would the king wear his crown, but hung it on the head of the crucified Lord.



THE GREAT BATTLE OF SENLAC, NEAR HASTINGS, IN THE YEAR 1066

Important issues for England were at stake in the great battle of Senlac, near Hastings, which was fought on October 14th, 1066. Landing on the shores of this country, William I., Duke of Normandy, was determined to bring the kingdom of England under his power, and leading his great army to Senlac he awaited the attack of King Harold. In the battle which ensued the English troops were overthrown. Harold and his two brave brothers fell with many of their faithful followers. One of the first acts of William the Conqueror after his coronation was to build a convent at Senlac.

the yoke and resented the attempts of Godwin to deprive him of his Norman favourites. In the middle of the reign, in 1051, the earl and his family were expelled by a coalition between Edward and the house of Mercia. Godwin returned in a few months, leading a host which he had raised by the help of his allies, the King of Leinster and the Count of Flanders.

In the meantime the king had received a visit from his cousin, William the Bastard, Duke of Normandy, and this prince had obtained promises of the reversion of the English crown, which, although destitute of any legal value, sufficed to mark him out as the future rival of the house of Godwin. The West Saxon earl signalled his return to power by expelling the most dangerous of the foreign favourites, but compromised himself in the eyes of the devout by substituting an English archbishop, Stigand by name, for the Norman nominee of the king. It was a mistake, for which he partially atoned by adopting a conciliatory attitude towards his Mercian rival. But his son Harold, who succeeded him in the earldom of Wessex in 1053, pursued a policy which sowed dissension in the kingdom and in his own family. He thrust his brother Tostig into the earldom of Northumbria, and vainly endeavoured to outlaw Earl Ælfgar of Mercia; then, in 1065, alarmed perhaps

by the imminence of Edward's death, he reversed his policy, allowed the Northumbrians to expel Tostig, and acquiesced in their choice of an earl from the Mercian family. Harold was still strong enough to procure his own election by the Witan, when the Confessor died without issue on January 5th, 1066. But he was accepted only as an alternative to the dreaded Norman.

He was attacked almost simultaneously from two quarters: from the north by the exile Tostig and Tostig's brother in arms, Harald Hardrada, the king of Norway; from the south by William of Normandy, who came, supported by the blessing of the Pope and the treasures of his father-in-law, the Count of Flanders, to reform the English Church and to claim the inheritance of the Confessor. Over the northern army Harold won a signal victory at Stamford Bridge; Tostig and the king of Norway were left upon the field. But at the battle of Senlac, unsupported by the northern earls, Harold fell in his turn before the Norman duke. The country was paralysed by a disaster which probably affected only a fraction of its fighting force. The Normans made their way by easy

stages, and without encountering opposition, to London, the headquarters of Harold's government. On Christmas Day, 1066, the Conqueror was duly crowned at Westminster.



THE BURIAL OF HAROLD OF WESSEX AFTER THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS



WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR GRANTING A CHARTER TO THE CITIZENS OF LONDON. This illustration, from the painting by Mr. Seymour Lucas, R.A., in the Royal Exchange, represents the moment when William the Conqueror, attended by his queen and surrounded by his bishops and nobles, is handing the charter to Godfrey. The architecture is taken from the Chapel of the Pyx at Westminster, which is generally accepted as having been built before the Norman Conquest, while the costume is taken from the Bayeux Tapestry.

William the Conqueror

Described by a Contemporary

This estimate of the character of the Conqueror, from the pen of one who knew him personally, is taken from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the earliest history written in the English language and the earliest vernacular record of national events in modern Europe. The name of the author is not given, but there is strong evidence to show that in its original form it was undertaken at the suggestion of King Alfred, and that some parts of it were actually written by him. Compiled in the form of a book of annals, the Chronicle is supposed to have been begun about 892, at Winchester, the capital of the West Saxon kingdom, and continued by various chroniclers down to 1154.

If any would know what manner of man King William was, the glory he obtained and of how many lands he was lord, then will we describe him as we have known him, we, who have looked upon him, and who once lived in his court. This King William, of whom we are speaking, was a very wise and a great man, and more honoured and more powerful than any of his predecessors. He was mild to those good men who loved God, but severe beyond measure towards those who withstood his will. He founded a noble monastery on the spot where God permitted him to conquer England, and he established monks in it, and he made it very rich. In his days the great monastery at Canterbury was built, and many others also throughout England. King William was also held in much reverence; he wore his crown three times every year when he was in England: at Easter he wore it at Winchester, at Pentecost at Westminster, and at Christmas at Gloucester. And at these times, all the men of England were with him, archbishops, bishops, abbots, and earls, thanes, and knights. So also was he a very stern and a wrathful man, so that none durst do anything against his will, and he kept in prison those earls who acted against his pleasure. He removed bishops from their sees and abbots from their offices, and he imprisoned thanes, and at length he spared not his own brother Odo.

AMONGST other things, the good order that William established is not to be forgotten; it was such that any man, who was himself aught, might travel over the kingdom with a bosom-full of gold unmolested; and no man durst kill another, however great the injury he might have received from him. He reigned over England, and being sharp-sighted to his own interest, he surveyed the kingdom so thoroughly that there was not a single hide of land throughout the whole of which he knew not the possession, and how much it was worth, and this he afterwards entered in his register. The land of the Britons (Wales) was under his sway, and he built castles therein; moreover, he had full dominion over the Isle of Mann (Anglesea); Scotland also was subject to him from his great strength; the land of Normandy was his by inheritance, and he possessed the earldom of Maine; and had he lived two years longer he would have subdued Ireland by his prowess, and that without a battle. Truly there was much trouble in these times, and very great distress; he caused castles to be built and oppressed the poor. The king was also of great sternness, and he took from his subjects many marks of gold, and many hundred pounds of silver, and this, either with or without right, and with little need. He was given to avarice and greedily loved gain. He made large forests for the deer, and enacted laws therewith, so that whoever killed a hart or a hind should be blinded. As he forbade killing the deer, so also the boars; and he loved the tall stags as if he were their father. He also appointed concerning the hares, that they should go free.

THE rich complained and the poor murmured, but he was so sturdy that he recked naught of them; they must will all that the king willed, if they would live; or would keep their lands; or would hold their possessions; or would be maintained in their rights. Alas! that any man should so exalt himself, and carry himself in his pride over all! May Almighty God show mercy to his soul, and grant him the forgiveness of his sins! We have written concerning him these things, both good and bad, that virtuous men might follow after the good and wholly avoid the evil, and might go in the way that leadeth to the kingdom of heaven.

A PAGEANT OF THE NORMAN CONQUEST

In these forty pictures by Daniel Maclise, R.A., the story of the events leading up to the Norman invasion till the death of Harold is told in graphic form, giving a vivid outline of this period of great historic interest.



Harold, departing on a visit to William of Normandy, takes leave of Edward the Confessor.



Harold and his knights ride to their place of embarkation at Bosham, Sussex.



Harold's ship stranded on the Norman coast, in the territory of Guy, Count of Ponthieu.



Harold and his companions brought as prisoners before Guy of Ponthieu and his Norman knights.



Harold and the Saxons are confined in the Castle of Beaurain, near Montreuil.



Harold's captivity announced to William of Normandy, who is informed that Guy of Ponthieu demands ransom for him.



Guy of Ponthieu gives further audience to Harold and his companions, whose release is demanded by heralds from Duke William.



Harold and Duke William meet.



Harold, William's companion in his campaign in Brittany, receives the submission of Conan, Earl of Bretagne.



William confers upon Harold the dignity of a Norman knight.



Harold's oath of fidelity to William, sworn over the concealed relics of the saints.



Harold, about to return to England, bids adieu to William, who loads him with farewell gifts.



Harold, returned from Normandy, presents himself to Edward the Confessor.



Morcar, elected Earl of Northumbria in place of Tostig, Harold mediates with the nuncios of the election.



The marriage of Harold with Aldyth, sister of Edwin and Morcar.



Edward the Confessor's death.



The coronation of Harold as King of England



William, in his hunting-ground at Rouen, receives intelligence from Tostig of Harold's coronation.



Tostig, defeated in his attempt against Harold, flies in his galley from the English coast.



Hugues Maigrot, a monk, has audience of King Harold to propose conditions from Duke William.



Tostig, meditating another attack upon Harold, solicits the aid of Sweyn, King of Denmark, and of Harald Hardrada, of Norway.



William, bent upon invading England, begs for the aid of Philip I. of France, and of Baldwin, Earl of Flanders, his father-in-law.



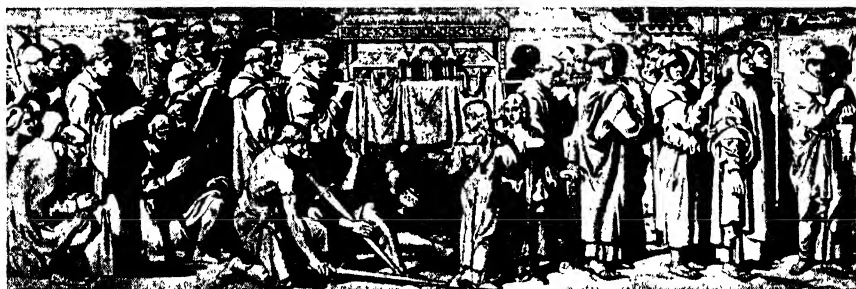
William consults the nobles and merchants of his dukedom for help in his design



Pope Alexander consecrates a banner for William's service, and grants a ring containing a hair of St. Peter.



Homage rendered to the consecrated banner



William displays the relics of St. Valery to allay the discontent of a portion of his troops at the proposed invasion.



Duke William in his galley, and accompanied by his fleet, crosses to England.



William stumbles as he lands, but, grasping the earth with his hand, calls out that he thus takes possession of English soil.



Meanwhile Tostig and Harald Hardrada are victorious, and receive the submission of the city of York.



The retreat of Edwin and Morcar from York.



Harold's interview with Tostig, his brother, and with Hardrada, Tostig's ally, before the battle of Stamford Bridge.



The death of Tostig and Harold Hardrada after the battle of Stamford Bridge.



Harold, conqueror at Stamford and wounded, sits at a banquet in York. A herald announces the landing of Duke William



The day before the battle. A knight, with monks, sent by William to negotiate with Harold



The eve before the battle: Pious observance of the Normans



The eve before the battle: Riot and wassail of the Saxons.



Morning of battle. A Norman chief, leads Duke William's van, singing the song of Roland and juggling with his sword.



Normans, retreating, are stayed and turned by William, who discloses his face to counteract the rumour of his having fallen.



Harold, in front of the standard of England, is pierced by a falling arrow.



The night after the battle: Edith discovers amid the slain the body of Harold, last Saxon King of England.

WESTERN
EUROPE IN
THE MIDDLE
AGES



DEVELOP-
MENT OF THE
NATIONS:
BRITISH
ISLES II

THE NORMAN PERIOD IN ENGLAND

THE CONQUEROR AND HIS SUCCESSORS

THE Norman Conquest is one of the turning points in English history. It came at a moment when the Teutonic policy of Egbert, Alfred, and Edgar was falling to pieces through the growth of new disruptive forces. In another century the great earldoms, if left to run their natural course of development, would have become independent kingdoms in fact if not in name. The Anglo-Saxon intellect had touched its zenith three centuries before the battle of Senlac, and since then had remained stationary, or perhaps retrograded. Except under external pressure it was most likely that England would have remained impervious to the new ideas of law, politics, science, and religion, which had grown up under the fostering care of the Continental churches. A short period of devastating warfare, a longer experience of the evils of

The Political Ascendancy of the Norman

Norman despotism and Norman feudalism, were not too high a price to pay for readmission to the European commonwealth. Nor is it a mere fancy to ascribe the higher qualities of the English nationality to the union of a stoical and freedom-loving, but sluggish and unimaginative, German stock with a race which had engrafted French taste, Italian statecraft, and Burgundian religious enthusiasm upon the robust moral qualities of Scandinavia.

We have first to sketch the process by which the political ascendancy of the Norman was riveted upon the nation. This was the work of William the Conqueror (1066-1087), and it was barely begun by the day of his coronation. South-east England alone was then in his hands, and the submission of the earls of Mercia and Northumbria, tendered shortly afterwards, did little to secure the loyalty of those provinces. The west was secured only by the surrender of Exeter, where Harold's family had found a temporary

refuge in the year 1068. The northerners were aided in their resistance by Malcolm of Scotland and Sven, or Sweyn, of Denmark. The English earls proved traitors, and the Confessor's nephew, Edgar Atheling, came forward as a claimant to the throne. The Danes, how-

ever, were bought off, the king of Scotland was intimidated into a profession of fidelity; England beyond the Humber was harried so mercilessly by the Normans that many parts lay desolate for sixty years after; and the famous stand of the native English under Hereward the outlaw, in the Isle of Ely, was, for want of Danish help, an episode of merely local importance.

In 1075 Waltheof, the last of the English earls, was lured by two of his Norman equals into a conspiracy of which the object was to raise the conquered people in a general rebellion for the benefit of the ringleaders. But the plot was disclosed, and Waltheof atoned for his folly with his life. Long before his fall the Church and the great mass of the common people had acquiesced in the foreign domination, and William's later campaigns against Norman and English elements of disaffection were waged partly with English troops. The explanation of his rapid success is to be found in the moderation with which he used his victory. While confiscating the lands of those who had actually fought against him, he left the great mass of proprietors in undisturbed possession. To all but the greatest landowners and stoutest patri-

What the Conquest Meant

riots the Conquest meant little more than the exchange of an English for a Norman lord. Representing himself as the lawful heir of Anglo-Saxon kings, the Conqueror pursued the general policy of exacting none but customary rights, and of respecting vested interests. None the less he contrived, without departing from the

strict letter of the law, to endow with English lands an army of between 5,000 and 6,000 Norman knights. His conquest, unlike that of Canute, swept away the native ruling class, and put in its place an alien aristocracy, permeated with the spirit of continental feudalism, unacquainted with the language and traditions of their social inferiors, and seldom restrained from lawless violence by motives of piety or prudence. Fortunately for the future of the

How William Safeguarded his Subjects

nation, the Anglo-Norman nobility was almost as dangerous to its master as to the native English, and William was constrained to hold it in check by measures which directly and indirectly safeguarded his new subjects. Though he yielded to the theory that all landholders, as such, were entitled to civil jurisdiction over their free and unfree tenants, he maintained the courts of the shire and hundred, and kept a tight hold on cases of a capital nature. He was chary of granting compact estates which might develop into principalities; the earldoms of Kent, Cornwall, Shrewsbury,

Hereford, and Chester, and the episcopal palatinate of Durham, were created either in favour of his own kinsmen or for the protection of the frontiers against the Scots and Welsh. The enormous grants of land which he conferred upon others of his followers were composed of widely scattered manors; and in every shire the office of the sheriff was maintained as a check upon the feudatories. The great official earldoms were abolished, and those which he created carried with them no rights except over single shires.

In the central government there was a careful avoidance of the appearance of change. The Conqueror promised at his accession to observe the law of Edward. The promise was substantially fulfilled so far as the private and criminal law was concerned; where these were changed, for example by the abolition of the death penalty, the change was popular. With regard to the central government the promise could not be kept. The relation of the crown to the most important of its subjects was completely changed; those who had been primarily national



THE TRAGIC DEATH OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR

Visiting Normandy in 1087, to deal with the French barons who had been making inroads into his dominions, William was riding down the steep street of the town of Mantes on the Seine, when his horse stumbled, throwing him against the high pommel of the saddle. Realising that the injury was serious, he requested that he might be carried to Rouen and laid in the monastery of St. Gervais, where he died on September 9th, 1087, at the age of sixty-one. In the above picture he is seen lying where he was stripped by the robber servants who watched him during his last hours.

From a drawing by Sir John Gilbert, R.A.



FITZ-ARTHUR FORBIDDING THE BURIAL OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR

The body of the Conqueror was taken to Caen, for burial in the monastery of St. Stephen. Mass had been celebrated, the corpse placed on the bier, and the panegyric on the deceased pronounced by the Bishop of Evreux, when Ascelin Fitz-Arthur, who had often complained of the Conqueror's dealings with him, declared that the man who had just been praised was a robber. "The very land on which you stand is mine," said he; "by violence he took it from my father, and, in the name of God, I forbid you to bury him in it." Although this protest failed, William's remains were not allowed to rest in peace.

officials were now feudal tenants of the king. The royal court of justice became feudal in composition, law, and procedure. For the Witan was substituted the Magnum Concilium, to which all tenants in chief were summoned. The new body had little influence upon the government, and served more as a means of publishing the king's will and obtaining the assent of his subjects to resolutions which he had framed without their help than as a constitutional check. The revenue,

Landowners and the Conqueror

too, became feudal in its character. Though Danegelds were regularly levied, feudal aids and dues must have formed at least an equally important item in the royal budget. It is true that the Conqueror declined to consider his power as solely feudal in its character. In the year 1086 he summoned all the principal landowners of England, whether tenants-in-chief or not, to a *moot* at Salisbury, which reminds us of a Frankish May-field, and the assembled host was constrained to swear allegiance to the king as against all other lords. The principle thus enunciated was

ever afterwards upheld, and proved a valuable safeguard against feudal rebels. But neither the Conqueror nor his successors were completely successful in combating the theory that the allegiance of tenants in chief was limited by the terms of their feudal contract.

The condition of the English Church had furnished a pretext for the Conquest, and it was therefore natural that William should encourage such reforms as would bring the English clergy into line with their brethren of the Continent. In his first steps towards this end he invited or tolerated the assistance of papal legates. But after 1070, Lanfranc, who replaced the schismatic Stigand in the primacy, was the chief counsellor of the crown in ecclesiastical matters. A native of Pavia, and trained originally as a lawyer, Lanfranc migrated in early life to Normandy and entered the monastery at Bec, a house which had been largely instrumental in reforming the Norman Church according to Cluniac ideas. A statesman rather than a saint, Lanfranc showed perhaps more vigour than justice in his dealings

with the English clergy. Native prelates were deposed whenever possible and Normans were nominated in their place; but in general his measures were well conceived and adapted to the peculiar circumstances of England. While he insisted on the celibacy of the regular clergy,

Lanfranc's Greatest Reform

he did not require those parochial priests who were already married to put away their wives, but only made it illegal for the rest to contract marriage in the future. His most momentous reform was the separation of the ecclesiastical from the lay courts. Hitherto the bishops had sat in the shire courts to try spiritual cases, and the result had been a scandalous intermixture of the canon and the common law. Henceforth all cases which concerned the cure of souls were to be tried before the bishop or archdeacon sitting without lay assessors. The result was to create a chain of new tribunals which steadily encroached upon the jurisdiction of the lay courts, and caused the greatest of the mediæval conflicts between the English Church and State. Lanfranc, however, can hardly be blamed for the distant effects of a measure which was primarily intended to disentangle the Church from secular interests. The concordat which he and William established between the Church and State is a proof of the archbishop's moderation. It provided that nothing should be done in any episcopal synod or council without the king's consent, and that no tenants in chief should be excommunicated except by the royal command.

A further clause is significant of the change which the Cluniac movement had produced in the position of the clergy. William insisted that no Pope should be acknowledged in England, and that no papal legates or letters should be received without his permission. He had cause to make these stipulations, for Gregory VII. claimed an oath of allegiance to the papacy in return for the support which, as a

cardinal, he had given to William's enterprise. The demand was refused. William promised to fulfil all the obligations which had been recognised by his predecessors, but would go no further, and Gregory was prudent enough not to press his point. But the abstract pretensions of the papacy, however cautiously they might be applied to particular cases, were still sufficient to justify William's uneasiness.

The Conqueror died in 1087 from the effects of an accident during the sack of Mantes, a frontier town of France. He was succeeded in Normandy by his son Robert, who had been a headstrong subject and proved a feeble ruler. In England the influence of Lanfranc and the expressed wishes of the Conqueror pro-



RUFUS: KING WILLIAM II.

The second son of the Conqueror, William II., known as Rufus, succeeded his father on the throne of England in 1087. He was of a savage and unrestrained nature, and showed respect neither for the baronage nor for the Church.

as he was hunting in the New Forest in 1100; and in Robert's absence Henry Beauclerk, the third son of the Conqueror, obtained the recognition of his title from the English Church and nobles. The new king inherited from his brother two

The Hard Rule of Rufus

domestic problems. Rufus had oppressed both the baronage and the Church. In his dealings with the former he had insisted on regarding feudal grants as conferring only a life estate, had demanded extortionate reliefs as the price of confirming heirs in the lands of their ancestors, and had abused the rights of wardship and marriage which a feudal lord possessed over his infant and female tenants. Vacant

THE NORMAN PERIOD IN ENGLAND

bishoprics and abbacies he had insisted on treating as though they were escheated fiefs; he had appropriated their revenues, prolonged the vacancies, and demanded, under the name of a relief, large sums from those whom he eventually appointed. Chief among the preferments which he had exploited was the see of Canterbury, left vacant by the death of Lanfranc in 1089. A fit of sick-bed repentance led him, in 1093, to appoint the saintly Anselm of Bec as Lanfranc's successor. He had, however, afterwards repented of his repentance. For Anselm, in his character of tenant in chief,

of Belesme, whose head, the Earl of Shrewsbury, was the rallying-point of the disaffected barons.

As much a foreigner as his father and Rufus had been, Henry still contrived to conciliate the native English by a marriage with Matilda of Scotland, the niece of Edgar Atheling, and a lineal descendant of Alfred the Great, by reviving the courts of shire and hundred which feudal usurpation had been undermining, and by taking stern but necessary measures for the maintenance of the public peace. His hand fell heavily upon insubordinate



THE DEATH OF WILLIAM RUFUS WHILE HUNTING IN THE NEW FOREST

The exact circumstances attending the death of William Rufus are shrouded in mystery. On August 3rd, 1100, he was hunting in the New Forest with Sir Walter Tyrrel, a Norman knight, who, so the story goes, anxious to display his skill, shot an arrow at a stag that had suddenly started up near them; the arrow, glancing from a tree, struck the king in the breast and instantly killed him. It has been asserted that Tyrrel intentionally killed the king, while William's death has also been attributed to an aggrieved peasant. The king's body was buried in St. Swithin's, Winchester.

From the painting by J. F. Burne-Jones

was later exposed to incessant persecutions from the Curia Regis, or royal court, and went into a voluntary exile in 1097. Henry's first measures were designed to conciliate the classes whom his father had offended. He recalled Anselm, and issued a charter of liberties in which he promised to the Church her former freedom, to the barons a just assessment of their feudal liabilities, and to the people in general the restoration of the law of Edward. He was thus enabled to defeat an attempt to bring in his brother Robert as a counter-claimant, and to expel the unruly house

barons and more vulgar malefactors. He executed justice on them not merely through the Curia Regis, but also through itinerant judges whom he sent on circuit through the shires to hold extraordinary assizes in the local courts.

The repression of feudal independence was much facilitated by the conquest of Normandy. The single victory of Tinchebrai in 1106 gave the king the possession of his brother's person and the duchy. Robert passed the remainder of his life in English prisons. The English baronage lost their best ally and the asylum on

which they had always counted in the event of their rebellions proving unsuccessful. Normandy, however, proved an expensive acquisition. Until the death of Robert's son, William Clito, in 1127, the victor was never free from the danger of Norman rebellions aided by French gold and armies. Hence England was heavily taxed for Henry's foreign policy, and the greatness of his needs led to the establishment of an improved financial system, centring in the Exchequer, to which the royal sheriffs rendered a half-yearly account of the taxes, the proceeds of the law courts and demesnes, and the other sources of profit accruing from their shires.

The relations of Henry with the Church were troubled by the question of investitures, which had arisen on the continent long before 1100, but was first raised in England by Archbishop Anselm after his return from exile. The conflict was conducted without personal bitterness. But Anselm refused to depart a hair's-breadth from the policy enjoined upon him by the papacy, and Henry declined to renounce his claim upon the allegiance of the bishops. A compromise was, however, arranged with the Pope's sanction after Anselm had endured a second exile of four years' duration (1103-1106) rather than acknowledge the bishops invested by the king. Henry renounced the claim to invest newly appointed prelates with the insignia of spiritual office, but retained his former rights of patronage and feudal service practically undiminished. This compromise, though leaving the Church as far as ever from the freedom which it had been the object of

the struggle to obtain, supplied the model for the Concordat of Worms in 1122, which finally terminated the long war of investitures between the papacy and empire. It

did not prevent further conflicts between Henry and the Church. In his later years he was harassed by the opposition of the Pope, and of a section among his own clergy, to that part of the Conqueror's ecclesiastical settlement which affected the power of the Pope. He made however, strenuous and partially successful efforts to check the growing practice of appeals to Rome.

The catastrophe of the White Ship robbed him of his only son, and his death, in 1135, left England and Normandy in dispute between two claimants. On more than one occasion Henry had exacted from his barons an oath of allegiance to his daughter Matilda, the widow of the Emperor Henry V., who had been married in 1129 to Geoffrey of Anjou. But the prospect of a female sovereign with an Angevin husband was equally displeasing to the Normans and the English. The majority of the barons on both sides of the Channel preferred the claim of Stephen of Boulogne, who was, through his mother, a grandson of the Conqueror, well known, moreover, in England and Normandy, and a model of knightly excellence. The precariousness of his position as an elective sovereign was, however, the strongest point in his favour. The barons and the Church alike sold their allegiance to him on conditions. He was expected to abate the rigid autocracy which his predecessor had established, to restore to the



HENRY I., KING OF ENGLAND

He was the younger brother of William Rufus, whom he succeeded on the throne of England in 1100. King Henry died suddenly at Angers in Normandy, and was buried at Reading.



MATILDA, QUEEN OF HENRY I.

Eadgyth, better known as Matilda, the queen of Henry I., was the daughter of Malcolm, the king of Scotland, and of Margaret, the grand-daughter of Edmund Ironsides.

Church alike sold their allegiance to him on conditions. He was expected to abate the rigid autocracy which his predecessor had established, to restore to the



THE GREAT BATTLE OF THE STANDARD AT NORTHALLERTON, IN WHICH THE ENGLISH DEFEATED THE SCOTS

This picture represents a great battle between the English and the Scots in 1138. The crown of England having been usurped by Stephen, grandson of William the Conqueror, a conspiracy was formed against him on behalf of Matilda, the rightful heir, whose cause was aided by David I., King of Scotland. The Scottish king crossed the border with an immense army, and was met at Northallerton, in Yorkshire, by the English troops. The battle was waged with great obstinacy, but the Scots fled when the cry was raised that their king had been slain. The sacred banners of four English saints were taken into the battle to arouse the enthusiasm of the troops, and thus the fight has become known as the Battle of the Standard.

From the painting by Sir John Gilbert, R.A., in the Guildhall Art Gallery

Church her "freedom" of jurisdictions and elections, to leave the great feudatories practically sovereign in their fiefs. Disputes naturally arose as to the fulfilment of a compact so one-sided; disputes engendered conspiracies, and in his efforts to forestall the conspirators Stephen offended those men who were the mainstay of his government. He arrested and despoiled Bishop Roger of Salisbury, the great justiciar to whom the administrative reforms of Henry I. had been due. The cause of Roger was warmly espoused by his fellow churchmen, and furnished a convenient pretext to discontented barons.

Matilda was invited to England in 1139; with the help of her half-brother, Earl Robert of Gloucester, she gained possession of a considerable tract of country in and around the Severn valley, and castles were held in her name by rebels throughout the length and breadth of England. While Stephen hurried distractedly from castle to castle, and wasted in small enterprises the men and money which might have sufficed for a decisive campaign, the northern shires fell into the hands of David of Scotland, and the great feudatories sold their services alternately to him and to the empress, gaining new lands and new powers of jurisdiction by

each successive treason. Unlicensed castles were rapidly multiplied and became the nests of robber gangs which pillaged at large and robbed on the highways.

The courts of the Church profited by the general anarchy to draw into their net all suits affecting clerks and Church property. The issue of the dynastic struggle was decided more by accident than skill or strength. In 1141 Stephen was taken captive at the siege of Lincoln; but in the same year the Earl of Gloucester fell into the hands of the king's friends, and the two captives were exchanged. The Earl of Gloucester died in 1147, whereupon the Empress Matilda retired from England. The contest was

taken up by her son, Henry of Anjou, whose marriage with Eleanor of Aquitaine, the divorced wife of Louis VII. of France, gave him ample resources. In 1153 the death

of Stephen's eldest son, the ambitious Eustace, paved the way for a compromise; by the mediation of the Church Stephen was induced to recognise the young Angevin as his coadjutor and heir. The anarchy came to an end; king and count devoted themselves harmoniously to the suppression of feudal licence; and in 1154 the death of Stephen brought his rival to the throne and opened a brighter era in the national history.



STEPHEN, KING OF ENGLAND

Helped to the throne by his personal popularity on the death of Henry I. in 1135, Stephen, son of the Conqueror's daughter, Adela, did not remain in favour, and had to acknowledge Matilda's son Henry as heir to the throne.



QUEEN MAUD PLEADS FOR STEPHEN'S RELEASE

In 1141 Stephen became a prisoner in the hands of the Empress Matilda, and when Maud—Matilda's own cousin—appeared before her to beg for her husband's release, she drove the sorrowing wife from her presence.



KING JOHN GRANTING MAGNA CHARTA



ENGLAND'S ANGEVIN KINGS

THEIR QUARRELS WITH THE CHURCH AND THE NOBLES

HENRY II. was a true Angevin in his restless activity, his unbounded resourcefulness, and the furious determination with which he beat down resistance to his schemes. He had little sympathy with the English character or English traditions, and two-thirds of his reign were spent on the Continent in protecting, consolidating, or extending the heterogeneous collection of French fiefs which he inherited from his parents or acquired with his wife. But his marvellous administrative ability enabled him, in the intervals of other pursuits, to reform the whole fabric of English government. He revived and improved the fiscal machinery of his grandfather, and by the Inquest of Sheriffs in 1170 tore away from this office the privilege of heredity, which had made the individual sheriff in preceding reigns as dangerous to the crown as any feudal baron. He gave to the royal court of justice a fixed constitution, placed it entirely in the hands of professional lawyers, and separated it from the cabinet of administrative advisers. He extended the system of itinerant justices and made their circuits periodical. He modified the criminal law by ordering that in every shire sworn juries of inquest should be impanelled to present the names of suspected criminals, by forbidding the lords of private liberties to protect such criminals against arrest, and by limiting the opportunities of escape from punishment which were afforded by ecclesiastical sanctuaries and the ordeal.

Notable Achievements of Henry II.

In regard to the law of land, he substituted recognition by a jury for the detested Norman trial by battle, and offered new and more expeditious remedies to those who complained of unlawful dispossession. While refusing to give up the royal rights of the chase and his special jurisdiction over the forests, he did something to codify and mitigate the iniquitous forest laws. He reduced feudal privileges within the limits fixed by the

grants of his predecessors before 1135, and while encouraging trade, granting privileges to towns, and sanctioning the formation of trade guilds with extensive rights and monopolies, he prevented the communal movement from extending into his dominions. London, which was already in fact, and soon to be in law, the capital, he held in check; the illegal commune disappeared, and the privileges which the city had enjoyed under Henry I. were curtailed.

Henry's Hand on the Church

These wonderful successes were not unchequered with reverses. Henry attempted to curtail the judicial privileges of the Church, and with that end in view appointed his chancellor, Thomas à Becket, to the see of Canterbury in 1162. Class feeling proved too strong for the personal loyalty of this tried subordinate. Becket obstinately resisted the king's wish to bring criminal clerks and suits relating to Church lands within the purview of the royal courts. The claims of the Church were contrary to the usage which had obtained in the reigns of William I. and Henry I. The king therefore took his stand upon the "ancestral customs" which he formulated in the Constitutions of Clarendon in 1164. Becket went into exile rather than observe the Constitutions, and the fact that Henry had taken this opportunity to forbid appeals to Rome gave the archbishop the support of the papacy.

The precarious position of the papacy, then engaged in a fierce struggle with the empire, protracted the struggle. But Henry was at length compelled to recall the archbishop; and when, in consequence of new quarrels, Becket was murdered by over-zealous supporters of the king, in 1170, it was necessary for Henry to renounce the constitutions altogether, in order to escape sentence of excommunication. On minor issues he and his successors

Murder of Thomas à Becket

evaded the consequences of renunciation; but it was not until the advent of the sixteenth century that the immunity of criminous clerks from the secular courts could be materially diminished.

On the continent also Henry fought a losing battle. Though he acquired Brittany by a marriage between his son Geoffrey and the heiress of that county, he failed to conquer Toulouse, Auvergne, Berri, and the French Vexin, possessions which he coveted as a means of strengthening his frontier on the side of France. His continental possessions were divided by violent provincial feuds, and his sons on the continent turned against one another and their father, set province against province, and called in the king of France to their aid. The great king's end, in 1189, was accelerated by the humiliation of a defeat which he experienced from a coalition of Richard and John, his eldest surviving sons, with the astute Philip Augustus. His foreign empire was built on shifting sand, and only a few years more were needed to involve the whole fabric in utter ruin.

Against these reverses we must, however, set the extension of English influence in the British Isles. At his accession Henry recovered the North of England from the Scot, taking advantage of the death of David and the minority of his son, William the Lion.

In 1173 the latter embraced the cause of Henry's rebellious sons and invaded Northern England. Defeated and captured, he was not released until he had recognised Henry as his overlord by the treaty of Falaise. In Ireland an Anglo-Norman occupation of the east and south coasts was effected between

1169 and 1171 by the enterprise of Welsh Marcher lords who, with the consent of Henry, had taken service under Dermot, king of Neath. In the latter year the king visited Ireland to receive the homage

of the settlers and the Irish clergy. His lordship over Ireland is said on good authority to have been recognised by the papacy, though doubt has been cast on the genuineness of the famous Bull *Laudabiliter*, which is vouched by his historians to prove the grant. Whatever its justification, his authority was soon recognised in form by the whole of Ireland; the High King of Connaught and other native rulers became his vassals, while his warrior barons from England proceeded steadily with the conquest of the eastern districts of the island.

The period of 1189-1215 was marked abroad by the loss of all the continental possessions with the exception of Guienne, at home by a reaction, partly if not mainly feudal, against the growing centralisation of executive power, which culminated in the barons' war and the Great Charter. The two sets of events are closely connected, for ill success abroad increased taxation and discontent at home. Both were the natural result of circumstances, but both were accelerated by the faults of Henry's successors, Richard and John. The former took up the plan which his father had meditated, but wisely abandoned, of joining the Third Crusade to recover Jerusalem from Saladin, the sultan of Egypt.

Hitherto England had played but a subordinate part in the movement for the exclusion of the infidel from the Holy Land. Some volunteers had gone



KING HENRY II. OF ENGLAND

Succeeding Stephen on the throne of England in 1154, Henry II., by his marvellous administrative ability, reformed the whole fabric of English government. His later years were crowded with troubles, and he died in 1189.



QUEEN ELEANOR OF AQUITAINE

The divorced queen of Louis VII., Eleanor of Aquitaine married King Henry II., to whom she brought considerable territory and a nominal suzerainty over the west bank of the Rhone.

ENGLAND'S ANGEVIN KINGS

to serve under Robert of Normandy in the first expedition; but those who joined in the second had gone no further than Lisbon, though the capture of this Moorish stronghold was largely due to the valour of the English contingent. The first occasion on which the English crown assisted the Crusaders was in 1188, when Henry II. levied for this purpose a tax of 10 per cent. on movable property (the Saladin Tithe).

through which the regency met their master's reiterated calls for fresh supplies, and afterwards by the crushing taxes which were needed for his ransom.

At the siege of Acre Richard quarrelled with the Duke of Austria, Leopold V. When the Crusade was abandoned, with its main object, the recovery of Jerusalem, unaccomplished, Richard was shipwrecked in the Adriatic, and caught by the duke's men while attempting to pass through



THE MURDER OF THOMAS A BECKET, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

Appointed by Henry II. to be Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas à Becket became the champion of the rights of the Church, and differences arose between him and the king. Believing Henry desired his primate's death, four of the king's knights attacked and assassinated him at the altar of Canterbury Cathedral on December 29th, 1170. The death of this great prelate sent a thrill of horror through Europe. In 1220 Becket's bones were enshrined in a chapel of the Cathedral; for a long while pilgrimages were made to his tomb, and reverence was paid to him as a martyr and a saint.

From the picture by C. H. Wedgill

Richard preferred to raise the funds for his expedition by the sale of privileges, offices, and crown demesnes, including the Scottish suzerainty, which his father had acquired by the Treaty of Falaise; and his force was composed mainly of men who had taken the Crusading vow and therefore served without reward. But during the king's long absence—from August, 1190, to March, 1194—the nation was harassed, at first by the exactions

Austria in disguise. The full sum demanded for his release was £100,000; only a part was paid, but, to raise this, one-fourth of all rents and movable property had to be collected from the Church and laity. Nor was this the only bad result of the Crusade. In Richard's absence his brother John excited odium against the chancellor, William Longchamp, whom the king had left at the head of the government. Longchamp was exiled from

England by the baronage ; and John then proceeded to form an alliance with Philip Augustus of France on the understanding that the dominions of Richard should be divided between them. Normandy was invaded by French forces, and John succeeded in raising a rebellion in England.

Although both attacks failed before the vigorous measures of the new regents, they left effects which were felt for the rest of Richard's reign. He found himself involved in an interminable war of skirmishes and intrigues against the King of France ; and the English baronage was encouraged by John's example to resist the financial demands which the continental war entailed. The Great Council, which hitherto had been a source of strength to the crown, readily lending the weight of its name to new laws and new taxation, now became an instrument of opposition ; and



RICHARD CŒUR DE LION

Going on a Crusade to the Holy Land, he defeated the Saracens, but failed to reach Jerusalem. He was made prisoner in 1192 by Leopold, Duke of Austria, and kept in captivity for two years. Richard passed less than one year of his reign in residence in England.

ment in the shires. But shires and boroughs alike were soon alienated from the cause of John, and London played a great part in the struggle for the Charter of Liberties. For John the beginning of troubles was the feud with the French monarchy, which, in spite of his previous friendship with Philip Augustus, devolved upon him in 1199 at the same time as the crown of England. Philip's first expedient was to support the claims of John's nephew, Arthur of Brittany, to the French dominions of the house of Anjou. Arthur's career ended in 1202, when he was captured by his uncle. The young prince was shortly afterwards assassinated, but the indignation which this crime provoked encouraged Philip to stretch his rights of suzerainty to their fullest extent. On various pretexts he declared John's continental possessions forfeit ; and in 1204 the English



RICHARD'S QUEEN, BERENGARIA

She was the daughter of Sancho VI. of Navarre, and was married to Richard in Cyprus, in 1191, while the English king was on his way to the wars in the Holy Land.

But these boons, intended to mitigate the unpopularity of heavy taxation, were imperfectly appreciated, and Hubert Walter fell from power, sacrificed as a scapegoat to his master's unpopularity.

Equally unsuccessful were the efforts of John to conciliate the trading towns. As regent after Longchamp's expulsion, the prince had sold to London the right of setting up a commune. It was a new departure, for hitherto the crown had jealously denied the boroughs the privilege of self-government ; but a number of similar concessions were made to other towns of England and Ireland in the period of John's reign. Thus the development of representative institutions in the boroughs kept pace with the similar develop-

ment in the shires. But shires and boroughs alike were soon alienated from the cause of John, and London played a great part in the struggle for the Charter of Liberties.

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were expelled without much resistance from Normandy, Maine, Anjou, and Touraine. The English baronage refused to help in defending these provinces on the plea that they were not bound to foreign service; still less would they aid with men or money the expeditions which the king planned in later years for the recovery of his inheritance.



THE CORONATION OF RICHARD I. IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY

The coronation of the Crusading king took place on September 3rd, 1189, the ceremony being marked by great pomp and splendour. In the illustration, which shows the procession along the aisle of the Abbey, the Earl of Albemarle is seen carrying the crown, while over the head of Richard is a silken canopy, supported by four lances, each one being held by a great baron of the kingdom.

The quarrel with the barons had already become acute when, in 1208, the king involved himself in a feud with the Church, by attempting to force into the primacy a creature of his own, John Grey, the Bishop of Norwich. Innocent III., to whom the monks of Canterbury appealed, encouraged them to elect an English cardinal, Stephen Langton.

When John retaliated by punishing Langton's supporters with banishment and confiscation, the land was laid under an interdict, which was taken off in 1213 only upon condition that John recognised the papal candidate. John then endeavoured to secure the help of Rome against his irritated subjects by doing homage to Innocent for his dominions. The new arch-

bishop, however, although the nominee of Innocent, and ordered to support the king, placed himself at the head of the baronial opposition. The demands of the party were formulated in 1214, while John was engaged in his final effort to recover the Angevin possessions. These demands, based upon the charter of Henry I., were embodied in a great document of the same character. They were presented to John at the sword's point on his return, when, deserted by all but a few adherents, he was finally forced to sign the new (or Great) Charter at Runnymede, near Windsor, on June 15th, 1215.

This famous document effected little change in the institutions of central and local government, nor was such reform the object of the authors. Magna Charta enumerates those liberties of the various orders in the state which had been most flagrantly infringed during the preceding three reigns. It consists of special promises to the Church, the barons, the free towns, the ordinary freemen, and the villeins. The crown's rights were more carefully defined

and limited than heretofore. Abstract principles were, on the whole, avoided. But certain promises of a more general character, and affecting all classes equally, were included in the Charter—for example, that justice should not be sold, delayed, or denied to any man; that no judicial penalty should be inflicted except by lawful process; that fines should be

proportionate to offences; and that no extraordinary feudal aids or scutages should be levied without the consent of the Great Council.

The Charter was no sooner signed than the terms of peace were violated on both sides. The barons declined to disarm; the king collected mercenaries from abroad and obtained a papal dispensation from the oath which he had taken to observe the Charter. Driven to despair by the coalition of the king and Pope, the barons invited Louis, the son and heir of Philip Augustus, to come and be their king. He accepted the invitation; and, soon after he had landed, was master of the eastern counties. John, however, upon recovering from his first alarm, raised the west against the rebels and showed the qualities of a skilled general. But in the midst of a campaign of forced marches he succumbed to illness in 1216, and died,

leaving a son of only nine years old to succeed him, under the title of Henry III.

John's death did more than his military successes to save the dynasty. The barons, already alienated from their foreign leader, who openly displayed his contempt for the disloyalty by which he had profited, returned one by one to the allegiance of the boy-king. A victory in the narrow streets of Lincoln, and a sea-fight in the straits of Dover which destroyed the French fleet, completed the ruin of the opposition. In 1217 Louis signed the Treaty of Lambeth and evacuated England. His followers received an amnesty, and some submitted, while others departed for the Holy Land. Henceforth Henry had more to fear from the party of the Crown than from that of the Charter. His minority was troubled by feuds between the English and the foreign supporters of his father. The papacy was with



THE BARONS OF ENGLAND AND KING JOHN

This picture, by Mr. William Martin, in the University Galleries at Oxford, represents the Barons of England making oath to compel King John to grant the Charter of Henry I., which had been found by Archbishop Langton in a monastery. The pressure brought to bear upon the king had the desired result, and the great Charter of Liberties, which imposed on him and his successors distinct limitations of the royal power, was signed in 1215.

ENGLAND'S ANGEVIN KINGS

difficulty induced to withdraw a claim to the guardianship of the king and kingdom, which was based upon John's oath of vassalage. In 1224 Falkes de Breauté, who had commanded the foreign mercenaries during the war and had been rewarded with six sheriffdoms in the midland counties, raised a rebellion which for a moment threatened to shake the stability of the throne. Even when he had been crushed, the situation remained difficult.

Peter des Roches, a Poitevin ecclesiastic, to whom John had given the see of Winchester, succeeded in retaining the control of the young king's education, and filled the weak but ambitious mind of Henry with dreams of conquest on the continent and of autocracy at home. Trained in this school, the king quarrelled at the first opportunity with the justiciar Hubert de Burgh, who had been for some years the head of the regency. The great minister was dismissed in 1232, and the king, now of age, attempted to govern, like the Capets of France, through insignificant ministers, who could be trusted to render an implicit obedience to their master's wishes.

Under this feeble despotism England continued to the year 1258, and the Great Council vainly protested against a policy which was expensive, unpopular, and fruitless. The king fell into the hands of two groups of foreign favourites: the one was composed of Poitevins related to his mother; the other, consisting of Provençals and Savoyards, owed their influence to the queen, Eleanor of Provence, whom Henry married in 1236. They monopolised the highest honours and were enriched from the royal demesnes. They encouraged the king in his idle dream of reconquering the French posses-

sions, with the result that he attempted the invasion of Poitou in 1242, and experienced a humiliating defeat from Louis IX. at Taillebourg; subsequently they induced him to accept for his second son, Edmund, the crown of Sicily, which the papacy was endeavouring to wrest from the heirs of the Emperor Frederic II., while they traduced and drove into opposition the king's brother-in-law, Simon de Montfort, who was the only able statesman of the royal party.

Henry himself contributed to the popular discontent by the facility with which he allowed every new claim of the papacy upon the Church. Under the stress of the war with the Hohenstauffen. Rome had begun

to claim the right of taxing the national Churches; and this pretension, resented by every class of Englishmen, was supported by the king, in whom religious feeling was developed to the point of pietism. Under the stress of these grievances, and encouraged by the general indignation which domestic misrule was daily aggravating, the Great Council made reiterated protests, refused



KING JOHN AND HIS QUEEN, ISABELLA OF ANGOULEME
False, treacherous, and tyrannical, John, who became king of England in 1199, was guilty of many infamous deeds. Being excommunicated by Pope Innocent III., he yielded to the papal claims and agreed to hold his kingdom as a fief of the papacy. John has been described as "being odious and contemptible in public and private life."

to vote supplies, and finally demanded the right of nominating and controlling the royal ministers. In 1258 the king's financial embarrassments left him at the mercy of the Great Council; the result was the formulation of a new scheme of government—the Provisions of Oxford—under which supreme power was divided between two baronial committees, the one for executive and the other for legislative purposes. The crown on the one side, the Great Council on the other, were by this scheme reduced to insignificance. It was a device for transferring power to those who considered themselves in virtue of birth, wealth, and influence the natural leaders of English society.

The new government was not wholly ineffective. It expelled the alien favourites, cancelled the recent grants of royal demesnes, and by renouncing the Angevin claims to all French territory outside Gascony it purchased peace with France; but

The Claims of the Lesser Landholders

it had no satisfaction to offer either to the towns or to the lesser landholders, who since the time of Henry II. had been qualifying for political life by an active share in local administration. Both these classes had grievances to be redressed; both demanded a share in the government. Hence the ruling barons lacked popular support. Simon de Montfort and the king's eldest son, the Lord Edward, dissociated themselves at the first opportunity from the new government, which they had originally supported. The object of Montfort was simply to procure justice for the commonalty. Edward, on the other hand, thought merely of recovering popular support for the crown. Acting under his son's advice, the king renounced the Provisions in 1261, and proposed that Louis IX. of France should arbitrate between himself and the barons. The suggestion was accepted, and by the Mise of Amiens the French king declared the Provisions null and void.

The decision came as a crushing blow to the leaders of the oligarchic movement, and they retired from the struggle. But Montfort, at the head of a party which comprised some of the younger barons, the lesser tenants in chief, the towns, and a section of the clergy, refused to accept a settlement which left the king unfettered, and the people without a share in the government. At the battle of Lewes, in 1264, Montfort captured the king and Prince Edward. He immediately promulgated a new constitution, the most original and far-seeing scheme of political reform which the Middle Ages can show. It placed the nomination of councillors and ministers of state in the hands of a board of three, of whom Montfort was the

chief. But the three electors and their nominees were made responsible to the Great Council, and Montfort introduced a radical change into the constitution of this body. He summoned to it in 1265 not only prelates and barons, but also two knights from every shire, and burgesses from a certain number of cities and boroughs. Shire representatives had been summoned on previous occasions, both in this reign and in that of John, but the towns had never before been represented; and the knights, who represented the estate of the lesser landholders, had been consulted in the past only about taxation. In this parliament the third estate took part in all the deliberations, and their assent

to the final decisions is formally recorded.

Montfort appealed to two distinct interests in the nation. There was an ecclesiastical party, which resented the league between king and Pope and the consequent taxation of the national Church for the benefit of Rome. There was also a constitutional party, whose views were summed up in the thesis of their famous manifesto, the Song of Lewes, that "the king is not above the law, but the law above the king," and in the doctrine that the law should be made, and its application controlled, by a representative

assembly. But it is the usual fate of enthusiasts to be dependent on the support of a well-intentioned but apathetic majority, which is easily converted from the new doctrine to the old. Montfort fell at Evesham in 1265. He had incurred the suspicion of designs upon the crown, he had failed to reform in a few months the

accumulated abuses of centuries, and he had outraged the accepted ideas of loyalty and good faith. From the first he was confronted by a compact body of irreconcilables. As soon as his popularity waned, they fell upon him and restored the old order over his grave. He was long revered as a patriot, but his party disappeared from English politics.



KING HENRY III.

Crowned King of England at Gloucester in 1216, Henry III. was a ruler who lacked energy and resoluteness, but he was pious and loved art and literature. He died in 1272.

The Fate of Simon de Montfort

Simon de Montfort

"THE HERO AND MARTYR OF ENGLAND IN THE
GREATEST OF HER CONSTITUTIONAL STRUGGLES"

HE was indeed a mighty man, and prudent, and circumspect; in the use of arms and in experience of warfare superior to all others of his time; commendably endowed with knowledge of letters; fond of hearing the offices of the Church by day and night; sparing of food and drink, as those who were about him saw with their own eyes; in time of night watching more than he slept, as his more intimate friends have oft related. In the greatest difficulties which he went through while handling affairs of state, he was found trustworthy; notably in Gascony, whither he went by command of the king, and there subdued to the king's majesty rebels beforetime unconquered, and sent them to England to his lord the king. He was, moreover, pleasant and witty in speech, and ever aimed at the reward of an admirable faith; on account of which he did not fear to undergo death, as shall be told hereafter. His constancy all men, even his enemies, admired; for when others had sworn to observe the Provisions of Oxford, and the most part of them despised and rejected that to which they had sworn, he, having once taken the oath, like an immovable pillar stood firm, and neither by threats, nor promises, nor gifts, nor flattery could be moved to depart in any way with the other magnates from the oath which he had taken to reform the state of the realm. . . . And the earl, like a second Joshua, worshipped justice, as the very medicine of his soul.

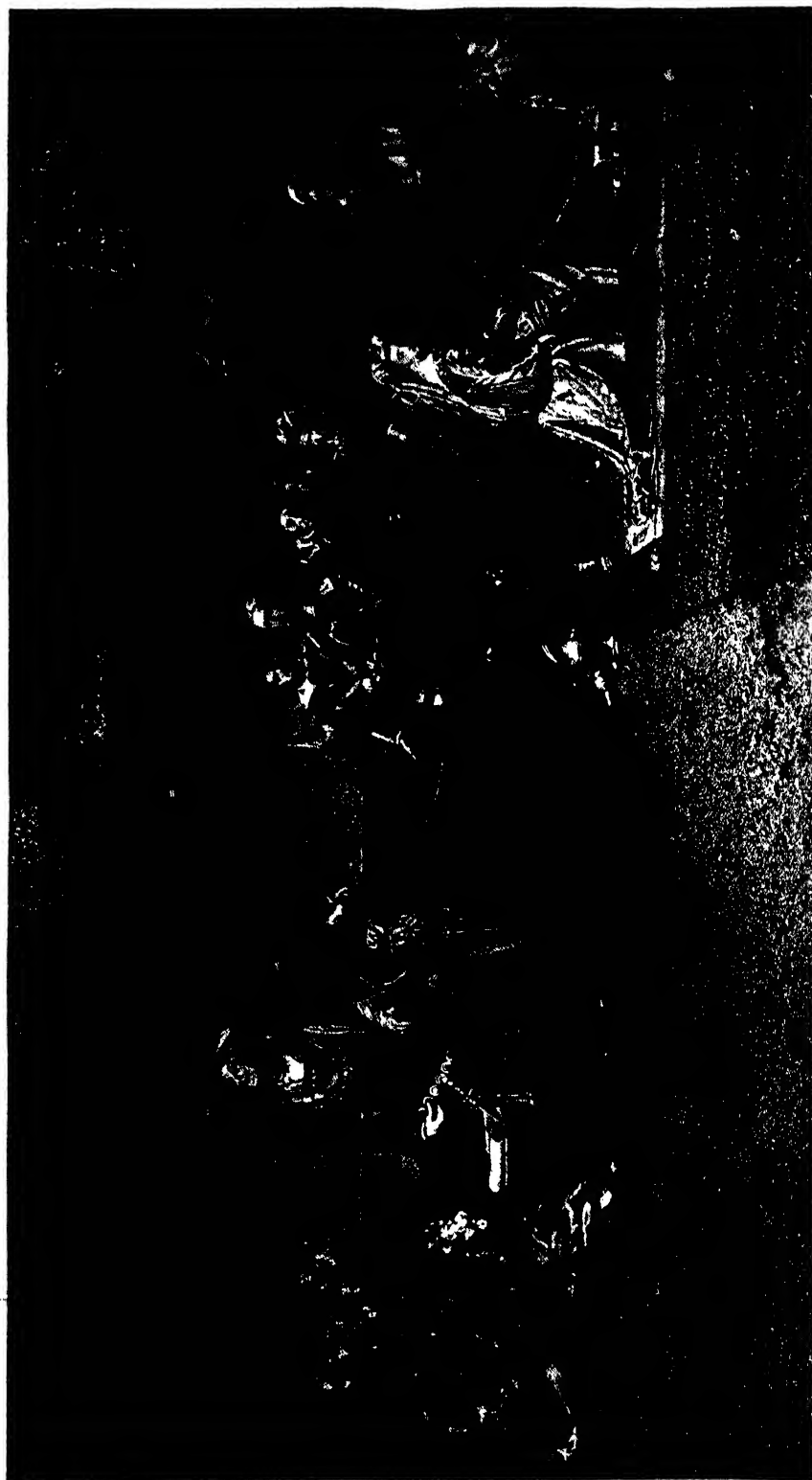
Rishanger, the Monk of St. Albans, in his "Chronicle"

HAD he lived longer, the prospect of the throne might have opened before him, and he might have become a destroyer instead of a saviour. If he had succeeded in such a design, he could not have made a better king than Edward; if he had failed, England would have lain at the feet of Edward, a ruler whose virtues would have made him more dangerous as a despot than his father's vices had made him in his attempt at despotism. He was greater as an opponent of tyranny than as a deviser of liberties; the fetters imposed on royal autocracy, cumbrous and entangled as they were, seem to have been an integral part of his policy; the means he took for admitting the nation to self-government wear very much the form of an occasional or party expedient, which a longer tenure of undivided power might have led him either to develop or to discard. The idea of representative government had, however, ripened under his hand; and although the germ of the growth lay in the primitive institutions of the land, Simon has the merit of having been one of the first to see the uses and the glories to which it would ultimately grow.

Bishop Stubbs in "The Early Plantagenets"

HE was more than a great general, more than a great politician, far more than a mere party leader, inasmuch as he obeyed to the death that ruling principle which his own words expressed, "I would rather die without a foot of land than break the oath that I have made." This was why he was worshipped as a saint and a martyr; and if we smile at the popular superstition which believed in the miracles wrought at his tomb, we can look up to the popular instinct which recognised in him that rarest of all miracles, a true patriot. The form of government which he set up, and the constitutional measures he adopted to strengthen it, sufficiently disprove the assertion that he used the pretext of reform to cover the designs of a purely selfish ambition. The fact that he never aimed at supreme power, in spite of the insults and injuries he received at the hands of Henry, until it became evident that in no other way could justice be done, acquits him of the charge of traitorous disloyalty to his king. The fact that he was the only one of the greater nobles who remained true to his cause shows how far he was above the prejudices of class, and what temptations he had to surmount before he left the common rut in which his peers were content to move, and marked out for himself the nobler and more dangerous course to which duty called him. A conviction of his own honesty of purpose, a firm faith that the right would triumph, as well as an overweening confidence in his own powers, led him to persevere in that course to the end, and to essay the impossible. He failed, but he was fortunate in that he did not live to feel the bitterness of failure.

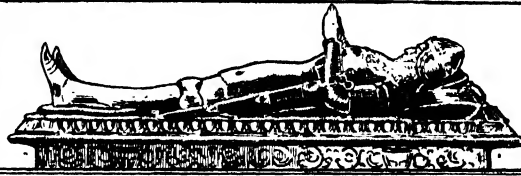
W. G. Prothero in "Simon de Montfort"



KING EDWARD II. BEFORE HIS ACCESSION, WITH HIS FAVOURITE, PIERS GAVESTON

The son of a Gascon knight, Piers Gaveston ingratiated himself into the affections of Edward, the first Prince of Wales, but the friendship did not find favour with the king, Edward I., who banished Gaveston from the kingdom and made the prince promise never to recall him. No sooner, however, had the prince ascended the throne than he sent for Gaveston, and loaded him with honours and riches. The king and his favourite are seen in the picture, the nobles, who later executed Gaveston, standing by in disgust.

From the picture by Marcus Stone, R.A., by permission of the "Art Journal"



THE FIRST TWO EDWARDS AND THEIR WARS WITH THE SCOTTISH KINGS

THE influence of Montfort's ideas is apparent in the policy of Edward I. The overthrower of Montfort succeeded his father, in 1272, with no intention of satisfying the political aspirations of the third estate. But circumstances were too strong for him. He found the crown impoverished and heavily in debt: the hereditary revenue barely sufficed for ordinary expenses, and throughout his reign he was involved, partly by circumstances, but more often by his own choice, in prolonged wars. So far as he could, he used feudal levies, liable to serve for forty days at their own expense; but it was no longer possible to win campaigns with forces of this kind. Making an extensive use of paid knights and men-at-arms, he required frequent grants of taxation from the Great Council, and it soon became evident that taxes upon the property of the non-feudal classes would be tolerated only

The "Model Parliament of Edward I." if these classes were consulted. From 1273 onwards we find him trying experiments in representation. These culminate in the summoning of the so-called Model Parliament in 1295.

To this assembly the prelates and barons were summoned as to a Great Council, representatives of the inferior clergy as to a national synod, knights of the shire and burgesses as to Montfort's parliament of 1265, with this difference, that there was no attempt to pack the assembly as Montfort had done. Since 1295 the form of the English Parliament has undergone considerable changes. The estate of the lower clergy withdrew, by its own wish, soon after Edward's time, and thenceforth, till the reign of Charles II., voted supplies through the convocations of the two archiepiscopal provinces.

The list of magnates and of towns entitled to be summoned was frequently altered even in Edward's reign. But from the year 1295 a parliament including representatives of towns and shires has been an

essential feature of the English constitution.

The control of the new body over taxation was settled in principle as early as 1297, when the threat of rebellion, provoked by illegal imposts on exports and on the shires, compelled the king to sign the "Confirmatio Cartarum." The language of

The King Abandons the "Evil Dues" this document is guarded, and Edward, while abandoning the "evil dues," carefully refrained from committing himself to any general principle. There is, however, little doubt that his concession was understood, and meant to be understood, as a promise that neither land nor movables should be in future taxed at the king's arbitrary will and pleasure. It should be noticed that it was the king's intention to consult the third estate on no other question save that of subsidies. For advice on legislation and policy he looked, as of old, exclusively to the magnates. But before the end of the reign the commons had asserted the principle that redress of the grievances expressed in their petitions ought to precede the grant of money; and thus the way was prepared for the claims which they advanced in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to exercise a power of control and revision over almost every department of the administration.

The development of this new assembly, through which a definite, although a subordinate, share of political power was allotted to the commons, could not fail to

Barons' Weakened Powers weaken the position of the baronage. The significance of parliamentary institutions from this point of view was recognised

and resented shortly after Edward's death. But in his lifetime the new parliament was accepted by the estate of the barons as a necessity, and was no doubt the less criticised because it was the result of a gradual evolution. The reign of Henry III. had shown how powerful feudalism could be so long as it stood on the defensive,

and how little popular support would be worth in a protracted struggle with the traditional leaders of the nation.

Edward therefore shrank from declaring open war upon feudalism, and preferred to use it rather than to crush it. The concessions which he made to win the support of the barons were almost as important as his covert invasions of their privileges. Already, as the ally of Simon de Montfort, he had helped, by the Provisions of Westminster, to bind and define the judicial power of the great lords over their free tenants. In the statute of Gloucester in 1278 he went a step further, ordering a strict inquiry into the nature and source of all existing private jurisdictions. From this time forward a sharp distinction was drawn between "royal rights" of justice and ordinary seigniorial rights which might be regarded as inherent in the ownership of land. The crown resumed all royal rights which had passed into private hands otherwise than by express grant or immemorial prescription. Owing to this policy the higher feudal courts became

of little value to their owners and quickly fell into desuetude, while the importance of manorial courts was greatly diminished. On the other hand, the land laws of Edward I. ministered to the aggrandisement of the great families. The statute "De Donis" in 1285 restored the

power of strict and perpetual entail, which had been undermined by a series of judicial decisions; that of mortmain, in 1279, by forbidding religious bodies to acquire new lands, secured lay lords against one of the most frequent frauds

through which they were robbed of their feudal dues; and, finally, that of "Quia emptores" in 1290, which, while permitting the holder of unentailed land to sell it freely, made the buyer the immediate tenant of the seller's lord, came as a boon

both to great landlords and to the holders of encumbered estates. It is not surprising that Edward, though he had to deal with a hostile coalition of barons in the crisis of 1297, was generally able to count on their support. Feudal levies were a valuable element in the great armies with which he overran Wales and Scotland, and the estate of the barons did him excellent service in his determined conflict with the papacy.

This conflict assumed importance because it came at a time of friction between the monarchy and national Church. The statute of mortmain

was naturally resented by the clergy, and it was followed by the writ of "Circumspecte Agatis" in 1285, which defined the limits of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in civil cases. The protests of Archbishop Peckham against these measures did not call for

serious consideration. But the hands of the next primate, Winchelsey, were strengthened by the daring and unexpected action of Boniface VIII. in issuing the Bull "Clericis Laicos." Boniface forbade the clergy to pay taxes to the lay power without the consent of

the Holy See; and it was not until the clergy had been outlawed and the Pope intimidated that the obligation of the Church to contribute subsidies for national purposes could be once more asserted. Winchelsey, defeated on the question of



THE GREAT EDWARD I.

Coming to the throne of England in 1272, Edward I. revealed high qualities as a general, a warrior, a lawgiver, and a statesman, and proved himself to be one of England's greatest rulers. He waged long war against Scotland.



Eleanor of Castile



Marguerite of France

THE TWO QUEENS OF EDWARD I.



THE LAST MARCH OF EDWARD I.: DEATH WITHIN SIGHT OF SCOTLAND

King Edward I. of England twice defeated the Scots, but after the crowning of Robert Bruce as King of Scotland the English were driven from that country. Edward, however, determined again to make war on the Scots, and he collected the whole of his forces at Carlisle to lead them northward. But while the troops were arriving the king fell ill, and at Burgh-upon-Sands, resting by the wayside, he died, his last moments gladdened by the sight of a flaming town that marked the course of his army. From his Scottish wars he was called "The Hammer of the Scots."

From the water-colour drawing by W. Bell Scott, by permission of Mrs. Hueffer

ecclesiastical privilege, made himself the leader of a baronial opposition; constitutional grievances were made a pretext for avenging those of the clergy. In 1300 Boniface VIII. claimed Scotland as a fief of the papacy, and forbade Edward to invade that country. Again Winchelsey and the orthodox clergy were to be found upon the side opposed to the king. The struggle ended with the removal of Winchelsey from the primacy through the good offices of a new and more moderate Pope; and the statute of Carlisle, forbidding men of religion to pay taxes to any foreign power, gave the papacy a significant hint of what might be expected if it encouraged the perverse ambition of the national Church.

Turning from the futile dreams of continental aggrandisement which had brought his father to the verge of ruin, Edward devoted his attention to consolidating the royal power within the British Isles. He interfered little with Ireland; but circumstances gave him the opportunity of asserting himself in Wales with permanent, and in Scotland with temporary, success. From the days of the Confessor, Wales, though divided between petty

dynasties and convulsed by internal wars, had been a thorn in the side of England; the raids conducted by the Norman kings and Henry II., often with imposing forces and a vast expenditure of treasure, seldom resulted in a real extension of English influence. The colonisation of the marches by predatory adventurers had proceeded steadily; and in the thirteenth century the plain country to the north and west and south of the Welsh mountains was securely held by a chain of castles, partly in royal and partly in private hands. But the growth of the Marcher aristocracy had led to a new danger. The great houses linked their fortunes by marriage and alliance with those of the chief Welsh dynasties; and the princes of North Wales had shown, first in the struggle for the Charter, and again in the civil wars under Henry III., that they were disposed to encourage every movement which might paralyse the hostility of the English crown.

If North Wales were once subdued the whole country would be at the feet of England. To this object Edward devoted himself between 1277 and 1283. By a skilful combination of land and sea forces

Llewelyn, the ruling prince of North Wales, was hemmed up in Snowdon, and forced by the Treaty of Conway, in 1277, to acknowledge his dependency on England. An attempt to repudiate the submission led to a second invasion, to the flight and death of the prince, and to the enactment of the "Statutum Gwallie" in 1284 incorporating the principality with the dominions of the English crown. The marches kept their old privileges and organisation, except that the right of private war, which they alone of the English barons claimed to exercise, was abolished. The remainder of Wales was divided into shires—Cardigan, Carmarthen, Merioneth, Carnarvon, Anglesey, and Flint—which were governed, like those of England, through shire courts and sheriffs, but were unrepresented in the English parliament, and subject to the authority of special justices, whose headquarters were fixed at Carnarvon and Carmarthen. The Welsh shire courts administered the old Celtic private law, with such alterations as English ideas of reason and justice demanded; and the land remained Celtic in blood and speech and sentiment, though it is true that some attempt was made to create towns which should be centres of English influence.

More than a century after Edward's measures it was still possible for Owen Glendower to resuscitate the instinct of national independence in Wales, and seriously to prefer a claim to represent Llewelyn's dynasty. But the Tudors completed the work which Edward had begun. Most of the marches had then become, through forfeiture, escheat, or inheritance, the property of the crown. Under Henry VIII. they were partly grouped in new shires and partly incorporated with those already in existence. From 1536 onwards the shires and towns of Wales were represented in the English parliament; the remnants of Marcher lawlessness and privilege were stamped out of existence by the Council of Wales and the marches, a local Star Chamber with large discretionary powers, which continued in existence until the year 1640. The attempt to conquer Scotland

arose out of claims of suzerainty similar to those which had justified the conquest of Wales. The import of the homage usually tendered by the kings of Scotland to their southern neighbours was uncertain, the Scots themselves claiming that it was merely due for the English lands of which their kings were tenants, while the English naturally saw in it a proof of the dependency of Scotland as a whole. It is neither possible to determine nor profitable to discuss the original nature of a relation which began as early as the tenth century, and meant in practice so much as the stronger party could make it mean and no more. The facts of real importance are that Scotland had until recent times always proved a troublesome neighbour to England, that Alexander III., although a



THE FIRST PRINCE OF WALES

The independence of Wales came to an end when Edward I. led an army into the principality. Summoning the representatives of the subdued people, the king, it is said, promised them a prince who was a Welshman by birth, and who could speak no other language. Then he showed his infant son Edward, who had been born at Carnarvon.

THE FIRST TWO EDWARDS

son-in-law of Henry III., had stoutly refused to acknowledge himself the vassal of Edward so far as his kingdom was concerned, and that it was imperative to prevent Scotland from taking part in European combinations as a free and independent state.

The death of Alexander III., in 1286, was followed at no long interval by that of his granddaughter, the Maid of Norway; the disputes which immediately arose among the numerous competitors for the vacant throne enabled Edward to assert his suzerainty. With the consent of all the claimants he conducted an arbitration which ended in the recognition of John Balliol as the rightful heir. The new king did homage to the full extent of Edward's pretensions, and

New Scottish King it would have been well if the latter had remained content with this guarantee of peace, the greatest that could reasonably be expected, and a far greater concession than the pride of the Scottish people approved. An ill-judged attempt to assert the jurisdiction of the English royal court over Balliol and his subjects led to the virtual deposition of the vassal king, the election of a baronial committee of regency, and, in 1296, to an alliance between the new government and Philip the Fair of France, who had recently declared war upon Edward with a view to the recovery of Guienne and Gascony. The policy of the English king had precipitated the danger which it was intended to prevent.

The danger was, however, promptly met. In 1296 the Lowlands were overrun by an English army, and Balliol, the nominal head of the national movement against the English supremacy, was taken and relegated to an English prison. Scotland was placed under English regents. The regalia of the crown were sent to Westminster as a sign that the independent existence of the kingdom had now ceased.

But in the following year, William Wallace, a poor knight of whose early life we know almost nothing, was able to collect an army, which at Stirling destroyed the garrison of occupation, and to make himself

the head of a new national regency.

A timely truce with France enabled Edward in 1297 to return home from an uneventful expedition to Flanders, to effect a settlement with the leaders of the constitutional opposition at home, and to invade Scotland for the second time. At the

battle of Falkirk the squares of Wallace's spearmen were shaken and shattered by the masterly tactics of the English king. Wallace became a homeless fugitive, to be betrayed and executed after years of wandering; and Scotland received a constitution under which the government was vested in a regent, a council, and the assembly of the Scottish Estates. The latter body was to be represented in the English parliament, but to legislate independently for Scotland; the English shire system and the law of the Lowlands were to be applied without exception over the whole country. Moderate and skilfully planned, so far as details went, the new constitution was in its essence intolerable to Scottish pride; it was hardly promulgated before a new national leader appeared in the person of Robert Bruce, the grandson and namesake of a competitor who had all but defeated Balliol's claim to the throne.

The Bruce, though overthrown almost as soon as crowned by a third army of invasion, defied his pursuers in the fastnesses of the Western Isles, and it was left for Edward's successor to complete the reduction of the rising, if he could. The old king, worn out by strenuous labours, died at Burgh-upon-Sands, on the Solway Firth, in the act of launching a new host against the supporters of Bruce in 1307. The greatest legislator and most



EDWARD II. AND HIS QUEEN, ISABELLA OF FRANCE
Edward II. had none of the great qualities of his father, whom he succeeded on the throne of England in 1307, and in 1327 he was deposed because of his incompetence and murdered in Berkeley Castle.

Death of the Great Edward

far-seeing reformer of an age which all over Europe was rich in statesmen, Edward bequeathed to his son a kingdom more extensive, more compact, and more highly organised than any which had hitherto existed in the British Isles, but at the same time loaded with debt, involved in a hopeless war, and weakened

Character of Edward II. by the discontent of an aristocracy whose political ambitions became more dangerous in proportion as their feudal privileges and responsibilities were diminished by increasing centralisation. The new king was the last man to extricate his inheritance from these embarrassments; profligate, extravagant, and idle, he abandoned public affairs to Piers Gaveston, an unpopular favourite of Gascon origin.

The Scottish war was dropped at the moment when there was the best prospect of ending it with success; and the next few years were wasted in bickerings with the great barons, for which Piers Gaveston was principally responsible. Led by the king's cousin, Thomas of Lancaster, the great earls clamoured for that influence in the royal counsels which, according to custom, should have been theirs. Incompetent and untrustworthy to a man, the malcontents would have merited little sympathy if the king had placed himself in the hands of an abler favourite. Even under Gaveston's guidance he pursued a more patriotic policy than that of his opponents; and it was an invasion of Scotland on his part which enabled them to assemble in council and pass, without the concurrence of clergy or commons, ordinances for the banishment of Gaveston, the regulating of the government, and the limitation of the king's prerogative.

The ordinances provided for annual parliaments; but the form of government which they set up was one in which

Fate of the King's Favourite supreme power was divided between the ordainers and the estate of the baronage. It was an oligarchic constitution, similar to the Provisions of Oxford, but with even less pretence of solicitude for the common weal. The king would have been justified in challenging the ordinances on the broad ground of constitutional principle. He chose rather to accept those which involved a question of principle, and only to disregard that which touched his

favourite. The concession was inadequate; Gaveston, having fallen into the hands of his rivals, was beheaded without a trial, and the king, after having weakly consented to a reconciliation with the murderers of his friend, in the hope that by so doing he might save the last of the English strongholds in Scotland, was left by the opposition to fight the national cause without their aid.

Attempting the relief of Stirling with a force which by no means represented the full strength of his kingdom, he lost the battle of Bannockburn in June, 1314, and with it his last hope of destroying Scottish independence. Stirling capitulated at once, and Berwick a few years later. The Scots in their turn took the offensive. Northern England was savagely raided, and Edward Bruce, crowned king of Ireland in 1315, waged incessant and successful war upon the English settlers of that island for the next three years. To the problem of meeting these attacks little thought was given by any English party. Edward's main thought was to be revenged upon his arch-enemy, the

The Fateful Battle of Bannockburn Earl of Lancaster. With the aid of new favourites, the Despencers, he sowed dissension in the ranks of his opponents; and in 1322 Lancaster, deserted by his adherents, experienced the same fate which he had meted out to Gaveston. A constitutional colour was put upon this act of vengeance by means of a parliament which declared the ordinances illegal, and laid down the important principle that all matters touching the king, the realm, and the people should be settled exclusively by a parliament composed of the three Estates.

It was, however, a time of general want and suffering. Famine and murrain proved no less destructive than the raids of the Scot; and for all misfortunes the king was held accountable. A miserable intrigue between his wife, Isabel of France, and Roger Mortimer, a lord of the Welsh Marches, gave the starting-point for a conspiracy which was joined by all the enemies of Edward and the Despencers. The latter were seized and hanged; the king was deposed in favour of his son by a parliament in which the commons were present as approving though silent spectators. Even the murder of Edward a few months later, in 1327, failed to produce a reaction.



THE HUNDRED YEARS WAR

ENGLAND'S PART IN THE GREAT STRUGGLE

WHEN the queen-mother and Mortimer, acting as the self-constituted guardians of the young Edward III., concluded a humiliating peace with Scotland their popularity at once evaporated. A new conspiracy, in 1330, sent Mortimer to the scaffold, relegated the queen to a close though honourable confinement, and made Edward III. king in fact as well as name. The new ruler immediately established a name for vigour and military success. He once more attacked Scotland, which the death of Robert Bruce had left in the hands of an infant king. Edward, the son of John Balliol, was assisted in an invasion of Scotland, and the English Edward avenged Bannockburn by a signal victory which he gained at Halidon Hill over Bruce's partisans in 1333. Edward Balliol became King of Scotland for a time, while the heir of the national idea was taken for safety

Scotland Maintains Her Independence

to the court of France. It was a delusive success; Scotland could not be effectively conquered, the alliance of the nationalists with France was now more firmly cemented, and in 1339 Edward Balliol retired from the country in despair, leaving the field open for his rival's return. But the ephemeral success of his cause soothed English pride, and gave Edward III. a breathing space in which to make good his position.

The Hundred Years' War is, after the secular conflict of papacy and empire, the most important crisis of the Middle Ages. It was a trial of strength between the two most compact and highly developed of mediæval states. One of these it ruined, while upon the other it threw a strain which accelerated the natural processes of decay and transformation. It ushered in an era of complex diplomacy, shifting combinations, and protracted wars, in consequence of which despotism, more or less popular in its character, became the normal type of European policy.

Its various effects upon European policies, from Bohemia to Spain, and from Scotland to Sicily, belong properly to European history; but some account of its general character is necessary to explain the nature and order of the changes to which it led in England. It was due to the desire of the French monarchy to recover the last shreds of the Angevin Empire from the heirs of Henry II.

England's War of Self-defence

Philip VI., the first Valois king, took up the plans which more than one of his predecessors had framed for this purpose. He sheltered David Bruce in exile, and afterwards assisted him in the recovery of Scotland; he attempted to break the long-standing alliance between England and the Flemish towns by imposing on the latter a count of French sympathies; in short, he neglected no opportunity of injuring English interests. Edward began the war in self-defence, although, after its beginning, he raised a counter-claim to the throne of France, in virtue of his descent on the maternal side from Philip the Bold, who died in 1285.

This step was mainly taken to remove the feudal scruples of the Flemings, who refused to serve against the king of France. The danger to the Flemish and Gascon trade and the piracies of the French made the war popular with the English commons. Their subsidies were generously granted, and the expenses of a war in which all ranks, from the duke to the man-at-arms, fought for daily wages were defrayed chiefly from the purses of the middle and lower classes. After

Why the War was Popular

1345, when the military operations took a wider scope, and plans of conquest shaped themselves in the minds of Edward and his son, national pride, the interests of a nobility growing rich on spoils and ransoms, and a series of brilliant victories, maintained the popularity of the war.

At first it appeared as though the victory of Edward would be soon complete. The navy of France was destroyed at Sluys in 1340, their main army was shattered at Crecy, and David of Scotland became an English prisoner at Neville's Cross in 1346. The victory of Roche Derrien, in 1347, though trivial in itself, placed Brittany at the disposal of the English party; and, finally, King John of France fell into the hands of the Black Prince at Poitiers in 1357. With this disaster anarchy was unchained in France. Threatened simultaneously by a sedition in the capital and by an insurrection of the oppressed peasantry in the surrounding country, the regency of France consented to the Treaty of Bretigny, in 1360, under which the English kept Calais—which had been captured in 1347—Poitou, Saintonge, the Angoumois, the Limousin, Perigord, Quercy, Rouergue, Guienne, and Gascony. This treaty marks the highest point of English fortunes in the first stage of the war.

Under John's successor, Charles V., the French monarchy slowly began to recover from the wounds inflicted in the preceding twenty years. The Black Prince, who, as Duke of Aquitaine, administered the continental possessions, rashly involved himself in a war respecting the Castilian succession. An expedition to Castile shattered his health, drained his resources, and, in spite of temporary success, ultimately led to an alliance between France and Castile, which cost the English their command of the sea and enabled Charles V. to resume the aggressive with some success. The Black Prince returned home to die. Under the

governorship of his younger brother, the incompetent John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, English power dwindled till, at the death of Edward III., Bordeaux, Bayonne, Dax, and Calais were the only French towns of importance left to his grandson.

The early successes in France had been due to the superiority of English arms. No missile weapon of the age could compare with the longbow in efficiency, and this weapon was almost an English monopoly. In tactical skill Edward and his son were superior to any general whom they encountered. The new practice of paying the soldiers of all ranks had transformed the English fighting force from a disorderly mob into a disciplined army. But the capture of strong

places was difficult. It was easier to overrun France than to hold it. When the war ceased to be self-supporting, the burden of maintaining an army on hostile territory became insupportable. Edward had undertaken a task which was beyond the powers of any feudal state. It would have been well if his successors had recognised this truth and impressed it on the nation. But under Richard II. operations of an aimless kind were intermittently pursued, while allies fell away and the narrow seas were scoured by French and Scottish privateers.

The French government, grown bolder with success, began to lay plans for the invasion of England, and actually sent auxiliaries to Scotland.

In 1366, Richard II., having freed himself from the trammels of the regency, was sufficiently wise and courageous to conclude a truce for twenty-eight years.



EDWARD III. OF ENGLAND

Under this monarch England's prosperity rapidly advanced. Invading France, Edward won the great battle of Crecy in 1346, and in the following year he captured Calais after a long siege. His later years were full of trouble.



PHILIPPA OF HAINAULT

This brave woman was the queen of Edward III. While the king was fighting in France, Philippa met the Scots at Neville's Cross, in 1346, and defeated them. She died in 1369.



THE ORIGIN OF THE ORDER OF THE GARTER: EDWARD III. AND THE COUNTESS OF SALISBURY

The Order of the Garter, founded by Edward III. between 1344 and 1351, is said to have originated at a State Ball. According to the story, a Countess of Salisbury dropped her garter, which the king picked up. Observing the smile of his courtiers, Edward exclaimed, "Honi soit qui mal y pense!"—"Evil be to him that evil thinks—which words became the motto of the Order.

From the painting by A. Chevallier Luyer, R.B.A., by the artist's permission.

But this step was made an additional count in the long list of charges which his enemies compiled against him. Although the truce was not formally renounced after his fall, the relations of the two countries

supply," made every new tax an excuse for demanding remedial legislation. In particular they claimed statutory recognition of their right to be the sole source of taxation, to appropriate for specific



RICHARD II. AND HIS QUEEN, ANNE OF BOHEMIA

The son of the Black Prince, Richard II. became king in 1377. He was overthrown by the rebellion of Henry of Lancaster—Bolingbroke—to whom he resigned the crown.

remained dubious and tense. The last and greatest stage in the struggle still belonged to the future.

The deposition of Edward II. was followed, in English politics, by fifty years

of unstable equilibrium. On the question of the war there was no radical difference of opinion between the king and the people. The constant demands for new subsidies gave rise to complaints, and new claims of control and audit on the part of the Commons. But their respect for the king prevented them from pushing remonstrance to extremes until years and infirmity

compelled him at last to leave the management of Parliament in the hands of his favourites and kinsmen. The third estate, acting invariably on the maxim that "redress should precede

principles of parliamentary government; their formal separation from the House of Lords, which took place early in the reign, made it difficult to unite the various elements of the opposition, and

purposes the supplies which they had voted, to audit the royal accounts, and to impeach or demand the removal of ministers of whom they disapproved. These rights the king was ready to grant, but no less ready to disregard whenever circumstances strengthened his position. The Commons were more successful in formulating than in applying valuable



KING HENRY IV. AND JOANNA OF NAVARRE, HIS CONSORT

When Richard II. yielded up his crown it was assumed by Bolingbroke, under the title of Henry IV. In earlier life, Henry fought in the East; after becoming king he extended the powers of Parliament. He died in 1413 at Westminster, and was buried at Canterbury.

some time had to elapse before the knights of the shire, who represented the lower gentry, realised the complete identity of their interests with those of the towns. When, as in 1371 and 1376, a court



LONDON'S ROYAL GUESTS IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

Even in the Middle Ages the City of London stood first as a business centre, and, upon occasion, was the host of royalty. This picture, from a panel in the Royal Exchange, illustrates such an event, the artist showing Sir Henry Picard, the Mayor of the City and Master of the Vintners' Company, in 1357, entertaining at the one time four kings—Edward III. of England, David II. of Scotland, John of France, and the King of Cyprus.

From the painting by A. Chevallier Tayler, R.B.A., by the artist's permission

faction placed itself at the head of the third estate, the true importance of the latter at once became manifest. On the second of these two occasions the Commons impeached and punished the two most obnoxious of the royal ministers. But the sequel is instructive. The Black Prince, who had instigated the attack through jealousy of the influence which John of Gaunt possessed with the old king, died in the middle of the session. The opposition, left leaderless, collapsed; the ministers were released, and the Speaker of the Commons was thrown into prison. The next Parliament, in which the Lower House was packed with the friends of John of Gaunt, obediently condoned the duke's defiance of its predecessor.

Edward III. had usually been on good terms with his baronage. But the composition of this estate was different at the end of his reign from what it had been at the beginning. A single earl of the royal blood had been sufficiently influential to menace the safety of Edward II. But Edward III., blind to this warning, had given positions as great as that of Thomas of Lancaster to several of his younger sons and kinsmen. The intrigues of these princes were a fertile source of trouble from the moment when the crown devolved upon the infant son of the Black Prince.

John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, attempted to provide for a regency without reference to the wishes of Parliament. This design was frustrated, and Parliament successfully insisted on a share in the nominations to the Royal Council. But from 1377 to 1381 the government was practically in the hands of John of Gaunt; his inefficient and extravagant conduct and the French war necessitated burdensome taxation, which gave the signal for the Peasants' Revolt. Gaunt was scared into retirement by the evidence of his unpopularity which

the revolt afforded, and the king fell into the hands of a faction headed by his half-brothers, the Earls of Kent and

Huntingdon. Another faction no less formidable gathered head under the king's uncle, Thomas of Gloucester; in 1386 it impeached the Earl of Suffolk, and saddled the king with a board of eleven advisers whose functions resembled closely those of the Ordainers. Richard temporised and began to make preparations for attacking

his enemies by armed force. His purpose was forestalled; he fell into the hands of the Gloucester faction. A servile Parliament condemned to death the chief of Richard's ministers and friends, and the Gloucester faction continued to control the administration.

A few months later the king unexpectedly asserted his authority by declaring himself of age. He dismissed the obnoxious regents, and appointed a new council, to which, with sagacious moderation, he called some of those who had been his opponents. Parliament, formerly so zealous in the service of the opposition, acquiesced in the overthrow of a form of government which had been established by the authority of both Houses, and for eight years Richard ruled without hindrance from his relations and on good terms with the estates. The explanation is that he had succeeded in procuring the support of John of Gaunt, the most formidable among his uncles. The court parties were therefore evenly balanced; the natural respect of the Commons for an hereditary title was under these circumstances sufficient to guarantee his position.

In this position Richard might, with common prudence, have continued for the rest of his life. But he chafed against his dependence, and the fear of conspiracies affected his mind to the point of madness. In 1397 he suddenly arrested the heads of the Gloucester faction; some were executed, some imprisoned, and Earl Thomas himself was murdered in prison without a trial.

These proceedings, counterbalanced as they were by profuse grants of dignities to the Lancastrian faction, were passively accepted by Parliament, which was carefully packed with royal creatures and surrounded by the armed bodyguard of the king during its proceedings. In a second session, under constraint of the same kind, the estates voted to Richard a life revenue, and made him completely independent of their assembly for the future by sanctioning the appointment of a standing committee of eighteen members with full powers to act in the name of Parliament.

The power thus won was used oppressively in many instances. London and many of the shires were heavily fined on the charge, true or false, that they had abetted the king's enemies. The king's livery was granted to all who would wear



AN UNWORTHY KING: RICHARD II. RESIGNING HIS CROWN AND SCEPTRE

This illustration, from the water-colour drawing by Sir John Gilbert, R.A., represents the most humiliating moment in the life of King Richard II. His attempts to govern without a parliament roused the indignation of his people, and the opposition, under Henry of Lancaster, compelled him to renounce the throne. We here see him giving up his crown and sceptre. He afterwards signed a statement declaring that he was not worthy to be king any longer.

it, and was treated as a licence for indiscriminate purveyances. But Richard was no tyrant, and the general body of the nation was long suffering. He might long have pursued his course of absolutism with impunity if he had not rashly attempted to rid himself of the Lancastrians, through whom he had gained his end. He banished Henry of Hereford, the son and heir of John of Gaunt, without the semblance of a trial; and on the death of the old duke, in 1399, he confiscated the Lancastrian estates.

Henry of Hereford was the most popular member of the royal house. He had been a Crusader in Prussia, he excelled in knightly exercises, and he had been treated with palpable injustice. When, in July, 1399, he took advantage of Richard's absence in Ireland to land and raise the standard of rebellion he was joined at once by numerous adherents; and Richard returned only to enter a captivity in which he perished mysteriously a year later. The crown, which he had resigned in the hope that his life would be spared, was claimed by Henry of Lancaster, and his right was confirmed by the three estates. So the long-dormant right of national election was revived; the house of Lancaster came to the throne with a title which, however they might cloak the fact, was, and was generally considered to be, parliamentary. Never had Parliament interfered so often and so decisively as in the reign of Richard II.

It alternately exalted and debased the king and his opponents. There was no department of the government too important for its interference, no custom so old that it might not alter or abolish it. But when we go beneath the surface of events and study the influences at work we find that

the personal and territorial influence of a few great nobles determined the acts of Parliament. The Commons had ceased to be significant by becoming the sharpest weapon of party warfare.

The reign of Henry IV. was not wholly untroubled by factions of the old kind, now the more dangerous because they



THE DEATH OF RICHARD II. IN PONTEFRAC CASTLE

Though no longer on the throne, Richard II. was not altogether without friends, as was shown by the endeavour which they made to reinstate him as king. But this attempt failed, and the failure meant the death not only of the ex-king but of many noblemen who had supported him. The exact manner of Richard's death is not known, but it is supposed that he was murdered in Pontefract Castle.

From the drawing by Sir John Gilbert, R. A.

were bound up with the claims of various pretenders. In Cheshire and the Welsh marches the personality of Richard had been popular; in Wales, Owen Glendower headed a growing band of nationalists; in the North of England, the Percies and other families which had been Lancastrian were alienated from Henry by disappointed

ENGLAND DURING THE HUNDRED YEARS WAR

ambition. An impostor pretending to be Richard appeared for a time in Scotland; the Earl of March, whom Richard had designated as his heir, had the support of the Percies and Glendower. Fortunately, France was paralysed by the feuds of Burgundians and Armagnacs, Scotland by a minority and the capture of the young James I. by the English in 1405. Hence the Welsh got little help from France, the Percies none from Scotland.

The Welsh rising, which began in 1400, was for a time successful, and Owen Glendower was actually crowned Prince of Wales by his followers in 1402. But, having formed a coalition with the Percies to set the Earl of March upon the English throne, Glendower was defeated by the royal forces at Shrewsbury, in 1403, though the Percies came to his aid. Harry Percy, "Hotspur," the life and soul of the English malcontents, perished in the battle. His father, Northumberland, failed ignominiously in the attempt to raise the north against the crown in 1404, fled to Scotland, and was subsequently slain at Bramham Moor in 1407, when conducting a raid into Yorkshire. Owen Glendower, although a thorn in the side of England for some years longer, failed to carry the war across the English border. His rebellion, which at one time had made him master of the principality, died down by degrees; the date of his death and the place of his burial are alike unknown.

After 1404 the chief difficulties of Henry IV. were caused by Parliament and by his own son. The king was personally unpopular; his title clearly rested on the goodwill of the nation. He had been elected to reform the state of the country and restore the rule of law; but his government was expensive, and no brilliant military achievements were placed to his credit.

Parliament therefore criticised him freely, and it might have gone hard with him if he had not conciliated the clergy by helping them to pass the statute De

Hæretico Comburendo, the first persecuting measure in the national history. In 1404 the Commons clamoured for a reduction of expense and the dismissal of foreign favourites. They would grant a subsidy only on condition of being allowed to appoint treasurers who should supervise the expenditure of the sum voted. In 1406 they demanded "good and abundant governance," insisted on the choice of new and more acceptable counsellors, nominated by a controller of the royal household, and insisted upon appointing auditors of their subsidy.

In 1411 they were induced, perhaps by the heir apparent, Henry of Monmouth, to consider the question of setting aside the king, who was now worn out with sickness. At this point, however, the king showed an unexpected spirit, sent for the Speaker of the Lower House, and intimated that

he would have no novelties discussed. The Commons took the rebuke in a submissive spirit; the prince and his supporters

were removed from the Privy Council, and the king enjoyed some measure of independence for the remainder of his reign. But in the years 1399-1413 the chief power in the state had passed from Crown to Parliament: the executive had

learned to take the orders of the Commons, and had begun to avoid responsibility by adopting submissively the advice of inexperienced representatives. The death of Henry IV., in 1413, left his son and namesake face to face with domestic problems of no small difficulty.

The terrible pestilence known as the Black Death, which was the greatest scourge of fourteenth-century Europe, visited England in 1348-1349, and on a smaller scale in subsequent years. Affecting the country districts almost as severely as the towns, it swept away from a third

to a half of the total population. It is probable that a few years restored the population of the country to the old level; but in the meantime many changes of

The Welsh People in Revolt

Henry IV. Rebukes the Commons



THE FATHER OF ENGLISH POETRY
Born about the year 1340, Geoffrey Chaucer served the English government in various capacities, and had a wide experience of life. The famous "Canterbury Tales" were written when he was about fifty-four years of age.

far-reaching import had been set on foot. The passing scarcity of labour accelerated the rise which had already begun in the general rate of wages; increased wages and restricted cultivation led to a rise in the prices of agricultural produce, and against the double evil king and Parliament sought to provide by legislation. The Statute of Labourers fixed the maximum price of the important articles of food; it also gave power to the justices of the peace in every shire to fix the rates of wages.

Such measures could not produce the desired effect, but they caused great bitterness of feeling among producers and labourers, since hired labour was becoming daily more essential in the agricultural economy of the nation. Before 1300 the lords of manors depended chiefly upon serf labour for the cultivation of their demesnes. Since that date it had become a usual practice to commute labour services for money payments, according to the current rate of wages.

These bargains, advantageous to both parties when first arranged, proved ruinous to landlords when the rate of wages was doubled by the plague. Unable to obtain labour at the rates which were fixed under the new statute, they conspired with the labourers to defeat it, but at the same time sought to reimburse themselves by a stricter exaction of the labour services and dues in money or kind to which they were still entitled from their serfs. The two classes of the landless labourers,

oppressed by unjust legislation, and of the land-holding serfs, irritated by the claims of their masters whom they had ceased to respect, drew together and formed a party of considerable size, which was skilfully knit together by concealed agitators. The teaching of John Wycliffe, himself the opposite of a socialist, was interpreted by popular preachers in such

a way as to fan the flame. Wycliffe, an Oxford doctor of theology, had become a public character by the mission which he undertook in 1374 to negotiate a concordat between the Pope and the national Church. Subsequently he distinguished himself by vigorous attacks upon the extortions of the papacy, which the captivity of Avignon and the great schism had discredited in general



KING HENRY V. AND HIS QUEEN, CATHARINE OF VALOIS

The son of Henry IV., whom he succeeded in 1413, the young king continued the severe policy of his father towards the Lollards. Having won by war the regency and succession of France, he married the Princess Catharine, daughter of the French king, Charles VI.

estimation, by supervising the preparation of an English Bible, and by sending out poor preachers to address the people in homely language on the evils of society and the necessity for amending them.

Though linked at one time with John of Gaunt by the tie of their common opposition to the hierarchy, Wycliffe was definitely committed to no political party. It was an abstract doctrine, borrowed from the scholastics, to the effect that power ceases to be legitimate when unlawfully used, which commended the preaching of his priests to the discontented classes. A rising of the peasants broke out in 1381; the occasion in some places was supplied by the collection of a poll tax, which, although graduated, weighed more heavily upon the poor than upon the rich.

But the area affected by the rising was so considerable—the whole of East and South-east England—that we must suppose the preparations to have been on foot before the unpopular impost was demanded. London was forcibly entered by the men of Hertford, Essex, and Kent; much damage was done to the property of John

ENGLAND DURING THE HUNDRED YEARS WAR

of Gaunt, alien merchants, and court favourites; the primate, Simon Sudbury, was beheaded on Tower Hill.

But the boldness of the young Richard II. saved the situation. He induced the mob to disperse by granting manumission to the villeins; the more local risings were mercilessly crushed with the aid of the gentry and superior clergy. Parliament refused to confirm the bargain which Richard had made with the villeins, both Lords and Commons protesting that they would rather all die in one day than lose their rights. But the alarm which the rising had produced made landholders readier to adopt a new method of farming which was now coming into vogue. They began to let their demesne lands at a rent to tenant farmers; the remaining services of the villeins were rapidly commuted, and the class soon acquired the new name of copyholders. Henceforth the peasant holding land was practically a freeholder. His rent was a fixed one, and though he was still subject to the manor court the restraints upon his personal liberty disappeared. Some traces of villeinage

remained in certain parts of the country as late as the sixteenth century, but Tudor writers regard it as, for practical purposes, extinct. The chief disability which clung to the descendants of villeins was that of exclusion from the franchise. This was limited by a statute of 1430, which introduced as a necessary qualification for an elector in the shires the possession of a freehold of forty shillings' annual value. Copyholders, though often men of substance and education, did not acquire the franchise till the great Reform Bill of the year 1832.

Wycliffe's party survived the suppression of the villeins' revolt, from which the reformer entirely dissociated himself, denouncing the conduct of the peasants with great freedom. But he fell under the suspicion of heresy, chiefly because, in his attacks upon the sacerdotal theory, he was logically led on to deny the doctrine of transubstantiation. Condemned at the Lambeth Council of 1382, he nevertheless remained unmolested as parish priest at Lutterworth until his death, in 1384. The Lollards, as his followers were



KING HENRY V. WOOING THE FRENCH PRINCESS CATHARINE

This interesting picture represents the wooing of England's young king, Henry V., which had a successful termination, the wedding, attended with great pomp, taking place on Trinity Sunday, June 3rd, 1420, in the Parish Church at Troyes.

From the painting by W. F. Yeames, by permission of the "Art Journal."

called, distinguished themselves in the latter part of Richard's reign by bold attacks upon the chief superstitions and abuses of the mediæval Church. They had friends at court, and the queen, Anne of Bohemia, may possibly have favoured them; it is certain that their doctrines spread to her native country and formed the starting-point of the religious and patriotic movement to which Huss gave his name. But in England the persecution initiated by Henry IV. was rapidly successful. William Sautre, the first victim, burned in 1401, before the statute "De Hæretico" was passed, was followed to the stake by a number of fellow-believers. In 1414 Sir John Oldcastle, the most considerable representative of the sect, formed a plot to seize Henry V. to extorting toleration. The plot was detected and suppressed; the last chance that the Lollards would become a political party faded away. There is some evidence to show that Lollard congregations evaded their persecutors and continued to meet in some of the eastern counties till the beginning of the sixteenth century. How far the survival served as a foundation for the later growth of Protestantism remains a matter of dispute among historians. The fourteenth century therefore gave indications of a new period to come, of impending changes in the structure of society, in religious dogma, and in secular and ecclesiastical government. It is the culminating period of mediæval civilisation; the seeds of decay are already implanted. But a century was to elapse before the need for social and religious reorganisation became

generally recognised. The chief interest of the Lancastrian and Yorkist period is to be found in the gradual breach with old manners, traditions, and ways of thought. The conservative and innovating tendencies of the century are alike illustrated by the first great poets who wrote in an English intelligible at the present day. Chaucer (1340-1399), the poet of the court and middle classes, Langland, the poet of the people, are sharply distinct, but both the creatures of their age. Chaucer reflects the cosmopolitanism of cultured mediæval society; he made free use of French and Italian models, and familiarised the English ear with foreign metres. But in his chief work, "The Canterbury Tales," he is a national poet of



KING HENRY VI. OF ENGLAND
He was the son of Henry V., and became king when only one year old. During his long minority the government was in the hands of the Privy Council. In the year 1471 he was murdered in the Tower of London.

the best kind. The prologue introduces us to the members of a pilgrimage on the road to Canterbury; the tales which follow are fitted with the art of a dramatist to the characters of the pilgrims.



THE QUEEN OF HENRY VI.
Margaret of Anjou, the queen of Henry VI., was married to that monarch in the year 1445.

all English men and women, who tell them to relieve the tedium of the journey. A genial humour pervades the prologue and many of the tales. Chaucer could be satirical, but was well satisfied with the England which he knew. Langland, an ecclesiastic of humble station and saturnine disposition, wrote his allegory of Piers Plowman with a moral object to illustrate the search of the religious soul for Christ and to reprove the disorders of every social rank. But his rough alliterative verse abounds in sketches of daily life and in comments upon their significance, which reveal the patriotic artist, deeply sympathising with those whose follies he chastises. In the sense



KING HENRY V. OF ENGLAND LEADING HIS ARMY AT THE SIEGE OF HARFLEUR IN 1415
This spirited picture by Mr. C. M. Sheldon represents King Henry V. at the siege of Harfleur, in France, when he urged on his troops with the ancient battle-cry of the English armies: "God for Harry! England! and St. George!" With only 7,000 men Henry faced a French army six times as numerous, and at Agincourt achieved a great and memorable victory.

that he states the case for the poor and oppressed he is a democrat. But, like Wycliffe, he was altogether averse from the wild radicalism which found vogue among the peasant rebels. The last of Langland's works, "Richard the Redeless," is an invective against the misgovernment of Richard II., but is far from revolutionary in tone. The

Parliament on the Track of Heretics

author makes some excuses for the king, and expresses a hope that he may be brought to see the error of his ways. The reign of Henry V. opened inauspiciously with the conspiracy of Oldcastle : and although the alarm which this produced had the effect of inducing Parliament, hitherto not ill-disposed towards the heretics, to sanction a more stringent search for them, there was a widespread feeling of dissatisfaction with the Church. Towards the king the Commons showed their independence by insisting that the statutes made at their request should be in conformity with the petitions submitted to him. Among the nobles a plot had been formed to depose Henry in favour of the Earl of March, Henry's nearest kinsman and the heir presumptive.

In the midst of these ominous symptoms, the king, perhaps with the object of distracting the popular mind from criticism of his government and of the Church, decided to revive his claims upon the Angevin inheritance. The madness of Charles VI. and the distracted state into which France had been brought by the feuds of Burgundians and Armagnacs afforded a tempting opportunity. Offers of a compromise were rejected at the English court and Henry set sail for France, at the head of a small force, in the summer of 1415. Landing at Harfleur, he marched, after its capture, on Calais, in the hope of provoking the French to a pitched battle. His wish was gratified, and at Agincourt the English

How the English Won Agincourt

won a brilliant victory by their superior skill in archery and tactics. But the real work of conquering began only in 1417, when the reduction of Normandy was methodically undertaken ; Rouen was not taken until January, 1419, after a siege of almost six months.

It was an unforeseen event which in the following year left Henry master of the greater part of France. The Duke of Burgundy, in the act of going through a

reconciliation with the dauphin, who had espoused the Armagnac side, was foully murdered at the Bridge of Montereau. The Burgundians and the Queen of France revenged themselves by concluding with Henry V. the Treaty of Troyes, in 1420, under which the King of England concluded a marriage with the Princess Katherine, became regent in the present, and was recognised as the heir apparent. A national party headed by the dauphin maintained the cause of independence, and even achieved a victory at Beaugé, in 1421, over an English army. But the stain of the murder committed at Montereau told heavily against the future of Charles VII. ; the birth of a son to Henry and Katherine appeared to set the seal upon the union of England and France ; nor were English hopes dissipated by the untimely death of their king, in 1422, at the age of thirty-five.

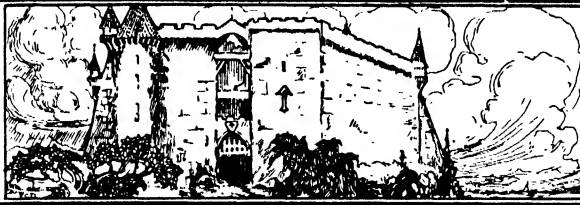
The success of Henry V. had converted the Commons to a project which, in the first instance, they had viewed with marked disfavour, but the reaction against the expenditure which the new conquest entailed was all the more severe when it came. The English did not realise how

English Reverses in France

much the dissensions of France had contributed to their success, and did not understand that half the kingdom remained to be conquered. Their confidence was soon rudely shaken. The new king was an infant : his uncle, Bedford, upon whom the regency devolved, though a capable statesman and soldier, was hampered by the intrigues of his brother, Gloucester. The English cause soon began to suffer reverses.

A quarrel between Philip of Burgundy and Bedford's brother Gloucester had obliterated the resentments caused by the crime of Montereau. Bedford died immediately after the desertion of Burgundy was made public. In the hands of his uncle and brother, Cardinal Beaufort and the Duke of Gloucester, the tottering English cause was soon overthrown. An attempt to purchase peace by the arrangement of a marriage between the young Henry VI. and Margaret of Anjou, a kinswoman of Charles VII., merely excited discontent in England without conciliating France. The new queen introduced a new bitterness into the factions of the court ; and an alliance between herself and Beaufort was immediately followed by the arrest and mysterious death of Gloucester, in 1447.

WESTERN
EUROPE IN
THE MIDDLE
AGES



DEVELOP-
MENT OF THE
NATIONS:
BRITISH ISLES
VI

THE WARS OF THE ROSES AND THE LEGACY OF THE MIDDLE AGES

BEAUFORT outlived his nephew and enemy by only a few days; but in the person of Suffolk the queen found a new minister through whom to rule; the place of Gloucester as head of the opposition was taken by Richard, Duke of York, a good administrator and one of the few generals who had won distinction in the French wars, but hateful to the queen because, uniting the claims of two lines descended from Edward III., he stood next in succession to her husband. The king counted for nothing in the government; he was of weak intellect even before the hereditary taint of madness became apparent, and left everything to his wife except that on occasion he endeavoured without effect to play the part of peacemaker.

York appears originally to have been a loyal subject. But there was much in the conduct of the government which might legitimately be criticised, and his censures were none the less plainly expressed because he was excluded from a share of power. The parliamentary constitution had proved a total failure; the House of Commons was composed of members returned by corrupt influences and in the interest of a few great families. Since these families furnished the members of the Privy Council, to which every royal minister was subject, their supremacy was assured. All business of any consequence, and much that was trivial, came before the council for settlement, and was transacted without method or despatch or technical knowledge. The result at the best of times was "lack of governance"; and throughout the country life and property were insecure. Only a change of system could mend the evil. But the people, encouraged by the Yorkist party, looked for individuals on whom to throw the blame. The queen and her favourites became the scapegoats of the constitution.

They cannot indeed be acquitted of mis-managing the war in France. Year by year ground was lost, and the positions of the English garrisons, ill-found, ill-fed, ill-paid, grew more desperate. Normandy was lost piecemeal in 1448-1449, Guienne in 1451; even Calais was in danger in 1452. The nation, which had never been

**English
Counties in
Revolt**

willing to pay for the defence of these possessions, cried out against the treachery through which they had been lost.

The first symptom of approaching trouble was the impeachment of Suffolk by the House of Commons in 1450. The unpopular minister was seized by his enemies and beheaded in mid-Channel while attempting to escape abroad; immediately afterwards the south-eastern counties rose in revolt and, marching upon London under the lead of one Cade, who was not improbably a Yorkist instrument, demanded that the Duke of York should be called to power, and the queen's favourites dismissed.

Although easily suppressed, this rebellion influenced the queen's mind against York. When, in 1452, he made a personal appearance, at the head of an armed force, to reiterate the demands of Cade, she answered with fair words; but the birth of an heir to the throne in 1453 gave her courage to attack York as a traitor. It became for the duke a matter of life and death that he should assert his right to a position on the council, and to the office

**How the
Civil War
Began**

of protector during the fits of madness which had begun to seize the king at intervals.

The queen's determination to exclude him from power made war inevitable. It began with the battle of Blore-heath in 1459, and from that time until the accession of Henry VII. in 1485 the crown was in dispute between the rival houses of York and Lancaster. The duke found it necessary to assert his pretensions, and they passed, after the



YORK AND LANCASTER: THE BEGINNING OF THE WARS OF THE ROSES

The Wars of the Roses, which broke out in the reign of King Henry VI., were one long struggle for the crown of England between the Houses of York and Lancaster, and derived their name from the incident depicted above. In the Temple Gardens, in London, the heads of the rival houses met one day, and when the Duke of York plucked a white rose, calling upon his followers to do the same, the Lancastrian partisans promptly replied by plucking a red rose.

From the picture by John Pettie, R.A.

defeat and death of Richard at Wakefield in the year 1460, to his son Edward IV.

The war of the White Rose (York) and the Red (Lancaster) originated in a conflict of personal ambitions between two branches of the royal family. From first to last it was a war between aristocratic factions in which the Commons took as little part as possible. No principle was at stake, nor was the country divided, as usually happened in the civil wars of France and Germany, upon the lines of racial or provincial demarcations. Roughly speaking, the south and south-east shires held for the Yorkists, the north and Wales for the Lancastrians. But to this general rule there were many local exceptions; the attitude of every district depended upon the territorial

influence of the great families. The aristocracy had lost the more imposing of the old feudal privileges, but land was



THE QUEEN OF EDWARD IV.

Elizabeth Woodville, a Lancastrian, was married to King Edward IV. in 1464, three years after he had ascended England's throne.

still the great source of wealth and consideration, while private ambition and the troublous state of the times had produced a new and bastard feudalism. The timid and the ambitious among the middle and lower classes assumed the livery of great lords, whose private quarrels they pursued in return for maintenance against the authority of the law-courts and the executive; thus every great proprietor could bring a little army into the field. To which side he would bring it depended chiefly upon the ties of blood and the

private feuds in which he was entangled. Scores of quarrels were fought out under cover of the dynastic question.



THE GREAT BATTLE OF TOWTON, THAT WITNESSED THE DEFEAT OF THE HOUSE OF LANCASTER IN 1461
In this great battle, the most stubborn that England had witnessed since the battle of Hastings, one hundred and twenty thousand men were engaged, and the artist, Mr. R. Caton Woodville, admirably pictures the historic struggle between the Houses of York and Lancaster. The army of the former advanced through a heavy snowfall. For six long hours the fight proceeded without either side gaining an advantage, but the arrival of Norfolk turned the tide in favour of the Yorkists, and the defeated Lancastrians left twenty thousand dead on the field.

The Yorkists succeeded in winning the passive favour of the commercial classes, of whose grievances, as of many with far less foundation, Duke Richard had been the mouthpiece before the war broke out. The accidental circumstance that Margaret of Anjou was forced to rely upon the lawless barons of the north confirmed the towns in the prejudice which they entertained against her. Yet the Yorkists, if judged by the character of their claim, were the more unconstitutional party of the two. Richard and his son demanded, in effect, that the parliamentary title of Henry VI. should be set aside in favour of one which rested on hereditary right. The reign of Edward IV. is a sufficient proof that he had no respect for constitutional liberties, and that his own interests were his guiding star. He was allowed to overthrow the Lancastrians in the hope to establish a more efficient government. He did, in fact, establish a personal system of rule which kept the country in a state of quiet; but he did his utmost to destroy all constitutional guarantees at the same time. He endeavoured to substitute a council of favourites and connections for one of territorial magnates. But he did not create a skilled executive, and he reduced the power of the legislature to a shadow.

The complicated story of his fortunes after 1460 is not worth tracing in detail. He was crowned in 1461, annihilated the Lancastrian army at Towton a few weeks later, and made himself master of his rival's person. Eight years later he was expelled in consequence of quarrels with Warwick, his ablest

supporter, and with Clarence, his brother and the heir-presumptive. These rebels overthrew their master by forming a coalition with the fugitive Lancastrian queen and with Louis XI. of France in 1470. But Edward recovered his position with the aid of Charles the Rash, the Duke of Burgundy, to whom it was of vital importance that French influence should not reign supreme in the country from which the weavers of Flanders derived their raw material. Henry VI. was taken and put to death; Warwick ended his days on the hard fought field of Barnet; Margaret's son, the young Prince Edward, was taken after a victory over his mother's forces at Tewkesbury, and put to death upon the field; Margaret herself fled to

France, where she passed the remainder of her days in exile. Clarence, spared for a time in consideration of his treachery

to Warwick, was secretly executed some years later, in 1478. From 1471 to 1483 Edward ruled without a rival. The most notable event of his reign, after the destruction of the premature constitutionalism initiated by the Lancastrians, was the conclusion of the long strife with France which Henry V. had revived with such disastrous consequences. Edward held fast by the Burgundian alliance. But he refused to entangle himself deeply in the schemes of Charles the Rash for the dismemberment of France, and eventually sold the English claim on France for a round sum of money.

This bargain, concluded at Pecquigny in 1473, marks the close of the mediæval stage in English foreign policy; it is an unconscious concession to the new national



KING EDWARD IV. OF ENGLAND

He was the son of Richard, Duke of York, and was crowned king in 1461. One of his military triumphs was in 1471, when he occupied London and defeated and killed Warwick at Barnet; but his reign was a disappointment



THE UNFORTUNATE EDWARD V.

The boy king reigned for only three months. His uncle usurped the throne, and shortly after his accession as Richard III., the rightful king, Edward V., was, with his brother, cruelly put to death in the Tower of London.



QUEEN MARGARET AND THE GOOD ROBBER

Flying with her son, Edward, after the battle of Hedgeley Moor, Queen Margaret tried to find shelter in a wood, but was there set upon by robbers and deprived of all her jewels. While the robbers were quarrelling over their booty, the queen escaped, and wandered about the forest. There she met another robber, who, touched by her pitiable condition, lent her his aid. He concealed her, eventually leading her to the coast, and thus enabled her to escape across the sea.

From the painting by W. Christian Symons



BOY PRISONERS IN THE TOWER: EDWARD V. AND THE DUKE OF YORK

We have represented a pathetic episode of English history. Imprisoned in the Tower of London by their uncle, Richard III., the rightful king, Edward V., and his brother, the Duke of York, seemed to understand the awful fate which awaited them, and they have been described as "clinging together in the vain hope of finding comfort in each other's embraces."

From the painting by Paul Delaroche in the Louvre, Paris.

spirit made by the least national of kings. In domestic government the tyranny of Edward serves to bridge a period of transition. He broke with the traditions of the past, but he left it to a representative of the rival house to lay the foundations of the future. An ill-judged love-marriage with Elizabeth Woodville had caused his temporary expulsion: and after his death the Woodville connection was fatal to his children.

On the death of Edward, in 1483, his brother Richard of Gloucester, who had taken up the feud of Clarence with the Woodvilles, seized his two nephews, in whose name their mother and her relations hoped to rule, and in 1483 either put the boys to death or spirited them away. Parliament was induced to declare the children of Edward illegitimate and to accept the claim of Gloucester, who was

crowned as Richard III. But he held the crown for barely two years. The public conscience, though hardened by a long series of political crimes and judicial murders, revolted against Richard's culminating atrocity. He became a mark for the intrigues of every ambitious schemer, although he bought the friendship of the Woodville interest by offering to marry his niece Elizabeth. Buckingham failed to overthrow his former friend and master in 1484: but Henry Tudor, a representative in the female line of the claim derived from John of Gaunt, the progenitor of the Lancastrians, proved more successful. Deserted by his most popular supporters, Richard fell before this new rival at the battle of Bosworth Field. The Tudor was crowned on the battlefield as Henry VII.; and parliament and the nation acquiesced in the title thus

THE WARS OF THE ROSES

irregularly asserted. A marriage between the new king and Elizabeth of York blended the White Rose with the Red. The country drew a deep breath of satisfaction at this omen of a lasting settlement. Twenty-five years of strife had created a longing for peace and ordered government which was one of the strongest forces in English politics for many years to come.

The hereditary claim of Henry VII. was of the slightest kind. His mother, Margaret Beaufort, was a descendant of John of Gaunt; on the paternal side he could claim as ancestors only a line of Welsh squires. His grandfather, Owen Tudor, had married the widow of Henry V., but was not otherwise distinguished; the family had acquired the earldom of Richmond only in his father's time. Henry owed his strongest claim to the Act of Parliament which decreed that the inheritance of the crown should rest in King Henry VII. and the heirs of his body. He fortified his position by a marriage with

Elizabeth of York, the daughter of Edward IV. But the early years of the reign were disturbed by plots in favour of Yorkist candidates, among whom two laid claim to be princes of the blood. A certain Lambert Simnel won the support of the Irish in 1487 by alleging himself to be Edward of Warwick, the son of the ill-starred Clarence.

Between 1492 and 1499 more serious trouble was caused by a Flemish youth, one Perkin Warbeck, who passed as Richard, the second son of Edward IV., and claimed that he had escaped when his elder brother was murdered by Richard III. Warbeck was supported by Margaret of York, the sister of Edward IV., and Dowager Duchess of Burgundy. He was received at the court of Scotland, married a kinswoman of James IV., and received promises of Scottish assistance. Each of these pretenders invaded England, and it would have gone hardly with the new king if he had not in each case defeated the pretender at the first encounter. The



THE MURDER OF THE TWO SONS OF EDWARD IV. IN THE TOWER OF LONDON. At midnight, as the brothers were sleeping together, the two miscreants hired for the deed entered their chamber and stifled them as they lay. Richard III. gained little by his wickedness, as he held the throne for barely two years.

great families connected with the Yorkist line, and all classes in the North of England, merely awaited a favourable opportunity to revolt. Of these, however, and of other possible claimants, Henry freed himself in good time. Simnel ended his days as a scullion in the royal kitchen; Warbeck, at first imprisoned in the Tower, was afterwards executed in consequence of an attempted escape. His fate was shared by his fellow-captive, the true Edward of Warwick. The two De la Poles, cousins of Edward IV., saved themselves by flight in 1501, a number of their kinsmen and friends were executed in 1502, and

England kept only Calais, a port valuable indeed for purposes of trade and for the command of the narrow seas, but a poor satisfaction for some four centuries of warfare and diplomacy. In the reign of Edward IV. the English were almost cured of their continental ambitions. Others, however, had yet to be developed. The discovery of the New World was only beginning, and England was far from being the first of the nations to realise the prizes which might be won in America, in Africa, in the Far East.

If we turn from foreign policy to the consideration of domestic institutions



THE WIDOW OF EDWARD IV. PARTING WITH HER SON, THE DUKE OF YORK

The fate of this unfortunate young prince is pictured on the two preceding pages. In this illustration we see the queen-mother grief stricken at her parting from her younger son, the Duke of York, who was then only nine years of age. From the painting by Philip A. Calderon, R.A.

under these altered circumstances the Tudor cause seemed reasonably secure.

At the close of the Middle Ages we may pause for a moment to ask what was the legacy which they bequeathed to modern England. From many points of view the period 1066-1485 had been either sterile or disastrous. The foreign policy of the Norman and Plantagenet kings had been directed towards schemes of continental empire which were too great for the resources of their island dominions, especially when a growing national feeling in France brought all classes to the support of the Valois monarchy. In 1485, of all the possessions which she had won abroad,

the outlook in 1485 is brighter. The Lancastrian period had completed the parliamentary constitution, which was first outlined by Simon de Montfort and Edward I. In the fifteenth century it was understood that the power of imposing taxes, other than the ancient and customary dues of the crown, lay exclusively with parliament. Henry IV. had been compelled to admit that a money Bill must originate in the House of Commons. So, again, the right to petition had become the right to present Bills for the royal approval; the crown might reject them, but might not introduce unauthorised amendments. During the



THE BATTLE OF BOSWORTH: DEATH OF THE LAST OF THE PLANTAGENET KINGS

This celebrated battle, which was fought near Bosworth, an ancient market town in Leicestershire, in 1485, gave a new king to the throne of England, and brought peace to the kingdom. The opposing sides were those of King Richard III. and Henry, Earl of Richmond, victory resting with the latter. Richard died fighting fiercely, and after the battle his crown was found on the field and placed on the head of Richmond, who was saluted as King Henry VII. With the death of Richard the Plantagenet dynasty, which occupied the throne from 1154, came to an end.

From the picture by A. Cooper, by permission of Messrs. Henry Graves & Co.

Wars of the Roses the responsibility of ministers to Parliament had been asserted by both parties: the formidable procedures of impeachment and attainder had taken shape as weapons to be used against the complaisant tools of arbitrary power. Finally, the right of both Houses to perfect

the nation had ceased to reverence Parliament; the new wealth and influence of the crown was used to keep the national assembly in a state of weakness and humility. For a century after this date Parliament was rarely allowed an opportunity of dictating the conditions of a



TWO ENGLISH KINGS: RICHARD III. AND HENRY VII.

The former of these kings, Richard III., was a younger brother of Edward IV., and how he established himself on the throne of England has already been described. He was succeeded by Henry VII., after the battle of Bosworth, in 1485, whose reign lasted till his death in 1509.

freedom of debate had been admitted by the crown. But, on the other hand the growth of Parliament had been premature. The two Houses had proved themselves capable of obstructing government: they had done nothing to increase the efficiency of the executive. The members of the Lower House showed neither capacity for rule nor independence of judgment. Parliament was Yorkist or Lancastrian, according to the fortune of war, and consistent in nothing but the readiness with which it proscribed the beaten party of the moment.

Elections were seldom fairly conducted in the fifteenth century. Where intimidation and corrupt influence failed to return the candidate of a local magnate, the sheriff could usually be suborned to make a false return. The Commons had represented the private interests of the great houses. There was now a hope that better days might come. The baronage emerged from the Wars of the Roses with shattered fortunes and prestige, while the crown was enriched by three successive sets of confiscations, those of the Lancastrians, of the Yorkists, and of the new Tudor sovereign. But for the time being

the nation had ceased to reverence Parliament; the new wealth and influence of the crown was used to keep the national assembly in a state of weakness and humility. For a century after this date Parliament was rarely allowed an opportunity of dictating the conditions of a grant, or of offering an independent criticism upon royal policy. The constitutionalists of the Stuart period were the first to appeal consistently and with success to the precedents of parliamentary sovereignty which the reign of Henry IV. happily afforded.

Turning from the legislature to the executive we find that the case was even worse. The great offices of state, the

Privy Council, which controlled them, were archaic in constitution, and ill-adapted for the tasks imposed upon them. A new distribution of duties, more perfect organisation, the replacement of high-born but inexperienced magnates by energetic but expert statesmen—such were the crying needs of the central government. The local administration, which Henry II. had made the most scientific of his age, was now totally inadequate to satisfy the requirements of the community. It was imperative to create new officials in the place of the sheriffs, who had so long fulfilled with equal inefficiency the various functions of the tax-collector, the magistrate, and the captain of militia; nor would

any system be successful which did not give the landowners, the national leaders of public opinion, an interest and a share in maintaining the public peace. In the towns the trammels which the guild system had imposed upon all kinds of industry could no longer be defended. Whatever advantages the guilds had once secured for the community by their inspection of goods, by their regulation of wages and the conditions of labour, by

THE WARS OF THE ROSES

their encouragement of local industry through the maintenance of a local monopoly, they were now more mischievous than useful. If the whole constitution of lay society stood in need of reform, the Church had suffered no less from the growth of abuses at headquarters, and in every department, from the failure of the clergy

The Degraded State of the Clergy

to maintain their former position as the pioneers of intellectual progress and the censors of national morality. The inmates of the monasteries were sunk in sloth and ignorance. They may not have been so generally vicious as the Protestants of the next generations contended; but monasticism was no longer respected as serving any useful purpose. Popular liberality had almost ceased to flow in the direction of religious houses, and the wealth which they had derived from the piety of past generations was grudged to them by the laymen of the fifteenth century. The preaching friars were not so obviously useless as the monks; but even the friars had lost their high ideals, and earned their subsistence by flattering a contemptuous populace.

The bishops were for the most part engrossed in politics; nominated either by the king or the Pope, they seldom owed their rank to any fitness for its religious duties. The reaction against Lollardy had made them staunch supporters of the papacy, which, in the time of Grosseteste, they had been inclined to criticise. Conscious of the slight hold which they possessed upon the respect of the laity, they sought to improve their

position by leaning on the support of Rome or of the crown. And, although Lollardy had been silenced, Lollard congregations still met in secret. Copies of Wycliffe's "Wicket" were widely circulated, and his teaching added point to the criticisms, which the merest commonsense suggested,

upon the abuses of the Church courts, the intolerable multiplication of ecclesiastical dues, the lax and immoral lives of the secular clergy. The springs and sources of religious idealism were running dry; if they could not be reopened it was certain that the Church would cease to be of any value or significance. Men would look elsewhere for guidance; they would shake off the weight of a system which no longer possessed any charm or authority.

There were, however, latent in society the seeds of a new and better order, and the Middle Ages produced in England some abiding results of value and importance. Within a hundred years from the battle of Senlac the fusion of the Norman ruling class with the native population was complete. The centralisation of the Angevins broke down the barriers of prejudice and custom and privilege which had separated province from province and class from class. Patriotism became intense in every rank of society; and in the fourteenth century the substitution of English for French as the common language of social intercourse bore witness to the growth of a national individuality.

Grasping and unscrupulous as the barons of the Lancastrian period showed



THE QUEEN-CONSORTS OF TWO ENGLISH KINGS

Anne of Warwick was the queen of Richard III., and Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward IV., was married to Henry VII. in 1486, their wedding taking place at Westminster Abbey.

themselves, they were less a source of danger to society than the aristocracies of France and Germany. The privileges of nobility were in England comparatively few, and the younger sons of a great house were, in the eyes of the law, but simple commoners: on the other hand, a writ

of summons to the House of Lords could be issued at the pleasure of the crown to any subject, and carried with it nobility of rank. Thus, although custom gave to the House of Lords a preponderant influence in the legislature and the larger half of places in the Privy Council, it was possible to recruit that chamber from time to time with the ablest and most influential members of the middle class; and in the House of Commons were to be found many knights of the shire whose pride of birth was hardly less than that of the peers. There was no inseparable gulf between the two Houses, and they were capable upon occasion of pursuing a common policy.

The Two Houses of Parliament

Respect for the law and the officers of the law was another hopeful feature of society. English law had developed steadily and without a break from the accession of Henry II.; the great legislative measures of that sovereign and of Edward I. were supplemented by the evolution of an elaborate case-law in the royal courts. The legal treatise attributed to Glanville, but more probably the work of Hubert Walter, which was written between 1187 and 1189, is a proof that the reduction of precedents to order had even then begun. Bracton, writing in the years 1250-1258, compiled mainly from recorded cases his "*Tractatus de Legibus*," a manual of legal principles, which was for generations the standard authority.

In his hands and that of later exponents, such as Britton about 1291, and Littleton in 1475, the common law became scientific without becoming tainted to any appreciable degree with the theories of civilians and canonists. Uncouth in terminology, abounding in archaisms, and so intricate that it could barely be mastered by the study of a lifetime, it was still regarded with pride as a national heritage, and was, on the whole, well adapted to the needs of the nation by which it had been

The Law Above King and Party

developed. The judges and the lawyers of the English courts acted, at the worst of times, as a check upon royal despotism and feudal lawlessness. The personal intervention of the crown in matters of justice was a thing of the past. Edward IV. once sat in the King's Bench for three successive days; but this was noted as a surprising occurrence, and it is not recorded that he ventured to take a personal part in the proceedings. In the sixteenth

century the doctrine that the king could not lawfully interfere with justice became rooted in the common law.

Again we have to remark that the intellectual revival of the fifteenth century found a ready welcome upon English soil. Already before this time the nation had shown the promise of great things in literature, in science and philosophy. Among the vernacular poets of the Middle Ages the first place indeed belongs to those of Italy; but Chaucer and Langland are inferior only to Dante and to Petrarch. The Franciscan Roger Bacon—whose "*Opus Majus*," "*Opus Minus*," and "*Opus Tertium*" (1267-1271) ranged over the whole field of the known sciences—is the greatest of those inquirers into Nature who took the Aristotelian treatises at their starting point, and in his protest against the blind acceptance of authority he struck a note which is echoed by his more famous namesake of the seventeenth century. Among the great scholastics Alexander of Hales, Duns Scotus, and Occam hold a foremost place, and represent the subtlest forms of mediæval

Development of English Literature

metaphysics. The Lancastrian and Yorkist periods cannot boast thinkers of such power and brilliance. But the lawyer Fortescue (1394-1476), the translator Caxton (1491), who is better remembered as the founder of the first English printing-press, and Sir Thomas Malory, the compiler of the "*Morte d'Arthur*" in 1485, gave an impetus to the development of English prose. The poetic tradition was handed on by Gower, Lydgate, and Hoccleve. By the middle of the century the English scholar was already a familiar figure in the class-rooms of the great Italian humanists, and the library which Bishop Gray of Ely, one of the earliest of these pioneers, bequeathed to Balliol College, Oxford, bears witness to the new direction which the studies of the universities were taking.

Early in the reign of Henry VII. the foundation of Greek studies was laid in Oxford by the teaching of William Grocyn and Thomas Linacre. The new learning was still subordinate to the study of theology, but was rapidly acquiring an independent interest and value. The revival of an active impulse towards religious reformation followed as a natural consequence from the teaching of these two scholars, of their pupils More and Colet,



THE FAMOUS CAXTON PRINTING OFFICE AT WESTMINSTER: A VISIT FROM KING EDWARD IV.

Born about 1422, and learning the art of printing about the year 1471, William Caxton set up his printing press at Westminster, and soon received valuable patronage. In this picture Caxton is seen explaining the printing press and its working to King Edward IV., who was deeply interested in the invention that has done so much for the world's development and progress.

From the painting by Daniel Maclise, R.A. by permission of Messrs. Henry Graves & Co.

and of their Dutch colleague Erasmus, who came to Oxford in the year 1498.

Lastly, we may notice the beginnings of an economic revolution which, though incidentally productive of distress and discontent, was to increase the wealth of English society, and to give the industrial and commercial classes an importance far

Agriculture the Source of Wealth greater than they had hitherto possessed. Agriculture was still the main source of wealth, the landlord the most important member of the community. But sheep-farming was now more profitable than tillage. The rapidity with which arable land was converted into pasture at the close of the century is a proof that the demand for wool, the staple English export, had increased and was expected to increase still further. The wool trade, which before the time of Edward III. had been mainly in the hands of foreigners, was now almost monopolised by Englishmen: and when Edward IV. granted privileges to the Hanse merchants in 1474, he did so on condition that the ports of the Baltic should be opened to English traders. The chief claim of the Yorkists to popularity had been that by their foreign policy, and to some extent by their legislation, they aimed at the development of trade. The merchant class was a power with which the most autocratic sovereign was bound to reckon.

To improve his position was the one object which the king pursued through a reign of twenty-four years. In his domestic policy he improved upon the example of the Yorkists, aiming, like them, at the establishment of an autocracy based upon middle-class support, but pursuing this end with greater skill and caution. He took for his ministers ecclesiastics and men of humble origin upon whose devotion he could count implicitly. He devoted his main care to finance. By heavy fines imposed upon suspected nobles, by demanding benevolences from

How the King Amassed Treasure

wealthy individuals, by the sale of privileges, by the unscrupulous exploitation of the law courts, and by strict enforcement of his feudal rights, he amassed a considerable treasure without demanding frequent subsidies. There was too much unrest in the country to permit of regular taxation. In 1488 and 1497 attempts to collect a tax which Parliament had voted were followed by local risings; and although the rebels

were easily defeated, the king took the double lesson to heart. His forbearance was rewarded by emancipation from parliamentary control: only once in the last thirteen years of his reign was it necessary for him to meet the House of Commons.

This policy was not resented. The king's exactions led to loud complaints from the victims, but the immediate burden fell upon the wealthy few. The Commons were more anxious to be protected than ambitious of a voice in determining the royal policy. The king gave them what they desired. He used the jurisdiction of the Privy Council to stamp out the practices of livery and maintenance through which the nobles had become a terror to their social inferiors. In spite of pretenders and rebellions his reign was one of security and peace. His legislation is commended by the high authority of Lord Bacon, but it was in administration that the king excelled. The two best known measures which were enacted in his reign, though important in their consequences, are by

Successful Diplomacy of Henry VII. no means elaborate. One of these in 1495 provided that no man should incur the guilt of treason by obedience to the

king *de facto*; the other, passed in 1487, fixed the composition and powers of the Star Chamber, a judicial body in close connection with the Privy Council, and designed to exercise the council's jurisdiction for the punishment of powerful offenders.

The diplomacy of Henry VII. was both subtle and successful. He came to the throne at a time when the three great powers of the Continent, Spain, France, and the Empire, were on the point of opening a long conflict, in which the traditions of the mediæval state system were cast to the winds, and territorial aggrandisement became the sole aim of enterprising sovereigns. Though remote from Italy, which soon became the main theatre of strife, Henry held a strategic position of some value within striking distance of France and of the Netherlands: the power of England, while much inferior to that of the three states already mentioned, was consequently deemed sufficient to turn the balance in favour of any side which she espoused. Without committing himself too deeply, Henry sold his friendship dear, pressed every advantage, and was seldom outwitted in a bargain.



THE BROTHERS CABOT LEAVING BRISTOL ON A VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY

In the month of May, 1497, John and Sebastian Cabot sailed from the port of Bristol on a voyage of discovery. In the hope of reaching China, the ships steered north-west, and in this way Nova Scotia and Newfoundland were discovered.

(From the painting by Ernest Board by the artist's permission)

From Philip, the Archduke of Flanders, he obtained, in 1496, the treaty known as the "Magnus Intercursus," which secured freedom of trade for English merchants and closed the Netherlands against English rebels. In 1506 the archduke, having been accidentally driven ashore on the English coast, was detained until he granted further privileges so damaging to Flemish trade that the new agreement was called by his subjects the "Malus Intercursus." From Ferdinand of Aragon, the father-in-law of the archduke, Henry obtained a still more valuable concession. In 1501 the Princess Katharine of Aragon was given in marriage to Arthur, the heir of the English throne. The prince died in the following year, but Katharine was then betrothed, with her father's consent, to the future Henry VIII. In this way the Tudors established themselves upon an equal footing with the older dynasties of Europe, and secured a powerful ally.

Friendship with Spain and Burgundy was the sheet-anchor of the foreign policy of

Henry VII. But after 1492 he contrived to avoid hostilities with France, the chief enemy of his allies. At the king's death, in 1509, England, though still a power of the second rank, was universally courted and regarded as the arbiter of European politics. Not less skilfully had Henry conducted his dealings with the commercial powers, Venice, Portugal, and the Hanse towns from all of whom he demanded reciprocity of privilege.

The great position which he had won was diligently used on behalf of English trade, although, with characteristic caution, he gave but slight encouragement to the great explorers of the period whose discoveries were to revolutionise the economic state of Europe. The voyage of the Cabots in 1497, which brought them within sight of North America, was undertaken with the sanction and protection of the king. The expedition sailed from Bristol, and in 1498 the Cabots received permission to engage English vessels for a second voyage. But a present of £10

was the most substantial aid which the bold Venetians received from the king. Henry was in accord with his subjects on the subject of the explorations. The time had not yet come for Englishmen to show an active interest in the New

England's Relations with Scotland

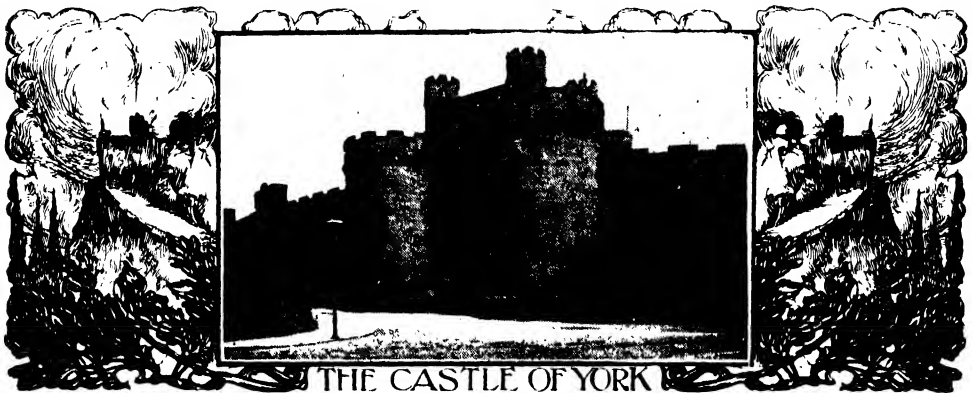
World. Short-sighted in this respect, Henry gave, in a business of a different character, an exhibition of exceptional sagacity. He it was who brought about the close connection of the Tudors with the Stuart dynasty of Scotland. In spite of the friendship between Edward III. and David Bruce, the subsequent relations of their kingdoms had been the reverse of friendly. French diplomacy and the raids of the borderers of both nations had kept alive the ill-feeling kindled by the war of independence. In the latter stages of the Hundred Years War the troops of Scotland shared the fortunes of more than one pitched battle with their French allies.

James IV. proved himself, after Bosworth, a loyal friend to the defeated Yorkists. Instead of avenging the injuries suffered in the past, Henry took the surest means of averting future collisions. He arranged in 1498, and brought to a conclusion four years later, a marriage between James and his eldest daughter, Margaret. The advisers of Henry expressed doubts as to the policy of a match which might have the ultimate effect of placing a Scot upon the English throne. The king, however, ridiculed their fears. The greater power, he said, would always draw the less; union would never redound to the hurt of England. The peace with Scotland which he desired was not to be secured for many years to come. Still, Henry may be fairly credited with the first project, since the time of

Edward I., for a peaceful union of the kingdoms. With the question of Ireland he dealt in an astute but less satisfactory manner. The English party had steadily lost ground in the island since the time of John, and in the reign of Edward III. the home government had definitely abandoned all hope of controlling the country outside the Pale, the district in the immediate neighbourhood of Dublin. The statute of Kilkenny in 1366 drew a sharp line between the inhabitants of the Pale and the remainder of the population, providing that the former were to live by English law, and forgo the use of the Irish language, but leaving the latter to their own devices. The statute had failed to attach the Pale to England; and outside the Pale the settlers had sunk to the level of the natives among whom they lived. Occasionally a vigorous governor, such as Richard of York, acquired a personal ascendancy, but the Irish Yorkists were even more trouble to the first Tudor than those who hated English authority in any shape or form. After vain experiments in the direction of firm government, Henry VII. adopted the plan of setting Irishmen to govern Ireland, with the result that the country remained in a state of anarchy, but ceased to trouble England. Before, however, this autonomy,

Ireland in a State of Anarchy

if so it may be called, was granted, the parliament of the Pale had been induced in 1494 to pass a statute known as Poynings' Law, which was of more importance in after ages than at the time when it was first enacted. This law provided that no Bill should be laid before the Irish parliament without the consent of the English Privy Council. H. W. C. DAVIS





SCOTLAND IN THE MIDDLE AGES ITS LONG STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE THE DAYS OF BRUCE AND WALLACE

BEFORE Saxons and Angles invaded the island of Great Britain the Celtic or Pictish population of the northern portion were never brought into subjection by the Romans to the same extent as in the southern portion. The Wall of Hadrian, roughly corresponding to the later boundary between the English and Scottish kingdoms, marks the limit of the continuous effective occupation, though Roman legions marched into the mountains of Caledonia and maintained outposts as far as the Forth and the Wall of Antonine. As to the native tribes, it would seem that Brythonic Kelts held the Lowlands and Gaelic Kelts the Western Highlands, while it is uncertain whether the Picts, who occupied the rest of the north, were Kelts or a pre-Aryan race. In any case, the Picts were ultimately assimilated by their Celtic neighbours.

Where the Scots Came From

The Scots, who in later days gave their name to the whole, as the Angles did to England, were Gaelic Kelts who migrated from Ireland. The invasion of the Angles brought the eastern portion of the Lowlands under Teutonic dominion, the Kelts being driven either over the Forth or westwards into Galloway. Thus, the North of England and the South of Scotland were divided into Western Celtic Strathclyde, with Cumbria, and Eastern Anglian Northumbria. The Scottish kingdom, first known as Dalriada, corresponding roughly to Argyleshire, became united first with the Pictish kingdom as the kingdom of Alban, the crown remaining with the Scots dynasty, under Kenneth McAlpin, in 844. Meanwhile, both Picts and Scots had received Christianity from St. Columba and his missionaries, but, like Northumbria, transferred their allegiance to Rome.

By this time the Northmen and Danes were already establishing themselves in the

far north and the western islands, and very soon obtained the supremacy in Northumbria, King Alfred of Wessex conceding them the Danelaw. His son, Edward the Elder, making common cause with the kings of Strathclyde and Alban against the Danes,

Scotland's Relations with England

is stated very questionably to have been owned by them as "father and lord"—the original basis of the English claim to suzerainty over the Scots kingdom. Soon afterwards, the crown of Strathclyde also passed by election to a member of the royal house of Alban.

The relations between England, Alban, and Strathclyde remain exceedingly confused and disputable; but it is stated that Edgar the Peaceful at the close of the century ceded the Lothians to Kenneth of Alban as his vassal. More definitely assured is the fact that some years later, as a result of hostilities in the north, the Earl of Northumbria ceded the Lothians to Malcolm of Alban, to whom the crown of Strathclyde had already passed. Thus, the kingdom of Scotland was already in being.

Malcolm was succeeded by Duncan, who was displaced and killed by Macbeth, who was in turn displaced and killed by Malcolm III., shortly before the conquest of England by William of Normandy. The key to the relations between England and Scotland lies in the claim of the kings of England to suzerainty over Scotland, based on the English records, and the claims of the Scots kings to Southern as

Refugees at the Court of Scotland

well as Northern Northumbria, and to Southern as well as Northern Strathclyde—*i.e.*, Cumbria. Neither claim was ever made continuously effective. With this Malcolm III., "Big-Head"—*Cean Mohr*, or Canmore, to use the familiar form of his nick-name—the historical fogs of earlier centuries begin to clear away. The Atheling Edgar, heir of the house of



SCHEMING FOR A THRONE: MACBETH INSTRUCTING THE MURDERERS

Acquiring a claim to the Scottish throne through his wife Gruoch, the granddaughter of King Kenneth II., Macbeth determined to wear the crown. But to do this he had first of all to get rid of King Duncan. Tradition says the pair plotted the murder of that sovereign, and carried out the crime near Elgin in 1040. Macbeth then succeeded to the throne, but in the year 1057 he was defeated and killed by Duncan's son, Malcolm, at Lumphanan in Aberdeenshire.

From the water-colour drawing by George Cattermole, in South Kensington Museum

Cerdic, fled with his sisters to the Scots king's court; one of them, known in Scottish history as St. Margaret, Malcolm married. Their daughter, Edith, married Henry I. of England, and from her all subsequent kings and queens of England descended, except Stephen. Scotland was drawn altogether into closer relations with the southern country: the Lowlands, with a population mainly of Angles and Danes, became the progressive part of the country, in touch with the movement of European civilisation. Anglo-Norman

The Disputed Homage of Scots Kings

barons acquire fiefs in Scotland, the Scots kings hold baronies in England, notably the earldom of Huntingdon. They do homage to the English kings, but the Scots never admit that the homage was for Scotland: in the Scottish view, it was only for the English baronies. Evidence on the point is inconclusive; but quite certainly whatever allegiance was professed, it was held of very little account.

Meanwhile, the mountaineers held aloof, taking no part in the "Sassenach" development, and holding by their Celtic clan system, while the south became feudalised more or less on the Norman model. In the extreme north and in the

isles, the Northmen had so thoroughly planted themselves that Caithness and Sutherland and the Hebrides belonged to the Norwegian rather than to the Scottish kingdom. It was not till the middle of the thirteenth century was past that the Norwegian power was finally broken by Alexander III., at the battle of Largs, and a subsequent treaty ended Norway's claim to the lordship of Caithness and the isles.

To follow the details more closely: Malcolm espoused the cause of the Atheling against the usurpation of William, and raided Northumbria; William, in return, marched into Scotland, whereupon Malcolm did homage to him of some sort. Much the same thing happened in the time of Rufus; but Malcolm was again raiding England when he was ambushed and killed at Alnwick. Then came a chaos of contests between his sons for the crown. Finally Edgar was established by the aid of Rufus. When Edgar died he had to recognise the distinction between the old kingdom of Alban and the provinces of Lothian and Strathclyde; his brother, Alexander I., became king, but another brother, David, with the title of Earl, was virtual lord of the Lowlands. The earl succeeded his brother as King David I.,

SCOTLAND IN THE MIDDLE AGES

and it was in his reign that the kingdom of Scotland took upon it the character of being primarily the Anglo-Norman kingdom of the Lowlands, claiming, and more or less maintaining, a suzerainty over the Highlands, but developing on its own lines. David's marriage with the daughter of Waltheof, son of Siward of Northumbria, brought sundry great English earldoms into his hands; while in his reign the Anglo-Norman Bruces and Balliols and Fitzalans, progenitors of the house of Stewart, appear with others as barons of Scotland as well as of England.

David made war upon England, chiefly in the character of a loyal liege-subject of the Empress Maud, who was claiming the throne in opposition to Stephen. In spite of the great defeat at Northallerton, known as the Battle of the Standard, David was able to strengthen his position greatly, and his reign was marked by great advance in the organisation of his kingdom.

David was followed by two successive grandsons—Malcolm IV., called the "Mauden," and William the Lion. William took the opportunity of invading England

when the sons of Henry II. were in revolt against their father; but he was taken prisoner by an accident, with the result that he was forced to sign the Treaty of Falaise, which definitely converted the Scots kingdom into a fief of the English crown. The rights thus acquired, however, were sold back a few years later on the accession of Cœur-de-Lion to the English throne: Richard was prepared to sell anything to get money for the

Independence of the Church in Scotland

Crusades, so the period of unquestioned legal subjection of Scotland to the Plantagenets was brief. Even during that period William managed to secure the Scottish Church from English domination by appealing to the Pope, with whom Henry II. could not afford to quarrel after the murder of Becket.

Under William's son and grandson, Alexander II. and III., Scotland prospered and acquired an unprecedented unity. Both kings followed, in the main, the policy of avoiding collisions with England. The father established a much more pronounced lordship over the Western



THE TRIAL OF THE GREAT SCOTTISH HERO, SIR WILLIAM WALLACE.

On the roll of Scottish heroes there is no name dearer to the national heart than that of Sir William Wallace. He stood by his harassed country at a critical period in her history, and fought the English with courage and determination. At the battle of Stirling Bridge, in 1297, he gained a great victory for Scotland. Betrayed into the hands of Edward I. of England, he was taken to London, put on trial in Westminster Hall, and eventually executed at Smithfield.

Highlands and over Caithness. The son, "The Tamer of the Ravens," finally put an end to the claims of King Haakon of Norway at the battle of Largs. At an earlier stage, he had successfully evaded an attempt of the English king, Henry III., to beguile him into doing homage for Scotland. His death by accident in 1286 heralded a new era.

Alexander had thirteen successors before the crowns of England and Scotland were united in 1603. The first was his grand-daughter Margaret, a little girl who died before she had well reached her kingdom, on the voyage from Norway. The next was the puppet John Balliol, set up and knocked down again by Edward I. of England. Then, in 1306, Robert Bruce got himself crowned, and gradually won back the independence of Scotland. When he died, in 1329, his heir was six years old. From that time till Queen Mary fled from her rebellious subjects to an English prison, leaving an infant son as King James VI., only two grown men succeeded to the throne; the rest were all under twelve except one, and five died by violence. That bare statement is enough to show that there was never any chance of establishing a strong central

government. A desperate struggle for independence against a country incomparably wealthier and more populous, and in political organisation the foremost state in the world, was followed by a long period of internecine rivalries between great houses, emulated by their lesser neighbours, all of whom had a common determination to resist control, and were ready to unite only in defying English aggression. Such conditions

made the development of a highly organised body politic a sheer impossibility. Yet the anarchical forces failed to break the state in pieces, partly at least, we cannot doubt, because the strenuous independence of the national character, vaunting the thistle as its appropriate national emblem, never had the chance of being enervated by luxury.

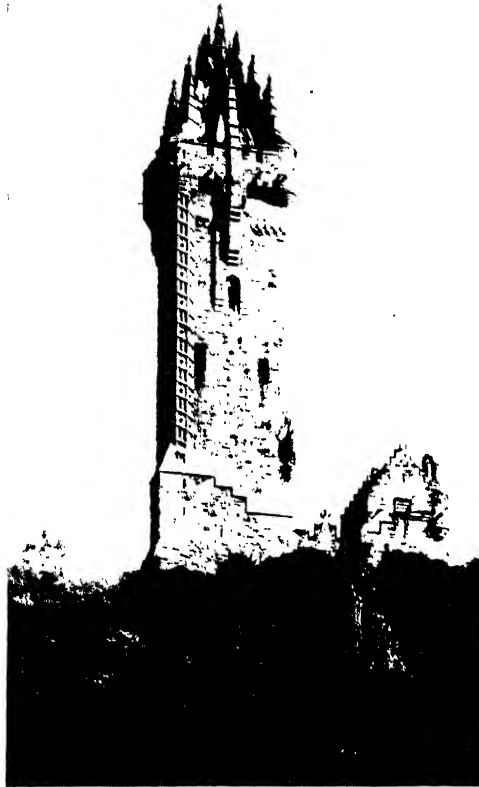
The death of the Maid of Norway gave Edward his opportunity. Alexander had

no other descendants.

The law was not clear as to the inheritance of the crown. The barons, with the higher clergy, appealed to the King of England to arbitrate. Edward was willing, if barons and claimants would acknowledge the English suzerainty. The claimants and many other barons were already barons of England as well as of Scotland; they accepted the terms. In the practice of English feudal law John Balliol's claim was the best, and judgment was given in his favour. But when it was realised that Edward meant his suzerainty to be very thoroughly recognised in fact as well as in form, uneasy acquiescence was changed into angry resistance. Balliol was stirred up to kick against the pricks. Edward

promptly declared his fief of Scotland forfeited under feudal law, and took possession. His consummate military skill and his superior forces were not to be gainsaid. But no hand less mighty than his own could hold down the defiance of an angry people, though the barons played fast and loose.

Whenever Edward's back was turned there were successful insurrections; for a time, William Wallace almost cleared



THE WALLACE MONUMENT AT STIRLING
This imposing memorial to Scotland's national hero stands in a district teeming with historic associations. It consists of a Scottish baronial tower, two hundred feet high. The heraldic arms of Sir William Wallace are above the gateway, and his famous sword may also be seen.

Photochrome photo

SCOTLAND IN THE MIDDLE AGES

the English out of the land. Edward returned and struck hard—so hard that he expected no more resistance. Yet Robert Bruce, grandson of Balliol's old rival claimant, resolved to strike for a crown. Having seized it, he became the champion of national independence. Once more Edward marched north, but death took him before he could set foot on Scottish soil.

Year by year, while his son Edward II. quarrelled with his barons in England, Bruce and his paladins, Douglas and Randolph, wrested Scotland, fortress by fortress, from the grip of the English. At last Edward II. marched north at the head of the most splendid English armament that had ever taken the field, to redeem his dominion and his honour, and lost both irretrievably in the overwhelming rout of Bannockburn. For the rest of his reign the Scots, not the English, were the aggressors, ravaging the north of England in perpetual raids. A year after his death the independence of Scotland was formally acknowledged at the Peace of Northampton. King Robert passed away in 1329, his great work accomplished.

The able regency of Randolph, Earl of Moray, on behalf of the six-year old King David II. was all too brief. Then came an attempt at restoring the Balliols, with two notable battles at Dupplin Moor and Halidon Hill. David was shipped off to France. The Scots would not submit to Balliol. Then Edward III. became absorbed in his great French war, and after that no serious attempt at an English conquest of Scotland was made again. But

from this time Scotland and France remained in close alliance. Whenever England was at war with France she had to reckon on Scottish invasions, and sometimes on Scottish contingents in French armies. A Scots invasion was repulsed at Neville's Cross in the same year as Crecy. Seventy-five years later the English met their shrewdest defeat on French soil at the hands of a force mostly of Scots, at Beaugé. When Henry VIII. invaded Picardy, James IV. led an army of invading Scots to its own destruction on Flodden Field. Until Queen Mary, the eighteen-year-old widow of a French king, returned from France to Scotland in the reign of Elizabeth, the "Auld Alliance" was an eternal clog on England in her dealings with France and in her designs on Scotland. Similarly, English rebels and pretenders, from the time of Henry IV. to the days of Perkin Warbeck, found frequent refuge and encouragement in Scotland.

When David II. died he was succeeded by the Fitzalan Robert II., the Steward or Stewart, David's nephew; and so began the line of Stewart kings. Neither in his reign, nor in that of his son John, re-named Robert III. for luck did Scotland enjoy strong rule. When Robert III. died, his son James I. was a boy of eleven, a prisoner in the hands of the King of England, Henry IV. Some years later he went to France with Henry V., but was

released by the regency which followed that king's death, and returned to Scotland with Jane Beaufort as his queen. He is distinguished as one of the few kings who have earned an indubitable title to the name of



THE WALLACE STATUE
This colossal bronze statue of Wallace in the act of wielding his sword stands in a niche of the tower shown on the preceding page.

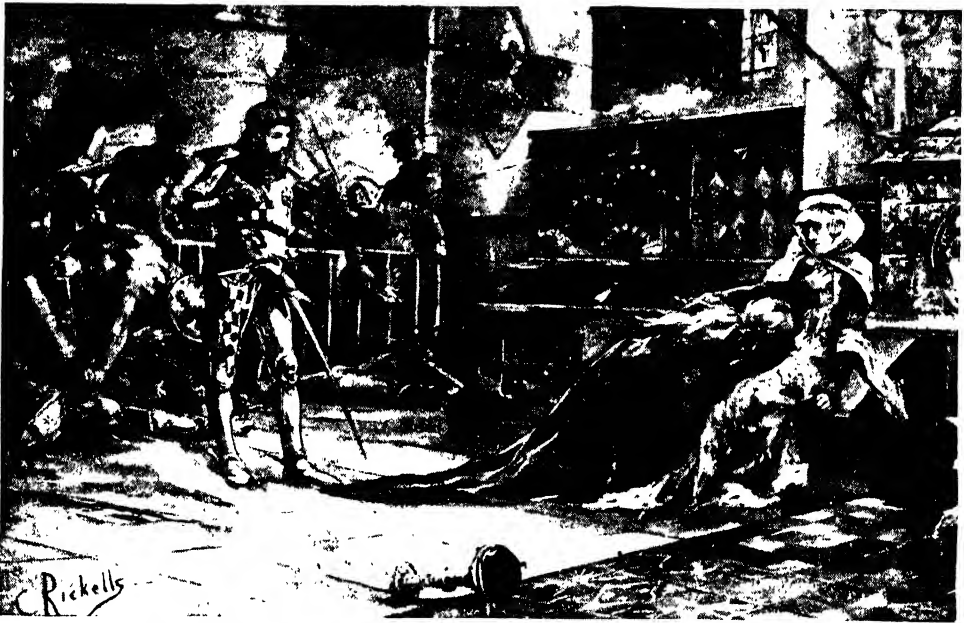
Valentine photo

poet. Meanwhile, Scotland had suffered under the regency of his uncle and cousin, successive Dukes of Albany, whose rule, however, was signalled by the overthrow at the battle of Harlaw in 1411 of an attempt on the part of the Lord of the Isles to throw off, if not himself to usurp, the "Saxon" domination. James had a hard task in the struggle to reduce the turbulent baronage to order and introduce the elements of a stable system of rule. A measure of success attended his efforts, but, irritated members of the baronage accomplished his murder.

The accession of the child James II. meant another regency, with a normal

age treated him much as Edward II. had been treated, hanged his favourites, took the field against him, and killed him at Sauchie Burn.

His son, James IV., was nearer his majority than most of the Stewart kings of Scotland. Possessed of many of the royal qualities which his father lacked, and of brilliant accomplishments, he enjoyed also in a high degree the gift of popularity. Moreover, he was ambitious to raise the whole status of his kingdom. Notably, he devoted much attention to increasing the naval strength of Scotland. The newly established Tudor dynasty in England was decidedly anxious to establish a new era



THE CAPTURE OF BRUCE'S WIFE AND DAUGHTER AT TAIN

After the battle near Methven, in Perthshire, in the early days of Bruce's struggles against England, many Scottish nobles were executed. Bruce's wife and daughter Marjory were seized in the sanctuary of St. Duthac at Tain, and were held prisoners in England for eight years, while the knights who were in attendance upon them were put to death.

accompaniment of murders, with varying degrees of pretence at a judicial character. James gave promise of vigour and capacity, it also of violence, but was killed at the age of twenty-nine by the explosion of a cannon. The reign of James III. began, as usual, with a long minority. When the king came of age matters were hardly bettered by the reign of favourites. As prince of a well-ordered state, James III. might have left a fair record as a patron of art and literature; but he was wholly unfitted for a position in which a clear head, a strong hand, and a resolute will were imperatively demanded. His baron-

of friendly relations, and in spite of his active support of Perkin Warbeck, the diplomacy of Henry VII. secured James as the husband of his eldest daughter Margaret, whereby, when the offspring of Henry VIII. failed, a hundred years later, the King of Scotland became the legitimate successor of Elizabeth on the English throne. But capable though James IV. was— and it seemed during his reign that there was far better prospect than there had been before, except in the reign of James I., since Bruce's day, of the Scots kingdom being consolidated into a powerful state—he was still too prone to yield his better



A GROUP OF SCOTTISH KINGS FROM MACBETH TO JAMES V.



THE MURDER OF KING JAMES I. OF SCOTLAND

After his long captivity in England, King James I. was permitted to return to Scotland with his bride, and for thirteen years he proved an able and wise ruler. In this illustration the artist depicts his unhappy end. On February 20th, 1437, he fell a victim to the plots of his kinsman, the Duke of Athole, being murdered at Perth. There were, it is said, sixteen wounds on his breast alone, while the queen received two wounds in endeavouring to shield her husband.

From the picture by John Opie, R.A., in the Art Gallery of the Corporation of London



THE EVE OF FLODDEN: JAMES IV. HOLDING A COUNCIL OF WAR

The battle of Flodden, fought on September 9th, 1513, between armies of Scotland and England, ended disastrously for the former country. Taking advantage of the absence in France of the English king, James IV. of Scotland crossed the Tweed with a large following and ravaged the country. An English army marched to meet the Scots, and in the illustration we see James holding a council of war, to the advice of which he turned a deaf ear.

From the picture by J. Fald, R.S.A.



BLACK AGNES DEFENDING THE CASTLE OF DUNBAR AND REPULSING THE ENGLISH
 The great fortress of Dunbar was attacked by the English, under the Earl of Salisbury, in 1339. In the absence of the governor, the Earl of March, his wife, known as Black Agnes, defended the castle and drove back its assailants.

judgment to the impulse or caprice of the moment. And so, when Henry VIII. invaded France, and he, on behalf of the Auld Alliance, invaded England, he flung away almost certain victory, descended from a nearly unassailable position on Flodden Ridge to fight the English on even terms, and lost his life in the most disastrous of Scottish battles, in which the

tremendous death-roll robbed Scotland of the best material on which her hopes depended. And Scotland was left once more with a baby king, and to the miseries of a prolonged and incompetent regency, complicated by the fact that the queen-mother was a sister of the King of England, with all her brother's passion for matrimonial variety. ARTHUR D. INNES



ROBERT THE BRUCE

AND WHAT HE DID FOR SCOTLAND

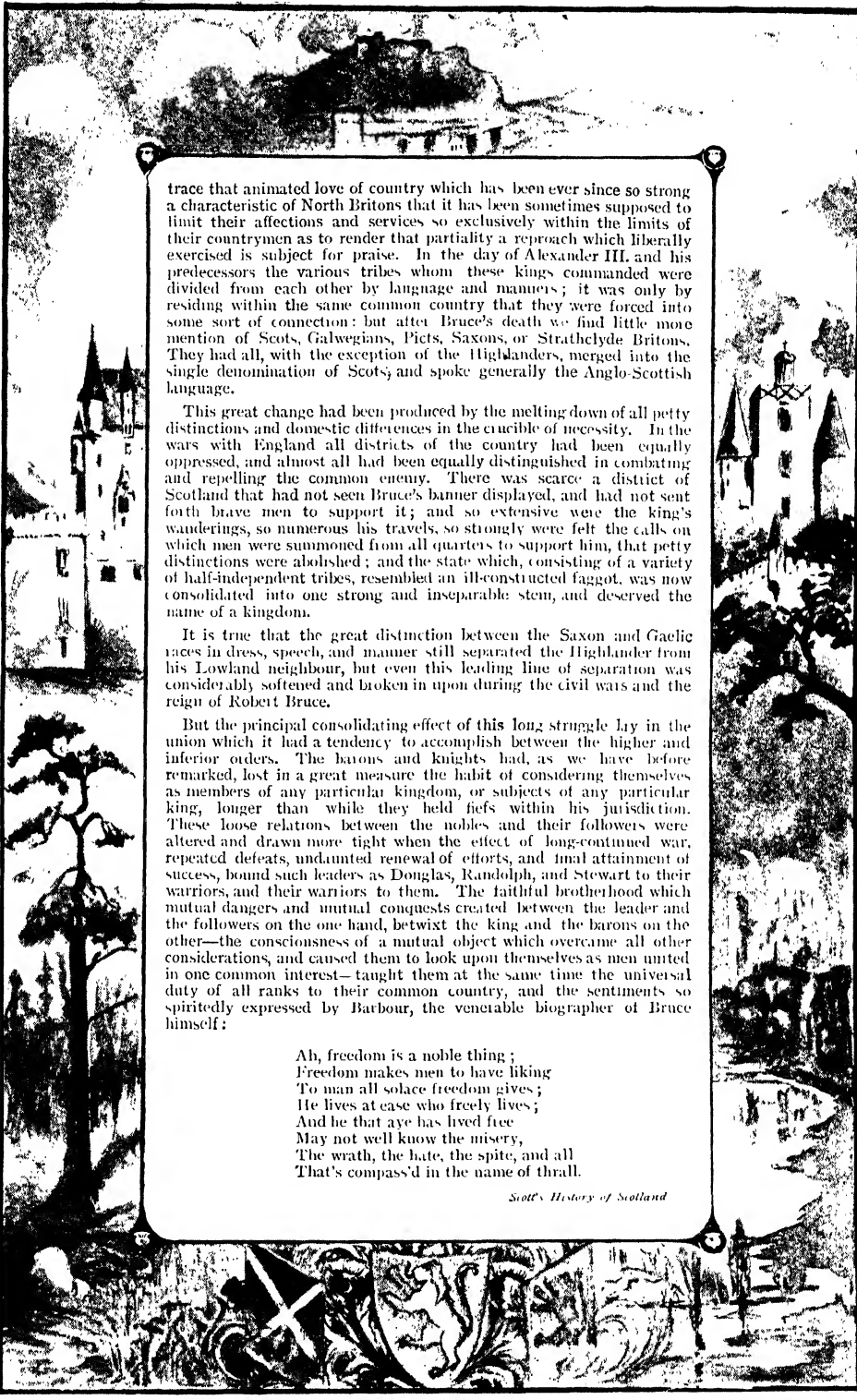
BY
SIR WALTER SCOTT

REMARKABLE in many things, there was this almost peculiar to Robert Bruce, that his life was divided into three distinct parts, which could scarcely be considered as belonging to the same individual. His youth was thoughtless, hasty, and fickle, and from the moment he began to appear in public life until the slaughter of the Red Comyn and his final assumption of the crown, he appeared to have entertained no certain purpose beyond that of shifting with the shifting tide, like the other barons around him, ready, like them, to enter into hasty plans for the liberation of Scotland from the English yoke; but equally prompt to submit to the overwhelming power of Edward. Again, in a short but very active period of his life, he displayed the utmost steadiness, firmness, and constancy, sustaining, with unabated patience and determination, the loss of battles, the death of friends, the disappointment of hopes, and an uninterrupted series of disasters, on which scarce a ray of hope appeared to brighten. This term of suffering extended from the field of Methven-wood till his return to Scotland from the island of Rathlin, after which time his career, whenever he was himself personally engaged, was almost uniformly successful, even till he obtained the object of his wishes—the secure possession of an independent throne.

When these things are considered, we shall find reason to conclude that the misfortunes of the second or suffering period of Bruce's life had taught him lessons of constancy, of prudence, and of moderation, which were unknown to his early years, and tamed the hot and impetuous fire which his temper, like that of his brother Edward, naturally possessed. He never permitted the injuries of Edward I. (although three brothers had been cruelly executed by that monarch's orders) to provoke him to measures of retaliation; and his generous conduct to the prisoners at Bannockburn, as well as elsewhere, reflected equal honour on his sagacity and humanity. His manly spirit of chivalry was best evinced by a circumstance which happened in Ireland, where, when pursued by a superior force of English, he halted and offered battle at disadvantage, rather than abandon a poor washerwoman, who had been taken with the pains of labour.

Robert Bruce's personal accomplishments in war stood so high that he was universally esteemed one of the three best knights of Europe during that martial age, and gave many proofs of personal prowess. His achievements seem amply to vindicate this high estimation since the three Highlanders slain in the retreat from Dalry, and Sir Henry de Bohun, killed by his hand in front of the English army, evince the valorous knight, as the plans of his campaigns exhibit the prudent and sagacious leader. The Bruce's skill in the military art was of the highest order; and in his "testament," as it is called, he bequeathed a legacy to his countrymen, which, had they known how to avail themselves of it, would have saved them the loss of many a bloody day.

It, however, his precepts could not save the Scottish nation from military losses, his example taught them to support the consequences with unshaken constancy. It is, indeed, to the example of this prince, and to the events of a reign so dear to Scotland, that we can distinctly



trace that animated love of country which has been ever since so strong a characteristic of North Britons that it has been sometimes supposed to limit their affections and services so exclusively within the limits of their countrymen as to render that partiality a reproach which liberally exercised is subject for praise. In the day of Alexander III. and his predecessors the various tribes whom these kings commanded were divided from each other by language and manners; it was only by residing within the same common country that they were forced into some sort of connection: but after Bruce's death we find little more mention of Scots, Galwegians, Picts, Saxons, or Strathclyde Britons. They had all, with the exception of the Highlanders, merged into the single denomination of Scots; and spoke generally the Anglo-Scottish language.

This great change had been produced by the melting down of all petty distinctions and domestic differences in the crucible of necessity. In the wars with England all districts of the country had been equally oppressed, and almost all had been equally distinguished in combating and repelling the common enemy. There was scarce a district of Scotland that had not seen Bruce's banner displayed, and had not sent forth brave men to support it; and so extensive were the king's wanderings, so numerous his travels, so strongly were felt the calls on which men were summoned from all quarters to support him, that petty distinctions were abolished; and the state which, consisting of a variety of half-independent tribes, resembled an ill-constructed faggot, was now consolidated into one strong and inseparable stem, and deserved the name of a kingdom.

It is true that the great distinction between the Saxon and Gaelic races in dress, speech, and manner still separated the Highlander from his Lowland neighbour, but even this leading line of separation was considerably softened and broken in upon during the civil wars and the reign of Robert Bruce.

But the principal consolidating effect of this long struggle lay in the union which it had a tendency to accomplish between the higher and inferior orders. The barons and knights had, as we have before remarked, lost in a great measure the habit of considering themselves as members of any particular kingdom, or subjects of any particular king, longer than while they held fiefs within his jurisdiction. These loose relations between the nobles and their followers were altered and drawn more tight when the effect of long-continued war, repeated defeats, undimitted renewal of efforts, and final attainment of success, bound such leaders as Douglas, Randolph, and Stewart to their warriors, and their warriors to them. The faithful brotherhood which mutual dangers and mutual conquests created between the leader and the followers on the one hand, betwixt the king and the barons on the other—the consciousness of a mutual object which overcame all other considerations, and caused them to look upon themselves as men united in one common interest—taught them at the same time the universal duty of all ranks to their common country, and the sentiments so spiritedly expressed by Barbour, the venerable biographer of Bruce himself:

Ah, freedom is a noble thing;
Freedom makes men to have liking
To man all solace freedom gives;
He lives at ease who freely lives;
And he that aye has lived free
May not well know the misery,
The wrath, the hate, the spite, and all
That's compass'd in the name of thrall.

Scott's History of Scotland



STATUE OF SCOTLAND'S DELIVERER, KING ROBERT THE BRUCE, AT STIRLING

This memorial of Scotland's great king, Robert the Bruce, which was erected in 1877 by public subscription, stands on the Castle Esplanade at Stirling. The famous warrior king is represented as a knight of the highest rank, clad in the fighting armour of the period, and in the act of sheathing his sword after victory. The figure is nearly eleven feet high and is looking in the direction of Bannockburn, the scene of Bruce's great triumph over the English in 1311.



STIRLING CASTLE: ONE OF SCOTLAND'S GREATEST STRONGHOLDS

Standing on a rocky eminence that rises 220 feet above the plain, Stirling Castle is one of the most picturesque and historic buildings in all Scotland. It is believed that even before the dawn of national history a stronghold stood on this commanding position. In the ninth and tenth centuries Stirling Castle figured in the semi-mythical battles between north and south, while it played an important part in subsequent history, and within its walls kings lived and died.

Photochromic photos

SCENES OF SCOTLAND'S STORY

By WILLIAM HOLE, R.S.A.

On this and the following pages we reproduce a selection of scenes from the fine series of mural paintings by Mr. William Hole, R.S.A., which adorn the walls of the National Portrait Gallery in Edinburgh. Scottish history has never been represented with greater spirit or studied accuracy of detail than we find in this admirable and instructive series.



THE MISSION OF ST. COLUMBA TO THE PICTS, 563-97



MARGARET LANDING AT QUEENSFERRY, 1006



THE GOOD DEEDS OF DAVID I., 1124-1153



THE BATTLE OF STIRLING BRIDGE IN 1297



SCENES FROM THE BATTLE OF LARGS, IN WHICH KING ALEXANDER III. OF SCOTLAND DEFEATED HACO OF NORWAY IN 1283.



BRUCE IN COMMAND OF THE SECOND LINE AT THE BATTLE OF BANNOCKBURN. IN 1314, AND THE ENGLISH ATTACK



THE LAST PUBLIC ACT OF KING ROBERT BRUCE
Conferring a charter upon the citizens of Edinburgh



THE CORONATION OF THE YOUNG KING JAMES II AT HOLYROOD IN 1437



MARRIAGE PROCESSION OF JAMES IV. AND MARGARET TUDOR AT EDINBURGH, 1501



"NEWS OF FLODDEN" AFTER THE DEFEAT OF THE SCOTS IN THE YEAR 1513



A MARRIAGE ON THE BATTLEFIELD. THE WEDDING OF STRONGBOW TO EVA, DAUGHTER OF THE KING OF LEINSTER

WESTERN
EUROPE IN
THE MIDDLE
AGES



DEVELOP
MENT OF THE
NATIONS
BRITISH ISLES
VIII

BEGINNINGS OF IRISH HISTORY

THE COUNTRY UNDER ENGLISH RULE

IN Ireland the Celtic population remained free from any kind of foreign dominion far longer than in the sister island. There the Roman made no attempt to establish his sway; Saxons and Angles found enough to attract them in the territory which they converted into England. The early "history" of Hibernia is too palpably imaginative, her heroes too legendary to permit the extraction of much solid fact. But this much is clear, that when Christianity had been spread through the island by St. Patrick, she became a great missionary centre. From Ireland St. Columba and his disciples went forth to convert the Kelts and Picts of Alban and the Angles of Northumbria; although, when the Roman and Celtic Churches collided it was to Rome that the victory fell.

When the Northmen began those piratical expeditions, which presently assumed a colonising character, they went further afield than their Saxon predecessors, took possession of harbours on the east coast of Ireland, and set up petty kingdoms. The Kelts were divided into septs or clans. How far they all owed allegiance to one king is not clear; but each sept held by its own chief, the Tanist or successor to the chieftainship, who was elected from the same family. The septs were, at any rate, not sufficiently united to offer organised resistance to the Danes till Brian Boromhe combined them, forced the Northmen to restrict themselves to their coastal settlements, won recognition as king of all Ireland, and broke up the last Danish invasion at the battle of Clontarf in 1014. After that the Danish settlers showed their characteristic capacity for assimilating themselves with the surrounding population.

But the great deeds of Brian Boromhe failed to secure permanent unity. The land fell apart into separate kingdoms, alternately exercising a precarious supremacy over their neighbours much as the

kings of Kent or Northumbria or Mercia had claimed a general overlordship in England. And when Henry of Anjou, duke or count of half the provinces of France, became Henry II., King of England, he began to cherish vague ideas of adding Ireland to his dominions.

Irish King's Appeal to England By way of preliminary, he got the authorisation of the English Pope Adrian IV., for the project, since the Celtic Church was regarded as rebellious, if not heretical, by the papacy. Henry, however, would probably never have found time to organise a conquest on his own account: it was Irish dissensions that opened a door for him. Dermot, king of Leinster, was hard put to it in a quarrel with a neighbour whose wife he had abducted; he appealed to Henry for aid.

Henry permitted sundry adventurous but impecunious barons to take up Dermot's cause: notably Richard de Clare, called Strongbow, various Fitzgeralds, Fitzurses, De Bughis, and others. Dermot was duly restored, and rewarded the Normans with baronies. Strongbow himself married Dermot's daughter, and was recognised as his heir. Then Henry himself appeared on the scene: the Normans, already his liegemen, acknowledged his suzerainty, and the native princes in general were constrained to do the like. The clergy made submission to the Roman authority. Henry added "Lord of Ireland" to his titles, the theory being that the country had been assigned to him by the Pope -- and left a Norman "Justiciar" to represent

Henry II. as Lord of Ireland the royal authority, and to establish within the Norman districts of Leinster, called "the Pale," a system of government based on that which Henry was organising in England. The Norman baronage was not limited to the Pale -- a district roughly covering a semicircle of some four counties with the city of Dublin as its centre; the Geraldine or Kildare territories extended

considerably south and west, while the Desmond branch of the same house was established in Munster, and the Butlers of Ormond occupied intervening territory. The De Burghs in Connaught became Burkes, and the Fitzsures translated their name into the Irish equivalent M'Mahon. The north remained entirely and the west mainly Keltic; but outside the Pale the Normans became, as the saying was, "more Irish than the Irish themselves." Within the Pale, English and feudal law was upheld; outside it the native "Frehon" law prevailed in defiance of Englishry and feudalism; but neither within the Pale nor without was there any disposition on the part of magnates or population to pay superfluous respect to any law at all.

For nearly two hundred years no English king set foot in Ireland, nor was there even the beginning of a conception of loyalty to the English government. In the reign of Edward II., after the English had been fairly driven out of Scotland, Edward Bruce, brother of King Robert, went near to wresting Ireland from English rule and securing the crown of Ireland for himself, but the attempt ultimately collapsed, owing to the incapacity of the Irish clans for acting continuously in unison. The Pale and the rest of Ireland were increasingly antagonistic. In the reign of Edward III., under the governorship of his son Lionel of Clarence, the statute of Kilkenny forbade intermarriage, the recognition of Irish law, or the adoption by the English of Irish customs; birth in England was made a condition of holding government

appointments. The law was impossible to enforce effectively, but intensified racial hostilities. As "Deputies," Roger Mortimer, the grandson of Lionel of Clarence, and his grandson Richard of York, father of Edward IV., succeeded in making the House of York so far popular in Ireland that the country became Yorkist in the Wars of the Roses, took up the cause of Lambert Simnel, and started Perkin Warbeck on his career as a Yorkist Pretender. The diplomatic Henry VII., however, conciliated the

great Earl of Kildare, who, except during a brief interval, was Deputy during most of the reign, on the principle that "since all Ireland could not rule this man, this man had better rule all Ireland."

But the interval itself forms a notable epoch in Irish history. Kildare's very doubtful loyalty caused the temporary appointment of Sir Edward Poyning as Deputy — the nominal Governor being the infant Prince Henry — and "Poyning's Law" established the system of government for Ireland which prevailed for nearly three cen-



SCENE AT THE GREAT SIEGE OF WATERFORD

turies. Ireland was to have its parliament; but the initiation of all legislation was reserved to the king and the English Privy Council.

Henry VII. was by no means unsuccessful in the policy of conciliating the Irish magnates and ruling through them; but the policy was followed by his successors only for brief intervals, alternating with prolonged periods of desultory rigour, which produced neither goodwill nor thorough subjection.

A. D. INNES



THROUGHOUT THE MIDDLE AGES

THE END OF CHARLEMAGNE'S EMPIRE

THE relations established by Charlemagne between the Frank dominion and Italy reveal a complete change in certain aspects of the social order in the peninsula. The side of Italy facing eastward has surrendered its historical importance to the westward side: Ravenna is dethroned, and Rome appears in a new, though for the moment a borrowed, splendour; the Teutonic civilisation, which is now paramount, gradually pervades all public institutions and the general conceptions of life and its duties, even in spheres which had hitherto been subject entirely to Byzantine influence. Apart from Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, where Greek influences remained predominant, Italy had now become an integral part of the Frankish Empire, and as its several districts gradually became unified and united, they adopted that peculiar form of territorial ownership which is denoted by the term "feudal system." This change forms the main portion of that section of Italian history to which, from its connection with Central Europe beyond the Alps, the name "Ultramontane" may be given, using the term in a sense precisely the reverse of its modern meaning.

Frankish Feudalism in Italy

The introduction of the Frankish feudal system into Italy of the ninth century is still regarded in many quarters as no great innovation and as possessing no decisive importance, for the reason that the country upon several occasions had previously been permeated with institutions of Teutonic origin; none the less we have before us an entirely new development. It must be remembered that the foundation upon

which the Goths and Lombards were obliged to build had never entirely lost the indelible stamp of Roman custom. Early and recent Roman law, Lombard edicts, Frankish tribal law, and German imperial law—these three or four influences have co-operated to determine the later constitutional developments of Upper and Central Italy. Local divergences are easily explained as the result of special geographical influence. The character of the older economy had been determined by the predominance of territorial ownership and of the town with its peasant citizens.

The development of freehold property rights had started from two different forms of revocable conveyance—a hereditary freehold, especially in the case of Church property, might extend over three generations, or land might be held in usufruct. Then came the division of Italy into the Lombard and non-Lombard districts. In the latter portion, together with the militia and the ecclesiastical landed proprietors, who held a special position, the commanders of the castles—the *Tribuni*—had become hereditary lords and independent chieftains after the Byzantine protectorate had disappeared; in the other districts, under the Lombards, the colonists had become dependents, almost in the position of serfs. The period of lease was almost unlimited, a beneficial institution compared with the confusing system of yearly leases which continued from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century.

New social classes gradually became distinct within the Lombard territory: the smallest landholders and the farmer

who worked with forty yokes were inferior to the landowners who possessed at least seven hides of freehold, and of these the king did not necessarily hold the largest extent of property, as his possessions were largely divided among adherents who looked for some tangible reward. To these classes was afterwards added the mercantile class, possessed of personal property. The wide divergences which separated these groups were inevitably accentuated by the processes of internal consolidation and change, which in other cases was completed with comparative rapidity. For that very reason the Carolingian social order was first able to extend its influences with comparative uniformity over both portions and to produce a similarity, and for that reason again this influence is by no means so unimportant a matter as it would have been under other circumstances.

Thus the ninth century brought to Italy a further expansion of the beneficiary system. Investiture with Church property was connected with the entirely Teutonic institution of vassalage, and here even upon Italian soil we undoubtedly find the seeds of the feudal system. The protection demanded by the papacy against domestic and foreign enemies undoubtedly fostered and disseminated the Central European theory that possession of the fief obliged the holder to render faithful service in war.

By its very nature the feudal nobility aimed at separatism and independence and its strength implied a gradual weakening of the central power, which suffered a corresponding loss of territorial and military power: this process continued in Italy, and an obvious example of a feudal state in process of disruption is Benevento, which broke up into Benevento, Salerno, and Capua. A number of petty subordinate vassals were often held in subjection by the more powerful vassals. These various

Prosperous State of the Cities grades of separate power which had interposed themselves between the wearer of the crown and the general mass of his subjects were inspired by an invincible longing to make their property hereditary and their position independent: in Italy their attainment of this object was hindered for the moment by the prosperity of the cities, which, though surprising for its early maturity, can be explained by reference to the conditions of past centuries.

During that time the islands on the coast line were more and more disturbed by the Arabs, or Saracens, whose raids increased the traditional value attaching to fortified towns; in effect they occupied the position that was formerly held by the invading barbarians, who had advanced upon the country from the north.

The picture which we gain of Italy under the successors of Charles the Great is generally unsatisfactory. The founder of the world-empire, upon the premature death of his son Pippin on July 8th, 810, had personally placed Pippin's son Bernard in command of Italy in 812, and had made him king of the Lombards in the following year; Lewis, on the other hand, received the imperial crown on September 11th, 813. Lewis, after his father's death, proceeded to rearrange the imperial administration in July, 817, without consulting the interests of his nephew, who thereupon revolted. Bernard's rapid submission in December could not mitigate the severity of his punishment, that of being blinded, on April 15th, 818; he died two days afterwards. His fate foreshadows that of many another

Lothair on Italy's Throne Italian prince. The emperor repented of his severity, and Bernard's son Pippin repaid evil with good by liberating the Empress Judith with a few faithful followers who had been banished to Italy in July, 833; in April, 834, Pippin restored her to her husband, whose descendants became counts of Vermandois.

From the year 822 the co-emperor Lothair ruled over Italy upon the basis of the "Divisio imperii" of 817; the country was involved in the struggles which broke out in 830 between Louis the Pious and his sons. From February 2nd, 831, to June 30th, 833, Lothair was king only of Italy, though by a rapid change of fortune he then became sole emperor, until his subjugation in the autumn of 834. After that date his possessions were again confined to Italy, and he rewarded his faithful servants with estates at the expense both of the Church and of his secular adherents, with the result that from the autumn of 836 serious discontent was felt with his action. Eventually, at the end of May, 839, took place the final reconciliation with his weak father, which ended in a fresh partition of the empire.

By these arrangements Lothair chose the half to the east of the Maas, without Bavaria, and this portion naturally

ITALY: END OF CHARLEMAGNE'S EMPIRE

included Italy, with which he was already connected. We can therefore understand that after the settlement with his brothers—that is to say, after the battle of Fontenoy-en-Puisaye on June 25th, 841, after the flight of Lothair in March, 842, and the Treaty of Verdun in August, 843—he preferred the central portion of the three parts, the rights and revenues of which were practically identical; this portion extended from Frisia along the Rhine and Moselle, the Saône and Rhone, as far as Italy.

In this way the Emperor Lothair united the three capitals of Rome, Pavia, and Aix-la-Chapelle, and secured the connection between them free from any interruption by foreign territory; more than this, his strong hand gained possession of the old and even then very important commercial route from the Mediterranean harbours of Southern Provence to the staple markets in Frisia and on the Lower Rhine, Duurstede, Ghent, and Antwerp. If the partition of Verdun had been maintained, this long and narrow central empire, known from 851 as the "Regnum Hlotharii"—Lotharingia in the

How Lothair Helped Commerce wider sense of the term—would have had an advantageous prospect of economic development notwithstanding its ill-defined boundaries. Even though a considerable part of the Oriental trade had continued to pass Italy and to seek transmission northwards from Marseilles, the emperor's portion of the peninsula would at any rate have gained a continent for its export and retail trade such as was secured only centuries later when the difficulties of Alpine transport had been methodically overcome.

The reality proved very different. At first it appeared as if the permanence of the Lotharingian realm had been guaranteed; on June 15th, 844, the emperor's son Lewis II. was anointed and crowned king of the Lombards by Pope Sergius II.; the Duke Sigimulf of Benevento did homage in person. During those years the father was occupied in the north by the incursions of the Northmen and other events of the kind, and his prestige was diminished, in so far as the imperial rights of supremacy which Lothair had retained by his treaty with Pope Eugenius II. in November, 824—providing that coronation should take place before the arrival of the imperial ambassador—were disregarded for the second time in 847. On

the other hand, the aggressions of the Saracens were checked, though only for the moment, in 847 and 852, by comparatively successful campaigns which Lewis conducted in the south; in the course of these movements Salerno was definitely separated from Benevento in 847 for the purpose of securing an effective frontier defence. Lewis was

Lewis II. Crowned as Emperor now indisputably master of Italy, and his position received formal recognition by his coronation as emperor at the beginning of April, 850, at the hands of Pope Leo IV.; Lothair naturally retained the supremacy, as Louis the Pious had done in 822, until his abdication and his death, which followed in September, 855.

The Emperor Louis II. retained the crown for fully twenty years. It may be at once admitted that he did his best to consolidate Italy at home and to secure her position against foreign powers. In 860 he crushed Benevento; he conquered Bari with Greek help on February 2nd, 871, after a four years' siege, and relieved Salerno in August, 872. It would hardly have been possible, however, even for a more powerful ruler to have checked the progress of anarchy, a symptom of which was the terrifying prevalence of highway robbery, as attested by punitive capitularies of 850 and 805. In any case, even before the Treaty of Mersen the unity of Greater Lotharingia had ceased to exist.

The economic projects and the plans entertained by Lothair in 843 were naturally brought to a sudden end by the transfer of Frisia to Lewis's brother, Lothair II., at the beginning of 855; he also secured Francia with Aix-la-Chapelle—Lotharingia in the narrower sense—six months later, while Charles, as the youngest son, obtained Provence and a part of Burgundy. After September, 855, Italy was again thrown upon her own resources. The situation was not materially altered

Death of Lothair II. by the acquisition of Geneva and its environs in 859, or of Provence and other parts of Burgundy beyond the Jura in 863; the connection with the Carolingian north was definitely interrupted. The helplessness of the imperial power is shown with appalling clearness after the death of Lothair II., on August 8th, 869. The justifiable claims of Lewis II. were unable to secure a hearing, and his uncles, Lewis the German and Charles the Bald, divided

the inheritance which they were glad to grasp. The other side of the picture consists of the inevitable and successful action of the Popes Nicholas I. and Hadrian II. against Lothair III. upon the question of his unlawful marriages with Theutberga and Waldrada, in the years 865, 867, and 869, and the result displays

a faithful reflection of the general superiority of the papacy to the Carolingian partition princes. Inglorious also for the Emperor Lewis was his surprise by Adelchis of Benevento and a band of conspirators on August 13th, 871; equally inglorious was the humiliation by which he secured his liberty on September 17th, though his self-respect may have been healed by Pope Hadrian, who released him from his extorted oath and performed his coronation on May 18th, 872. The friendly attitude of the Curia hardly blinded the emperor's eyes to the fact that he was further from the complete mastery of Italy at the end of his life than he had been at the beginning of his reign.

However, after the death of Lewis II., on August 12th, 875, even the cowardly Charles the Bald was tempted to claim the imperial crown, which he actually secured upon the Christmas Day of that year. Carloman, the eldest son of Lewis the German, to whom the crown had actually been bequeathed, was for the moment cheated of his hopes. At the rumour of his approach with an army, Charles fled in September, 877, and died on October 6th, when Pavia did homage to his nephew. Carloman, however, who had been ill at the end of November, succumbed to his malady in a short time, and died on March 22nd, 880. Previously, in 878, Pope John VIII., hard pressed by the Saracens, and turning the inactivity of the East Franks to his own advantage, had attempted, with a remarkable display of independence, to

choose a more suitable emperor in the person of Boso of Lower Burgundy, who had become the son-in-law of Lewis II. by his abduction of Irmingard.

Boso, however, declined the honour, and Carloman in the middle of August, 878, averted a threatening loss by the cession of Italy to his "little" brother, Charles the Fat. The country was naturally suffering considerably under an uncertainty which accelerated its disruption, and offered a

joyful welcome to the new king, who entered Lombardy at the end of October. The desired support was, however, denied for the moment, for in the spring of 880 Charles turned his back upon Upper Italy in order to crush Boso of Vienne.

In November he re-entered Italy, and was actually crowned Emperor of Rome; the campaign which the Pope desired was, however, again deferred. It was not until the murder of John VIII., on December 15th, 882, that a new Italian expedition was undertaken. The deposition of Duke Wido II. of Spoleto and Camerino, in June 883, was an inadequate measure, as Charles afterwards returned to Germany in November, while the sentence of deposition was graciously removed on January 7th, 885. The same year brought Charles the homage of the West Franks. In consequence of this event he was overwhelmed with tasks demanding completion, and the short Italian visit of the spring of 886 brought no help to the papacy, which was hard pressed by the Arabs. Towards the end of the autumn of 887 the patience of the nations, who were irritated by the emperor's incapacity, gave

way. Charles retired in favour of Arnulf, who had been chosen king, and died at Neidingen on the Danube. Thus, within the short space of barely ninety years the great creation of Charles the Great had disappeared. The want of some dominant centre once more became obvious; the separate political organisations could not be easily combined, owing to the extended configuration of the peninsula, and were connected only by the feeble ties of locality. Thus, disunited and broken into many fragments, Italy was unable to defend herself against the Arabs, whose raids became speedily bolder, or to check the disastrous insecurity of life and property which prevailed throughout the country.

Notwithstanding her insular position, and her protected situation, Venice was then an Italian community, like so many others, with a basis of Roman law modified by Greek, Lombard and Frankish edicts and customs; from the year 840 she had gradually withdrawn from the Byzantine protectorate, though some remnants of this supremacy survived in titles, etc., until the thirteenth century. The official representative of the emperor of East Rome had long ago been forced to make room

for the native Dux, Duke, or Doge, though he had not upon that account become dependent upon the Franks. Between 811 and 942 the dignity of Doge belonged to seven Parteciaci. Since the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in the summer of 812, the Frankish emperor, who wished to be recognised as such by the east, had renounced his claims to Venice, which he had hardly secured.

In the centre of the peninsula the Pope held sway, restricted in many respects, but none the less holding the balance of equality and capable of guiding his neighbours. The north and north-west formed in general the Italian kingdom with Pavia as the capital. From this centre the Frankish feudal system followed a course of domestic development which laid stress upon practical rights and their hereditary transmission, and triumphantly extended into the non-Frankish districts.

This was, however, the only case in which the Frankish nationality made any progress; elsewhere retrogression was but too clearly perceptible. The Margrave of Ivrea and the Duke of Friuli, the Margrave of Tuscany and the Duke of Spoleto, at times proved very restless under the Carolingian yoke. The crown seemed an object worthy of effort as much for the actual power which its possession implied as for the fictitious splendour of the imperial title.

It cannot, however, be asserted that this rivalry for the imperial crown at Rome conferred any benefit upon the peninsula. Arnulf found much difficulty in maintaining the Carolingian claim. At the end of 888 and in the early winter of 895 he subjugated Berengar of Friuli; at the end of January, 894, he stormed Bergamo, which had been defended by Ambrosius, the Count of Spoleto; he overthrew Adalbert of Tuscany in February, and was finally crowned Emperor of Rome in February, 896, after taking the capital by storm. Even at that moment the actual supremacy of the north and part of Central Italy was in other hands whose power was not disputed. For more than a generation (888-924) Berengar I. of Friuli, who was related through his mother to the Emperor Louis the Pious, held the throne of the Lombards and became Roman emperor in December, 915.

He, however, was severely defeated in 889 on the Trebbia by Wido II. of Spoleto, who was not related to the Carolingians; further defeats were suffered at the hands

Death of Wido II. of the Magyars, on the Brenta, and of Rudolf II. of Upper Burgundy at Fiorenzuola on July 17th, 923; during his lifetime it was only in the north-east that his position was fully recognised. With the exception of those months when Arnulf was staying in Italy the central part of the country was ruled by the above-mentioned Wido, the only Italian king without the most shadowy hereditary claim, who was elected by the nobles.

After his death, in December, 894, he was succeeded by his son Lambert, who was prudent enough to open friendly relations with the Curia after the final retreat of the East Franks. When he died, on October 15th, 898, Berengar might have been able to rule the entire kingdom of Italy in peace had not a second rival appeared; this was Louis III., king of Provence, then twenty years of age, a true Carolingian through his mother, and descended, moreover, from the Italian line. His efforts to secure the crown were at first successful, and Benedict IV. crowned him emperor in February, 901. He was surprised, however, at Verona, in July, 905, by Berengar and his Bavarian sympathisers, was blinded, and died twenty-three years afterwards in Arles.

Upon the removal of Louis, Berengar I. found a third opponent in 921 in the person of Rudolf II. of Upper Burgundy. Rudolf secured the supremacy in 923, but was obliged to share the favour of the nobles after 926 with Hugo of Provence, who was a Carolingian. The treaty of 933 left Hugo in possession of Italy, while he also succeeded in securing the inheritance of Lewis II. after his death; Rudolf received Lower Burgundy and retained Upper Burgundy.

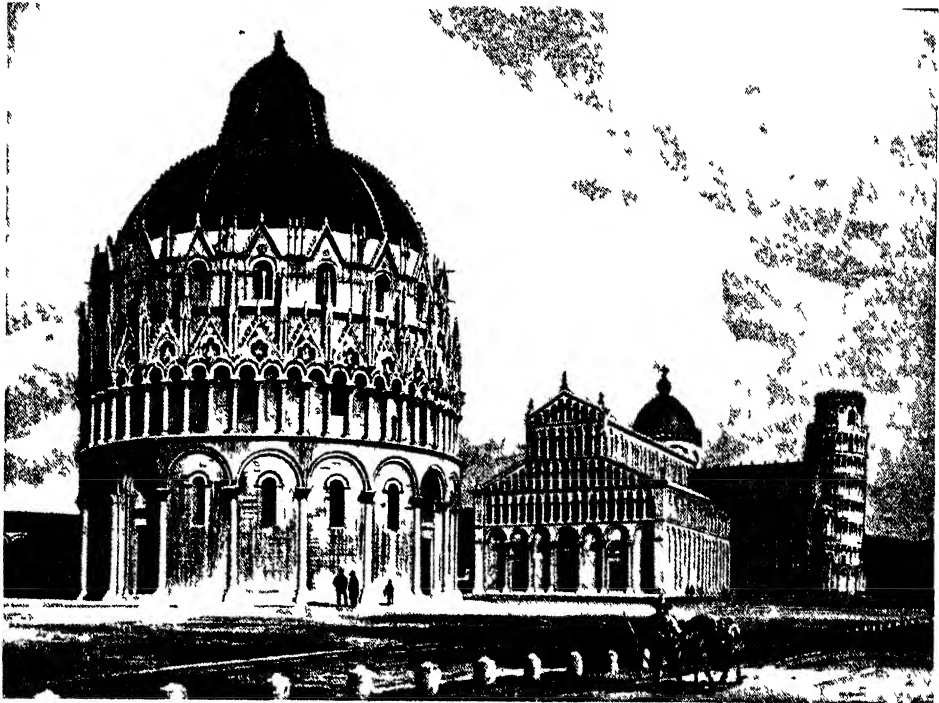
The power of Hugo came to an end before Rome, and was soon to be limited from the north. The path was thus clear for Berengar II., who had been crowned with his son Adalbert. But the settlement was apparent rather than real. A more powerful character was even then approaching who was to reorganise and consolidate the affairs of Italy.

Hugo's Power at an End



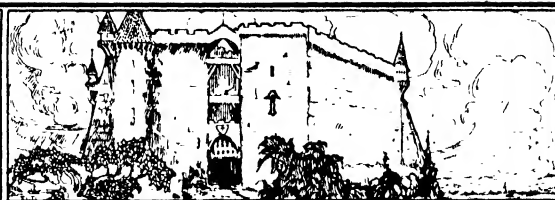
THE BEAUTIFUL GOTHIC CATHEDRAL OF PALERMO

Chief of the beauties of Palermo is its cathedral a magnificent Gothic structure the building of which began in 1180 Within its walls are the porphyry and marble tombs of Henry VI Frederick II and their queens these indicating the connection of Italy with the German Empire—a period treated in the chapter which follows



THE BAPTISTERY CATHEDRAL AND LEANING TOWER OF PISA

The celebrity of the town of Pisa is due in large measure to the buildings shown in the illustration In the foreground on the left stands the baptistery the outer foundations of which were laid in 1153 Various alterations were carried out on this noble structure from time to time until in the fifteenth century the dome was crowned by a cupola on which rises the bronze statue of John the Baptist The cathedral adjoining the baptistery was in its restored form begun in 1004 while behind the cathedral stands the wonderful leaning tower a campanile begun in 1174



THE GERMAN SUPREMACY IN ITALY AND THE FLOURISHING OF THE CITIES

THOUGH since the year 875 election had been the habitual method of imperial appointment, the theory of the hereditary rights of the dynasty, formulated in the Carolingian period, had never become extinct, and formed the basis of the emperor's supremacy. Evidence of this fact is found not only in the many secret transactions upon the occasion of a change of rulers and the repetition of the elections, but also in the fact that King Adalbert became a sutor for the hand of Lothar's widow, Adelaide. After his rejection she did not resign her claims to the crown, but combined legal possession of the Italian kingdom with prospects of securing Burgundy, and accepted the strong hand of the Saxon Otto I., who thus secured an indisputable claim to Italy. His first entry into Italy occurred in the sixteenth year of his rule in East Francia. At first his authority was by no means uniformly extended. In 956 his

A Second Charles the Great

son Ludolf, who was possibly crowned at Parma in May, and who died in 957, was obliged to advance against Berengar, who, in August, 952, had been invested with Italy, not including Istria, Aquileia, Trient, and Verona. For the moment the powerful Alberic II. opposed his entry into Rome.

After Alberic's death, in 954, when Germany had been pacified and its eastern frontier secured, Otto was able to pay closer attention to those Italian problems awaiting his solution. This process began with his second journey to Italy in the winter of 961-962, which gave to Central Europe a second Charles the Great on February 2nd. In 936 John XII., the son of Alberic, was deposed by the new emperor, as also was Benedict V. in 964, while in 963 and 964 Leo VIII. was raised to the papacy, and John XIII. in 965 and 967. Compelled to surrender in the mountain fortress of St. Leo, or Montefeltro, in 964, Berengar II. died in Bamberg in 966: Queen Willa took the veil;

and Adalbert, who died between 971 and 975, was driven into exile with his brothers and sisters. Thus almost the last offshoots of the Carolingian dynasty in Italy became extinct. Capua, Benevento, and Salerno submitted to the Saxon emperor, and only the extreme south remained Byzantine and Arab. The connection between the cold north and the warm south

Three-year- old King of Germany

became steadily closer. Otto II., the son of Otto and Adelaide, who had been joint emperor from 967, married, in 972, the Greek princess Theophano, a member of the "Macedonian" dynasty of emperors, which was not altogether distinguished by greatness of descent. The centre of interest and inclination was thus transferred towards the south, and even more definitely so in 983, when Otto III. succeeded to the German throne at the age of three years. Apart from all other attraction, the influence of two previous generations will suffice to explain the enormous influence which Italy exercised upon the history of Germany from the close of the tenth century.

The extent to which the south was connected with German history, not only then but for a long period afterwards, is a matter with which we have already dealt. Here we can merely develop and extend our consideration of those movements which were temporarily or entirely Italian, and which lie outside the limits of the account of the East Frankish Empire provided by the earlier section. The fact

First German Pope

is in any case worthy of remark that King Otto III., when he made his youthful relation, Bruno, Pope, with the title of Gregory, placed the first German upon the papal throne. This was done from the point of view of Carolingian and Ottonian imperial theory, which regarded the Pope as nothing more than the first officer of the Church. The Crescentius who opposed the emperor in the person of his protégé

paid for his attempt by a dishonourable death at the end of April, 998. The end of the first Christian millennium was now at hand. In comparison with the state of affairs in 890, the position had considerably altered, notwithstanding the shortness of the intervening time. It is not to be supposed that the "Chiliasm" doctrine, which predicted the end of the world for the year 1000, had met with any general acceptance. Outside the narrow circles of Otto III., Boleslav I. Chabri, and Vladimir of Kiev, the doctrine met with few adherents and was probably but little known. The architectural activity of Venice at that time is an argument against its wide acceptance. But the relations of the various leading powers in Italy had undergone many modifications.

The Great Age of Venetian Architecture

The first point which strikes us is the strong revival of the Byzantine power in the south. The Saracen advance had been checked between 850 and 870 only by Lewis II., and had been shattered after his death entirely by the tenacious resistance of the Byzantine garrisons. About the year 890 the Arabs were expelled from Calabria and Apulia, and in 915 these triumphs of Christianity were crowned by the splendid victory on the Garigliano. The supremacy of the emperor of East Rome extended once more over the thrones of Salerno, Naples, and Capua, including Benevento, and the rulers were no longer changed with the former astonishing rapidity.

Only a few isolated communities were able to retain their independence beyond the outset of the eleventh century, under favourable political circumstances and through the advantage of geographical position. A case in point is Amalfi, which had left the eastern empire without a struggle in 839, and had become a republic at that date and a family duchy in 958. Apart from the raids upon the coasts and islands, which never entirely ceased, and apart from the occasional incursions of the Magyars, it may be said that the interior of the south was almost entirely pacified in the tenth century. The monasteries of Monte Cassino and of San Vincenzo on the Volturno rose once more from their ruins, and once again the disruption of the feudal states was checked. On one point, however, uncertainty still

Raids of the Wild Magyars

remained; the Pandulfs of Capua and the Waimars of Salerno considered that their revived independence might enable them to dispense with the eastern emperor, while the Byzantine Strategist regarded that ancient Lombard principality as really belonging to the *Themes*, or provinces, of Longibardia and Calabria. There was naturally no definite delimitation of the frontier line.

In other respects much mutual consideration was shown, and the diplomacy of Byzantium was sufficiently far-sighted to spare the Lombard and Roman nationalities. The advantage of this policy was seen in the fact that even when the opportunity appeared most favourable for secession, as in 1010 and 1017, the South Italian towns were not to be seduced from their allegiance, or induced to throw open their gates to insurgents or Normans.

Northern Calabria, on the lower reaches of the Crati, and Southern and Eastern Lucania were so penetrated with the spirit of Greek imperialism that they appeared in the twelfth century under the name "Basilicata." The original substratum of the population in these districts remained Greek, and the proud edifice of Norman rule, which left the local constitutions untouched, merely replaced the imperial governor, and is to be understood only by keeping this basis in mind. If the enormous influences which moulded Southern Italy in the Middle Ages be placed in due gradation, the series will appear as follows. At the head stand the Byzantine and Norman influences, which were followed by the Roman—in legal matters—the Lombard, and Frank, while last of all comes the Arab influence, which ended for Sicily in 1072. Striking evidence for these facts is afforded by the history of Christian art in Lower Italy, which was materially enriched by Greek and Eastern influences during the second half of the eleventh century.

After the extinction of the warlike Candiani, who provided four Doges for Venice between 932 and 979, this city reached the culmination of its remarkable course of development about the year 1000. Its restricted territory, and its geographical situation directed the efforts of Venice to the sea and to foreign countries, and for the successful conduct of this difficult policy an almost monarchical

Influences in the Making of Italy

THE GERMAN SUPREMACY IN ITALY

government seemed peculiarly appropriate. The family of the highly talented Doge Pietro Orsello II. (991-1009) was treated on terms of equality by the most distinguished dynasties of Europe. Great prestige was gained by the victorious expedition against the Croatian king, Dircislaw, in the year 1000.

The war and commercial fleets of the Venetians were never so powerful as then, and Greek models and patterns were as unmistakably followed here as in the reconstruction of the Basilica of Saint Mark, begun by the father of Pietro of the same name who was Doge from 976 to 978. Together with Venice, the commercial cities of Genoa and Pisa began about this time to break away from the counts of Este and the Italian kings, who were unable to protect them against the Saracens of Corsica and Sardinia, so that they felt the necessity for independent measures of defence. The first real success of these efforts was the joint victory gained over the Arabs of Sardinia in 1015 and 1016. During the period of rivalry which then followed Pisa retained the preponderance during some decades. Throughout the rest of the empire the feudal system was now in its maturity, and had assumed an unwonted ecclesiastical character in consequence of the preference shown by the Ottos for the bishops.

This conscious co-operation of the government with the most distinguished clergy as the higher officials of the empire bore golden fruit immediately after the death of Otto III., in 1002. The nobles of Lombardy, inspired by hatred of Germany or, in other words, by a spirit of nationalism, crowned the Margrave Arduin of Ivrea, who had been outlawed in 999, as king in Pavia on February 15th. At the earnest representations of the clergy, King Henry II., the Saint, crossed the Alps in 1004, and was elected and crowned king on May 14th. His triumph was not of long duration, and a second Italian campaign became necessary at the end of 1013.

After some short enjoyment of his success, Arduin was forced to yield in the summer of 1014, and died in the monastery of San Benigno at Fruttuaria on December 14th, 1015; he was the last native king of Italy for a long time to come. On the other hand, the power which a mutinous ecclesiastical vassal could acquire under

certain circumstances is proved by the defiant attitude of the proud Archbishop Aribert towards the Emperor Conrad II. (1037-1038); during his time Milan began to realise its own power. To these days of confusion belongs the famous "*Edictum de beneficiis*" of May 28th, 1027, also known as the "*Constitutio de feudis*," by which the mediate fiefs of smaller vassals not immediately dependent upon the king were expressly made hereditary from father to son and from brother to brother. By this means the importance of the feudal lords, who had grown too strong and had presumed upon the number of secondary vassals formerly dependent upon themselves and now transferred to the Crown, was reduced in favour of a stronger central power.

These changes are however, unimportant in comparison with the strong influence which was exercised not only upon Italy, but upon the whole of Central and Western Europe, in the wider and final sense of the phrase, by the appearance of the Normans in Southern Italy in 1017. In itself, and considered from a purely geographical point of view, the change which the Byzantine south suffered as a consequence of the Norman attacks was by no means so extraordinarily decisive as is usually supposed. At the same time it remains one of the most important events in the mediæval history of Italy. Ranke regards it as no less important than the simultaneous invasion of the Turkish Seljuks in Iran. It was an important change, for the reason that the Norman invasion implied the entrance of a new member among the varied number of Italian powers, and of one which threatened unusual dangers, first to the Lombards, to Analfi, and other city states, then to the Pope, and finally to the emperor.

So late as 1022 Henry II. had conducted a successful campaign, on the occasion of his third journey to Rome, against the Greeks in Apulia, against whom he had been summoned by Pope Benedict VIII., whose nationalism had been already tested in Sardinia in 1016. In April, 1027, his successor, Conrad II., who had been crowned in Milan at the end of March, 1026, easily reasserted the rights of the western empire over Lower Italy. Even at that day those germs existed which, though invisible for the moment, were

or secular property owed obedience ; it is a precise reversal of the theory and of the practical situation which existed under Charles the Great and the Ottos.

The clergy were brought into closer dependence on the Pope by the oath of fidelity and the obligation of celibacy, which loosened their connection with the

Struggles of Emperor and Pope family and the secular state ; in the universal state of the Church they were to be what the Rogers were then making the

Sicilians—namely, a bureaucracy. Obviously if this goal were ever to be attained it was necessary to abolish the conflicting right of the emperor and of his greater vassals to institute bishops and abbots and to invest them with the ring and staff. The struggle upon this point forms the content of the investiture quarrel. This spiritual war was not ended by the conventions of February and April, 1111, and of October, 1119, or by the concordat of Worms in 1122, which was in close documentary and legal connection with those conventions ; none the less the concordat was recognised as a binding contract by both parties, and was supposed to form a permanent principle of imperial and ecclesiastical government.

It was impossible for the Church to abide by the compromise which the cleverness of the Emperor Henry V. had provided unless she were willing to surrender all prospect of realising the ambitions of Gregory, and to face that possibility of sacrificing her own existence which the course of events rendered probable. Hence Pope Innocent III. turned the favourable situation to the best advantage, and on July 13th, 1213, obliged the young Frederic II. to renounce his right of interference in episcopal elections—a right which the Curia considered had been misused since 1139.

This great revival of the papal power was further strengthened about 1078, and on November 17th, 1102, by

Revival of the Papal Power the magnificent legacy of the Countess Matilda of Tuscany, which provided a desirable,

though soon disputed, secular support ; as might be expected, the new power exercised an indisputable influence upon the relations of the German emperor with that part of Upper Italy which was not under the Pope, or, more exactly, was outside the states of the Church. Apart from all other considerations, it

must be noticed that in strict nationalist circles the imperial power of the Germans produced the bad impression of a foreign supremacy ; moreover, since Popes of Germanic nationality had no longer been chosen, the chair of St. Peter had been occupied for the most part by Italians or Romans, and in consequence the papacy was regarded by the natives as the natural representative of their interests, inso-much that even in the middle of the nineteenth century the idea of an Italian federation, with the Pope at its head, showed some prospect of realisation. The place of a shattered and disorganised state was taken by the free communes about 1100.

Especially in the department of judicial administration we find at an early period those members of the community who were prominent by birth, position, or wealth distinguished by the title of "nobiles" or "maiores," "tribuni," "primates" or "judices," "fideles" or "sapientes," "boni homines" or "homines idonei." They secured an increasing importance in course of time ; from 1100 onwards, and

Treaties of Venice and Constance somewhat earlier in the valley of the Po than in Tuscany, there arose the institution of the consulate. The resolutions of the

imperial diet of Roncaglia in 1158 were strongly opposed to this highly inconvenient innovation, but after the defeat of Legnano in 1176 they were almost entirely annulled by the Treaties of Venice and Constance in 1177 and 1183 ; only the imperial investiture of the consuls betrayed the continuance of the old imperial supremacy.

In the second half of the twelfth century—in 1151 in Bologna, Ferrara and Siena, in 1176 in Parma, and in 1190 in Genoa—the position of the consuls was taken by the Podestà, the supreme official of the commune, who was summoned in every case from without ; upon his entry into office he swore to observe the municipal statutes—the first printed copies of which are some of the finest extant incunabula—concentrated in his own power various functions which had previously been in different hands, and became in particular supreme judge and leader in war.

Prosperity was by no means impossible under papal government, as is, for instance, shown by the rapid rise of Benevento to the position of a city state after the time when it came under the Pope's

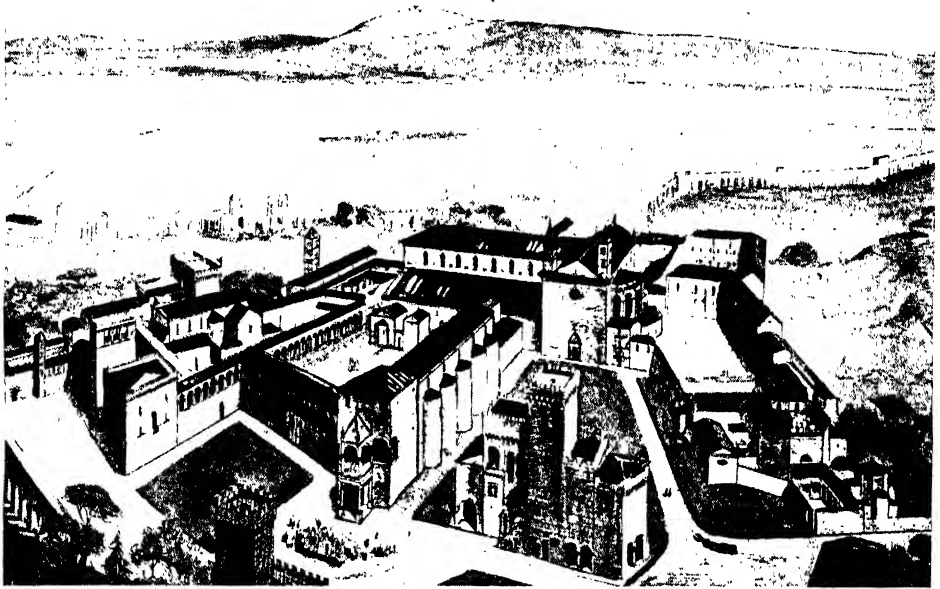
THE GERMAN SUPREMACY IN ITALY

supremacy upon the extinction of its Lombard ducal family. In the north, also, the position of those towns which were but loosely dependent upon the states of the Church, or had shaken off the burdensome rule of their episcopal counts, developed to no less advantage. Freedom, indeed, in this quarter eventually reached a far more brilliant development than in the south, which from 1130 onwards was systematically subjugated by the Norman monarchs, and commercially outstripped by Venice, Pisa, and Genoa.

The impulse to town independence was never so violently opposed by the Curia as

transitory successes, such as the subjugation of Chieri, Asti, and Tortona in 1155, the destruction of the defiant Spoleto in 1155, and the overthrow of Crema in 1160, Milan, Brescia and Piacenza in 1162 by Frederic Barbarossa; this was due chiefly to the fact that the empire was unable to amalgamate the rising power of the German towns with that of the state.

This special grouping and attitude of the great powers enabled Italy to survive some centuries, but could not prevent her eventual disruption, and the inevitable weakness which resulted. Those



THE EARLIEST HOME OF THE POPES IN ITS MEDIÆVAL STATE

The most ancient basilica of Rome is the great Church of St. John Lateran, which is regarded as the mother church of Rome. Here stood the old palaces of the Laterani family, which were confiscated by Nero and subsequently ordained by Constantine as the patrimony of the Popes of Rome. In these palaces the Popes had their residence till the fourteenth century, when the Vatican became the permanent seat of the papacy after the return from Avignon, in 1377.

by the more powerful German emperors to the time of Henry VI. Consequently the good relations subsisting between the Pope and the towns speedily proved to the advantage of both parties; the Pope had a strong protecting force at his service, and the towns could develop as they pleased. Hence arose the heroic period of the Verona federation of 1164 and the Lombard federation of 1167, which, among other points, was so important for the military training of the infantry gathered about its Carroccio. The party which suffered under that arrangement was the empire, notwithstanding some

neighbours, indeed, who might have turned this weakness to their own account were occupied too entirely with their own affairs. Moreover, the participation of their ruling classes in the Crusades forbade any interference or expansion at home; the interests of the Christian nations of the West were for many centuries attracted to the East. Thus upon this side no danger was to be feared for a long time; on the contrary, the task of transporting the numerous forces of the Crusades proved a profitable commercial enterprise, and largely increased the prosperity of the more important coast

towns affected by the movement. During the centuries in which the greater part of the Mediterranean trade belonging to such harbours in Lower Italy as Bari and Amalfi was transferred to the north for general or local reasons, Venice, Pisa, and Genoa became predominant over the other towns. Venice had been ruled by a Doge,

Venice Ruled by the Doges

an office which had become almost hereditary until the final overthrow of the Orseoli in 1032 gradually introduced an oligarchical government; eventually the oligarchy of the *Comune Venetiarum* was definitely founded by the constitutional oath of the Doge Domenico Morosini of 1148, and was finally completed by the undertaking given by Giacomo Tiepolo upon his accession to office in 1220.

So early as the close of the eleventh century Venice displayed a principle of division, remarkable at that period, between Church and State, which was expressed in the phrase "religion is a private matter, but one of serious import"; five hundred years later this separation was to find its proudest expression in the invincible defiance of the Servite Paoli Sarpi to Pope Paul V.

Venice was recognised as mistress of the Adriatic even by the Normans in 1154 and 1157, and availed herself of that great piratical expedition generally known as the Fourth Crusade to secure an extensive colonial empire in 1204 in the *Ægean* Sea. From the outset the Venetian merchant had been anxious to grow rich by means of trade and commercial profit, but the attainment of this object was made possible only by extending the limits within which his mercantile activity could operate. Throughout the habitable globe no one was able to develop his activities and increase his prosperity with greater freedom than the commercial Venetian.

For a considerable period Pisa had shared the fate of *Adria*, *Amalfi*, *Aquileia*, *Metapontum*, *Ravenna*, and many other towns upon the coast. This was due to unfavourable political conditions, and to a shifting of the coast line, which greatly reduced the value of the harbours. When the *Arno* ran a shorter course and entered

the sea at a different point from that of modern times, ships of considerable size could sail up stream as far as *Pisa*. The pennon of *Pisa* pointed to bold seafarers the road to victory over the *Saracens*, as far as *Corsica* and *Sardinia*, the *Balearic Isles* and *North Africa*. In 1063 rich booty had been secured by a raid upon *Palermo*, and the produce was employed in extending with magnificent splendour the cathedral, which had been begun in 1006. This became the model of many cupola-basilicas, which are evidence of an ancient art once more revived. During the years 1153-1154 the foundations of the outer and inner circuit of the noble baptistery were laid, and twenty years later the building of the tower was begun; it gradually sank towards the south, but by a clever

device of compensation was raised to a height of fifty-five metres. Lastly, the construction of the *Campo Santo*, begun in the famous north-west corner of *Pisa* between 1278 and 1282, betokens both in point of time and fact the memorable conclusion of the heroic period of this highly religious commercial republic.

In the meantime, notwithstanding an obstinate resistance, *Pisa* had been outstripped by *Genoa*. The rise of this town is certainly to be dated from the vigorous impulse to prosperity given by the *Crusades*. At first, by means of an alliance with *Pisa* for the war against the



"LAST OF THE TRIBUNES"

The Roman patriot, Cola di Rienzi, was violently opposed to the nobles, and incited the citizens to revolt. He was elected tribune in 1347, but his haughty manner eventually turned the Romans against him, and he was murdered in 1354.

infidels in the *Western Mediterranean*, *Genoa* attempted to avoid the obligations which the powerful town on the *Arno* did not hesitate to lay upon a rival whose progress had aroused her jealousy; but neither during the years between 1070 and 1080 nor during the period from 1110 to 1120

The Lost Dominions of Pisa

was *Genoa* able entirely to shake off the yoke of *Pisa*. However, in 1133, the latter town lost half of her influence upon *Corsica*, which was really papal territory, and in 1175 a quarter of her dominions in *Sardinia*. Finally, upon August 6th, 1284, the battle of the island of *Meloria* decided the preponderance of *Genoa*, which, from 1270 to 1291, was under the uniform leadership of two *Ghibelline* "capitani," over *Pisa*, which

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was also for the most part a Ghibelline town, but was too deeply entangled in the faction quarrels of Tuscany, and was therefore losing her maritime power. After the year 1261 Genoa was able to expand successfully in the Greek east, a possibility provided and secured by the victory of Meloria, and thus came into conflict with Venice, which had been firmly established in that region after the advantageous Golden Bull of 1082 and the Fourth Crusade; this conflict of interests caused continual friction, and did not come to an end until the year 1381.

The rising prosperity of the three great commercial towns during the eleventh century naturally exercised a stimulating influence upon the aspirations of other city states. We find, indeed, the inland town now assuming that preponderance which the maritime town had previously claimed. Though her extensive seaboard appears to offer every advantage to maritime communication, Italy at that period does not seem to have produced an essentially maritime nation. Of her general area, seventeen and five-tenths per cent. is island territory; but even though the importance of Sicily be very highly estimated, the influence of the sea upon Italian history is by no means so obvious as the conditions would lead us to expect. In the case of Denmark or England, the surrounding water is the striking feature, but in Italy attention is attracted by the products of the soil. The connection with Central Europe overpowers the attraction to the Mediterranean, and from the age of the communes this influence grows steadily stronger.

Italy displayed that result which invariably occurs upon the disruption or partition of the forces latent within a nation which is from the outset not a uniform whole; numerous centres of

civilisation were simultaneously formed, and almost every one of them proved surprisingly successful. If to these influences be added the Italian climate and the atmospheric conditions of the south, there can be no surprise at the fact that during those centuries, so barren of political result, art was able to develop and to produce achievements which could stimulate and delight the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Apart from Petrarch, how many celebrities have been produced by the bright and cheerful Apennine town

of Arezzo, notwithstanding, or perhaps on account of, its thin, pure air! How entirely harmonious is the intellectual clarity visible in the masterpieces in the Umbrian school of painters with the beneficial seclusion of the town of Perugia! In colder latitudes the comforts and luxuries of civilisation are invariably connected with an impetus to artistic performance, and much more was this the case in those favoured spots. The fact that the Teutonic peoples began their renaissance one hundred and fifty years later than Italy is due not merely to the less favourable climate, but also to the later rise of commercial prosperity.

Notwithstanding the favours of fortune, the Italian towns from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries secured,



RIENZI'S MONUMENT AT ROME

as a general rule, no permanent political power; this fact is due not merely to the continual jealousies and feuds of the several communities — for even the economic policy of the maritime town, with its comprehensive character, was modified by definite tendencies in favour of monopoly—but in a specially high degree to the fact that political parties within individual towns were continually in violent conflict. It would be wrong to suppose that the policy of the more famous city republics was entirely



THE RUINS OF THE FAMOUS CASTLE OF CANOSSA

The ancient castle of Canossa, high up in the Apennines, is no longer a proud fortress, for it has fallen into decay and ruins. It is famous in history on account of its association with the humiliation of the German Emperor, Henry IV. [see page 3590], who, having been excommunicated by Pope Gregory VII., in 1077, followed the papal autocrat to its gates, and for three days stood shivering in the snow before obtaining absolution on terms of abject humiliation.

uniform: such catchwords as "Ghibeline tendencies" or "a citadel of the Guelfs" may easily give rise to these erroneous views. On the contrary, in those districts of Upper and Central Italy which were generally under the power of the emperor loyalty and fear of imperial interference gave an extraordinary impetus to the formation of domestic factions.

L'un l'altro si rode

Di quel ch'un muro ed una fossa serra

is the complaint of Dante.

There were, indeed, city fortresses, which were almost invariably in defiant revolt with gates closed to the traveller journeying towards Rome, either because they were attempting some theoretical revival of the early Roman tradition of freedom, or because they were essentially hostile to the imperial policy. But at least as great was the number of those in which an increasing minority succeeded within a few years in cutting off the majority from their resources and driving them out, themselves to suffer a similar fate in their turn after a certain lapse of time. "Two powers were always opposed in Italy, because in this country a party could easily be

formed against any ruler." The Montecchi and the Cappelletti—Montagues and Capulets—are not to be regarded as two families bitterly opposed to one another in the same town (Verona), since the Cappelletti belonged to Cremona; but this fact does not impair the correctness of the other view, that the development of such communities, which might have achieved great results under a system of stern self-discipline, was more often checked by their own social and family feuds than by wars with their neighbours. The guilds revolt against the nobility, the young generation against the old, and even within these groups we find a social line of demarcation which betokens discord. Thus, the obstinate division into imperial and papal, into aristocratic and democratic republics, distorted and destroyed such unity as Henry III. had secured in the northern half of Italy, and also prevented the formation of any permanent unity within the more important towns. Hence, the history of Italy during these centuries is marked by the disadvantageous feature of disruption, notwithstanding the heroic achievements

THE GERMAN SUPREMACY IN ITALY

of individual communities; and it is consequently impossible for a brief narrative to attempt any detailed account of the several stages of development.

Autonomous city government naturally did not possess precisely the same strength and permanence in every district of Upper and Central Italy. Indeed, in isolated districts native or immigrant princes were able to maintain their ground; such were the powerful Aledramids in Piedmont, a family which had divided from the tenth century into the several branches of Sezzè, Albissola, Busca, and Ponzona of Vasto and of Montferrat, which on their side inherited the possessions of the dynasty of the Palæologi in 1305. Other families of this kind were the counts of Turin, whose line began with Humbert White Hand of Maurienne, the counts of Savoy, and the Lombard Otbertini or Estensi, with their rich countries of Milan, Genoa, Tortona, Luni, Gavello, Padua, Este—after the eleventh century—and Bobbio. More short-lived were the counts

of Canossa, who secured the possessions of the Wîdoni of Tuscany about 1030. After the emperor and Pope had fought for the valuable inheritance until 1120, these western portions passed to the greedy towns of Pistoria and Bologna, Mantua and Reggio, Modena and Lucca. All these counts—at that time the term was not official, but merely titular—were able to bring into immediate dependence upon themselves all towns and districts which were dissatisfied with their state of tutelage under mesne vassals. By this means such districts were transferred from the feudal system and were incorporated in a petty state without further difficulty.

On the other hand, Rome repeatedly experienced dangerous revolts of the citizens against the papal power. The inspiring example of Lombard civic freedom induced the Romans, who had already been excited by various schisms, to entertain the project of restoring the old republic in the autumn of 1143. This



THE BEGINNING OF THE GUELF AND Ghibelline Wars

The incident depicted in this painting by Sabatelli, at Florence, was the prelude to long and bloody warfare between two factions in Italy. A young Florentine of high rank named Buondelmonte was murdered by the friends of the young lady to whom he had pledged himself in marriage, and whom he had forsaken in order to marry another, and this led to the community dividing itself into Guefs and Ghibellines, and carrying on a long and bitter quarrel.

successful attempt was met half way by the inflammatory preaching of Arnold of Brescia, whose powerful moral exhortations brought the capital to his feet after 1147 and enabled him to gain a remarkable triumph, both over the deceased Pope, Innocent II. (1130-1143), his unfortunate opponent of 1139, and over the living Pope, Eugenius III. (1145-1153); eventually in 1153 he was defeated by the tenacity of the Englishman Hadrian IV., who declined to abate any portion of his rights. Of less importance were the revolts against Alexander III., Lucius III. (1180-1182), Gregory IX. (1234-1235), and others. Throughout the years in which Rome was left to itself, during the "Babylonish exile" of the papacy, the symptoms of decay are so plainly marked that the hopes of noble optimists such as Dante and Petrarch, who considered that but for the Pope Rome might become the head of a new universal monarchy, were wholly nullified. The two violent persecutions began in 1347 and 1354 by the "Tribune of the People," Rienzi, originally in the name of the Pope, against the Roman nobility, the Colonna, eventually developed into grossest tyranny, fruitless of result.

At one time it had seemed as if civic freedom in Upper and Central Italy, hemmed in as it was upon both the north and south, was doomed to speedy destruction. It was the period when, in the midst of infinite confusion, the brilliant eldest son of the mighty Barbarossa, the Emperor Henry VI., succeeded in incorporating the deserted Norman Empire in Lower Italy and Sicily. Basing his action upon indisputable hereditary right, Henry did not shrink in April 1119, from the treacherous abandonment of Tusculum, a town loyal to the emperor, in order to secure the compliance of the vacillating Pope Celestine III. His hands would now have been free for the humiliation of Naples had not his action been checked by the devastations of the plague during the summer and by a conspiracy of his princes at home. This emperor, however, though not thirty years of age, inexorably pursued his object,

and secured it, at the expense of some cruelty, in the course of the year 1194. In the meanwhile his cause was vigorously and tenaciously defended by the brave persistence of his wife, by Conrad of Lützelhard, by Diepold of Schweinspeunt, by the vigorous Dean Adenulf of Monte Cassino, and others. These facts are recorded in a Latin poem of Magister Petrus de Ebulo, with magnificent enthusiasm.



THE TYRANT EZZELINO
He was a Ghibelline leader in the reign of King Manfred, and fought stubbornly on behalf of that cause.

That union of the German and Lower Italian Sicilian kingdoms, which Italian nationalism feared, and German nationalism disliked, had now become an accomplished fact. The Duke of Spoleto at that time was Conrad of Urslingen; the Count of Ancona and Duke of the Romagna was the faithful High Steward, Markward of Annweiler, while the Duke of Tuscany and of the inheritance of Matilda was the emperor's brother Philip. Mediæval German history very rarely displayed a power so far-reaching and so centralised as that which belonged to the occupant of the imperial throne in the year 1195.

The more striking was the sudden collapse of this proud world-empire immediately after the death of Henry VI., in 1197. The process was begun by Constance, the queen-widow, who received her empire as a fief from the Pope, and banished the Germans. In 1198 the powers of the apostolic legate, so inconvenient to the Curia, also disappeared. So early as November, 1197, a federation was formed in Tuscany between Florence, Siena, Lucca, Volterra, Arezzo, Prato, and other towns. Ancona and Spoleto overthrew their masters in 1198. Alessandria, the name which had been changed on March 14th, 1183, to "Cæsarea," resumed the offensive name of 1168. To these facts was added the double election of March 8th and June 9th, 1198, which shattered and paralysed the powers of Germany. Pope Innocent III. (1198-1216) was precisely the man to turn this favourable situation to the best account, though it must also be admitted that as guardian of the emperor's son, Frederic II., he administered his Southern Italian inheritance upon disinterested principles. At

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the same time, fifty years of imperial government in Upper Italy had so firmly rooted that institution that the year 1210 seemed to reverse the position of 1197. However, with the Pope's help, Frederic II. expelled the victorious Guelfs from 1212 onwards.

The Northern Italian towns were unable, as usual, to resolve upon any uniform policy, by reason of their mutual mistrust, and the opposition between the Guelfs and Ghibellines steadily increased. The Church State, in that expansion guaranteed in 1213 by the Golden Bull of Eger, now again included Tuscany and the inheritance of Matilda, Spoleto and Ancona, Ravenna and the Pentapolis. The Curia was also the feudal superior of Sicily, which was under a strong

monarchical government, connected with Germany only by personal union. Frederic II., however, transferred the centre of his wide activities to the south in the midsummer of 1220, and the struggle between the Pope and emperor was consequently renewed. Upon this occasion it was a struggle for life or death. Frederic showed great dexterity in turning to the best account the originally meagre support which the emperor had found among the towns in 1226, 1231, and 1236. On November 27th, 1237, at Cortenuova, between Crema and Bergamo, he succeeded in inflicting a complete defeat upon the hostile towns; In 1238 he subjugated Tuscany, united Sardinia to his dynasty by the marriage of Enzo with Adelasia, and remained



THE LAST HOURS OF EZZELINO, A PRISONER AT SONCINO

Failing to surprise Milan in 1250 and to conquer the Lombard crown and rule as a Ghibelline, Ezzelino, a leader of that cause, was taken prisoner, and died of his wounds at Soncino on September 27th of that year.

From the painting by C. F. Lessing

master of almost the whole of Italy until the death of Gregory IX., on August 21st, 1241, and even after the election of Innocent IV., on June 25th, 1243.

The Lombard question, however, cut off all hopes of any general pacification. The month of July, 1244, when the Pope retired from Rome and went to Lyons

The Death of King Conrad IV.

by way of Genoa, marks the declension of the Hohenstauffen domination, which was unable to maintain its ground after the surprise of Parma in June, 1247, though it offered a bold resistance and secured isolated successes. "Stravit inimicum Christi colubrum Fredericum" (He crushed the enemy of Christ, the serpent Frederic) is the inscription upon the tomb of Innocent in the Cathedral of Naples. After the premature death by fever of King Conrad IV., who had overpowered Capua and Naples in 1253, the disaster proved irreparable, notwithstanding the noble efforts of King Manfred, who revived the splendour of the court of Palermo in 1258, and the energetic support of his viceroy, the Count Jordan d'Agliano.

The day of Montaperti, September 4th, 1260, remained a disaster for the Guelf town of Florence and a triumph for the Ghibellines of Siena. Equally unsuccessful was the attempt of Ezzelino to surprise Milan in 1259, to conquer the Lombard crown, and to rule, in intention at least, as a Ghibelline. The tyrant died of his wounds on September 27th of that year, as a prisoner in Soncino. The period of German supremacy was definitely at an end. Roman nationalism triumphed in the person of Charles of Anjou, who was brought forward by the French Popes, Urban IV. and Clement IV. On February 26th, 1266, he overthrew Manfred at Benevento; on August 23rd, 1268, he conquered the last male Hohenstauffen, Conradin, a son of Conrad IV., in the plain of Palentina, between Tagliacozzo and Alba at Scurcola, by a timely advance

of his reserves, while on June 11th, 1266, he routed Provenzano Salvani of Siena at Colle di Val d'Elsa.

It must not, however, be supposed that German influence in the south was but a transitory phenomenon which left no traces behind. The foundation of Manfredonia at Siponto in 1261-1263 is a direct reference to its founder by name. The fairest ruins of Apulia, from the magnificent fortress of Castel del Monte to the scanty remnants of the tombs of two empresses in Andria, are memorials of the brilliant period when the favourite settlements of a world-wide ruler were situated in the "Capitanata," and when Foggia was his capital. The name of Frederic II. is revered among the Apulians of to-day as that of Napoleon among the French. The inhabitants of Bitonti still show with pride the stone tablet on which the great emperor has termed them "asinini."

He who stands in the Cathedral of Palermo, before the porphyry and marble tombs of Henry VI., Frederic II., and their queens, will realise that the connection of Italy with the German Empire was no mere empty theory, maintained with difficulty for a few decades, but was, on the contrary, a stern fact to which numerous generations, voluntarily or involuntarily, were forced to yield. The Guelfs may, in excess of patriotism, regard the German domination as one of the "barbarian invasions;" the Hohenstauffen dynasty can confidently confront the question whether it gave more than it

Renaissance Debt to Germany

received to the country. The Renaissance owes something to the infusion of German blood, whether of knights or craftsmen, which certainly modified the mixed Italian nationality, though to what extent is a matter of conjecture rather than of demonstration. In any case the calm and unprejudiced observer will avoid the error of estimating the magnificent imperialism of past ages by the measure of German particularism.





FLORENCE AND VENICE IN THE DAYS OF THEIR SPLENDOUR AND THE RENAISSANCE PERIOD IN ITALY

FROM the Italian point of view the fall of the Hohenstauffen dynasty implied liberation from an oppressive alien rule. In view of the Angevin supremacy on the one hand, and the revival of the German claims under Henry VII. upon the other, it might reasonably be supposed that the liberation had been purely nominal, and that the old tyranny remained. In this view there was some truth. The devastating quarrel between the Guelfs and Ghibellines continued, though the recollection of its origin had gradually died away.

The last emperor who was crowned in Rome belongs to the fifteenth century—Frederic III., crowned on March 16th, 1452, with the Lombard crown, and on March 10th with the imperial crown: the last emperor who assumed the title of king and emperor from Italy does not appear until the sixteenth century—Charles V., crowned on February 22nd and 24th, 1530, at Bologna. The German supremacy was thus by no means entirely brought to an end by the overthrow of 1268, though in the meanwhile the general situation had undergone great transformation and modification.

Apart from the meteoric revival of the true imperial ruler in the person of Henry VII., we know of no German king who was able to realise in practice the tradition of northern supremacy. After his time we meet only with vague theories and mere shadows of the former power. It is a paper supremacy, which the Germans from the time of Lewis of Bavaria could no more renounce than the Hansa towns were able at a later time to surrender their privileges, which, though attested by documents, had long fallen into disuse. A country divided by nature into two parts at least, and by its previous history into countless divisions, could not be permanently governed by means of expeditions to Rome as occasion arose. Hence Upper and Central Italy went their

own ways. Conditions in the south were somewhat different, for this part of the country long remained under the domination of foreign rulers.

The question has been raised whether the decay and downfall of the supremacy of the "emperors from different dynasties" between 1273 and 1437, who were respected only occasionally or not at all, implied the outset of a happier age for those districts of Italy which had hitherto been primarily anti-German. It is a question which can be answered definitely in the negative; sufficient evidence for the answer may be gained by a glance at Dante's "Divina Commedia." The responsibility for failure rests chiefly upon the incompetence of the contemporary Popes after Innocent IV., who had even made a formal entry into Naples shortly before his death, in 1254, and after the important Nicholas III. Orsini (1277-1280). This incompetence is twice manifested—in 1282 when Sicily was lost to Aragon, and in 1303 when the papacy was defeated by French nationalism.

It cannot be denied that during the first half of the thirteenth century Italy displayed fair possibilities of development to an independent and national course of existence. In this respect the first place must be given to the movement connected with the preaching of Francis of Assisi, and to his disciples who carried their inspiring enthusiasm abroad, after 1210, from the beautiful Umbrian mountain town, with its fortress church. It is

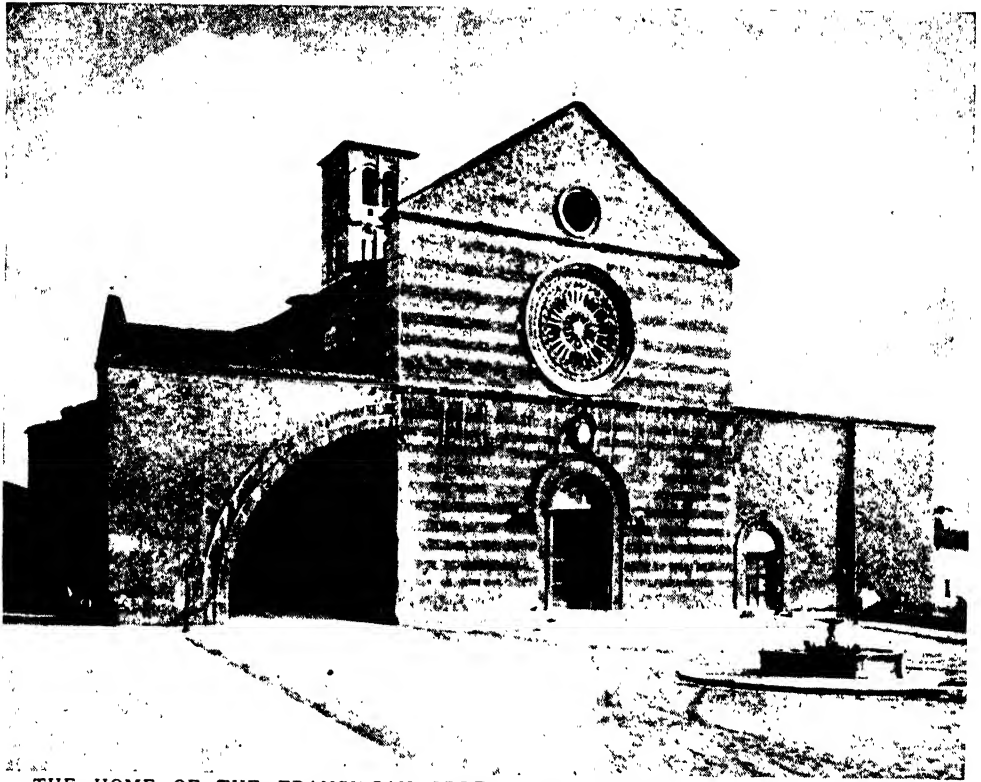
difficult in a few words to give an adequate account of the enormous effect produced by these reformers, which continued almost uninterruptedly till the time of Bernardino of Siena, who died in 1444.

The national life of Italy in the thirteenth century displayed the most varied features. Geographical configuration and climate, position with reference to neighbours and

**German
Supremacy
in Italy**

**Why Italy
was
Unhappy**

**The Zeal
of Francis
of Assisi**



THE HOME OF THE FRANCISCAN ORDER: THE FORTRESS CHURCH OF ASSISI

Among the movements that were witnessed in Italy during the early part of the thirteenth century that associated with the preaching of Francis of Assisi, the founder of the Franciscan Order was significant. From the beautiful Umbrian mountain town, with its fortress church, shown in the illustration, he and his disciples went forth on preaching expeditions, and their zealous religionism did much to mould and influence the life of that period.

the world at large, had produced different effects in Sicily, Rome, Milan, and Venice. Institutions were in a state of flux, and nowhere do we meet with any definite constitution. No one town constitution resembled any other. At every point transformation, confusion, and transition meet the eye. None the less, however, a certain uniformity is plainly obvious, and this is provided by the ferment which ran throughout the lower classes from the outset of the thirteenth century. This phenomenon is not confined to Italy; a similar social movement appears in France and Spain, and even in the colder climate of North-west Europe. The term "Renaissance" usually evokes in our minds the thought of those brilliant achievements which this revival produced in the domains of literature and art.

We are too much inclined to forget that the spiritual, scientific and artistic Renaissance would never have exercised the deep comprehensive influence which it actually exerted had it not been preceded by a long period of preparation which

cleared the ground for the permanent reception of the beauty and the freedom gathered from classical antiquity. This preparation was the work of the thirteenth century—a work performed tentatively, with vacillation, and at times with appalling retrogression, but upon the whole with success; for it was a period which made that most valuable of all discoveries, the truth of individualism.

This achievement was not attained without a severe struggle. Opposition, negation, resistance, such were the obstacles. To escape from the ordinary grooves of existence and thought, to throw off political or ecclesiastical tyranny, such was the doctrine which then occupied and attracted the strongest and noblest minds of the period. "Uniformity disappeared in individualism." The state became conscious of its individuality, began to realise its tasks and to oppose the Church, which was attempting to break its bonds. A similar process was advancing within the minds of particular men. Situation and fate raise the individual upon occasion to the

FLORENCE AND VENICE IN THEIR SPLENDOUR

superhuman position of an Ezzelino da Romano, who persecuted with violent tyranny as evil any refusal to recognise what he personally considered just, right, or necessary.

Position and circumstance again may overwhelm the individual in associations scorning every instinct of humanity, such as the orthodox intolerance manifested in 1303 towards the Paterene Fra Dolcino. Others are driven—and the case is frequent—to renounce the secular life, to abandon the family and state, to proclaim their personal belief in conscious revolt against ecclesiastical authority, or are induced to wander abroad as apostles offering a pattern of the ascetic life and denouncing the irreligious and sinful habits of nobles and apostates. It was tendencies of this latter character that enabled St. Dominic to found his order in 1215; he speedily secured large numbers of adherents from Florence, Orvieto, Perugia and Ravenna, as far as Tarentum and Palermo, beyond the straits.

Freethinking and scholasticism, church discipline and sectarianism, mysticism and religious mendicancy, are the wholly dissimilar children of one and the same mother. Even the foundation of the poetical Francis of Assisi is penetrated entirely by individualism; the founder combines in his own person the subjective poet, the friend of the poor and the shepherd of souls, seeking his own salvation, and in some contradiction the "caput" of a "religio" or brotherhood, thus connecting the inner life of the individual and the sanctification of his personal salvation with the service of others and ready obedience to their will. These facts are plain from the history of the Franciscan order from the year 1221, and also from the history of art in general. The passionate preachers of repentance, who offered a fanatical opposition to all that could beautify and refine existence, inexorably opposed all those innovations comprehended under the term "Renaissance," from the Dominican John of Vicenza, the peacemaker of 1233, con-

demning all secular pleasure and all secular quarrels, to the time of his Dominican brother Girolamo Savonarola, who fell a victim in 1498, under the most tragical circumstances, to the political intrigues of hostile Franciscans.

In all these talented fanatics two instincts were furiously struggling—the instincts of subjection to authority and of individual freedom. At a later date the victory was secured upon other soil; one witness can here serve—the stake at which the ex-Dominican Giordano Bruno was burnt on February 17th, 1600. Delirium and fanaticism produced no permanent result, and certainly none in Italy. The enthusiasm passed away, and

Fra Salimbene de Adamo, the first modern historian, a true contemporary of Frederic II., the first modern prince, retails with apparent complacency the biting satire of the Florentine grammarian Buoncompagno:

"Et Johannes johannizat
et saltando choreizat.
Modo salta, modo salta,
qui coelorum petis alta!
Saltat iste, saltat ille
resaltant cohortes mille;
saltat chorus dominarum
saltat dux Venetiarum."

John now shows himself true John,
Dancing, leads the chorus on.
Dancing early, dancing late,
Thou shalt win to heaven's gate!
Dancing here and dancing there,
Crowds are dancing everywhere.
See the troops of dames a-dancing!
See the Doge of Venice prancing!

In fact, upon August 28th, 1223, on the meadow of Paquara by the Etsch, to the south of Verona. Brother John is said to have preached from a lofty pulpit to a motley crowd of listeners and spectators, including the Counts of Camino, Este, Romano, San Bonifacio, and others, together with 400,000 knights, peasants, citizens, clergy, and bishops

from a score of great towns.

Notwithstanding the hopelessness and apparent difficulty of its individual phenomena, the whole movement undoubtedly produced one good effect—it stirred the people from their state of senseless indifferent torpor. Though the waves of the movement occasionally passed beyond the frontiers of Italy, yet one



GIORDANO BRUNO
St. Bruno was the founder of the austere Carthusian order. He died in 1101.



Boccaccio



Dante



Petrarch

THREE GREAT FIGURES OF THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE

The awakening of Europe to a new era of literary activity was due in large measure to the rise of these three writers of Italy. Dante was, of course, the supreme poet of mediæval times, bridging the gulf that had been unspanned since Virgil. In Petrarch and Boccaccio the Renaissance took two different courses, the former great poet and thinker striving to direct it along the high spiritual plane on which Dante had placed it, and Boccaccio, in his warm humanism, achieving the more readily attainable by the broad appeal of his prose writings to the primal sympathies of mankind.

of its results, and that by no means the least important, was the strengthening of the national consciousness. The "pataria" of Milan, the attempts at ecclesiastical reform which Ariald, Landulf and Erlembald had undertaken between 1056 and 1057 assumed a political character in the course of time. The ascetic, mystical, and reforming movements might easily have combined to secure a domestic renovation of Italy had the people given greater attention to the teachers and had the two mendicant orders given in their adherence to the papacy with less rapidity.

Italy's Year of Hallelujah

The suppression of factious animosity, with its evil consequences, and of the spirit of private revenge in the year of Hallelujah, 1233, might have led to a fruitful political union of all classes; in the year 1220 St. Francis himself preached the cause of peace with powerful effect in the town of Bologna, a city highly cultured though torn by domestic faction. A similar note can be heard even in the pessimistic assertions and gloomy prophecies of the Cistercian abbot Joachim of Fiore, and in the exaggerated diatribes of his adherent, the Minorite Gherardino of Borgo San Donnino in 1254 against the Hohenstauffen.

At that moment individual poets in Sicily, from Arezzo, Bologna, Todi, and Florence, who were all dependent upon the Latin and Provençal languages, had ventured to write in a kind of Italian national language. Thus the thirteenth century amalgamated the motley population of Italy into a national whole, or gave a highly promising impulse to

eventual national union. The patriotic art and the literary splendour of that poetic constellation, Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, confirm this event. The possibility of a successful ascent to these intellectual summits depended upon economic prosperity rather than upon political pre-eminence.

That such prosperity existed in full abundance is proved by the appalling height of the rate of interest and the flourishing position of the moneylender. It is extraordinary how often we meet with decrees upon this latter occupation, which forced the heirs of the moneylenders to make a penitent restoration of property gained by "robbery and evil means," and remind us almost of the humiliating penance which Otto III. performed in 1001 before St. Romuald in the old basilica of Sant' Apollinare at Ravenna "on account of crimes committed." A protocol concerning money-lending by Italians who carried on business in Nîmes shows that interest was demanded at the rate of 75, 113, 120, 175, and 218 per cent., and even 262 and 266 per cent.—figures in comparison with which the average rate of 43·33 per cent. appears comparatively modest.

When Moneylenders Flourished

There was every reason for giving the name of "Lombard" to the credit banks.

The chief centres of the money-changers and usurers were Asti, Chieri, and Piacenza in the north-west, Venice and Vicenza in the north-east, Siena, Lucca, and Florence in Tuscany, Rome in the states of the Church, and San Germano in the south. The

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discovery of the St. Gothard Pass, about 1220, completed the prosperity of finance and mercantile communication.

The term "signory" as applied to these city states is not to be regarded as in every case implying fully developed individual supremacy. Such a view would be erroneous. The Italians of this time rather comprehended under the term "signoria" republican freedom in visible form, though it was a freedom very remote from the idea of freedom which the nineteenth century and English models have inspired. In Florence, for instance, the term signory denoted for many decades

the rule of the heads of the guilds until the time of the Medici. After 1282 and 1293 the popular power of this town lay in the hands of the priors, who met in the Palazzo Vecchio, and of the Gonfaloniere di Giustizia (the standard-bearer of justice). The signory of Venice was practically the ministry of the Doge. In other parts of the country, where the general exhaustion consequent upon the struggles of social classes had produced an earnest desire for peace, the institution developed upon different lines; here we find the civic dissensions composed by impartial mediators, acting in a dis-

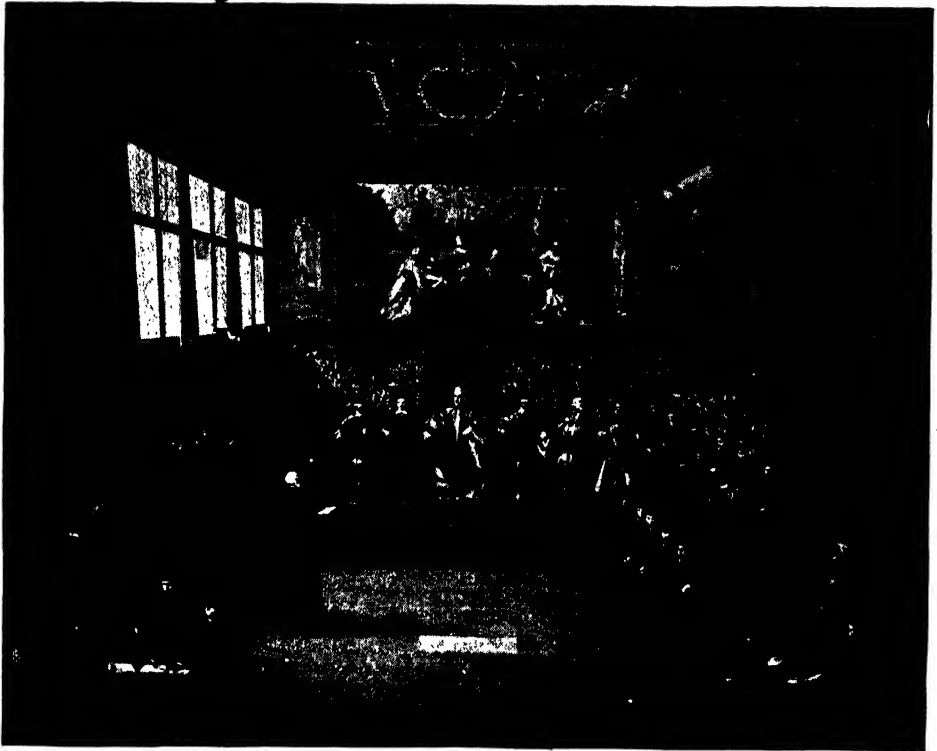
interested manner, or we meet, under other circumstances, with a tyranny in its sternest form. "The friend" often enough disagreeably surprised the weak by appearing in the character of a guardian, whose rule could no longer be overthrown. Thus it was that the Grimaldi of Genoa made themselves masters of Monaco in the fourteenth century.

It is no matter of surprise that in the states of the Church during the same century other signories of the kind were founded, and maintained their ground for some time in view of the well-known mildness of the papal rule, which in any case was reduced to comparative impotence by the "Babylonish captivity." Thus the Pepoli, and after them the Bentivogli, ruled over



DANTE IN HIS EXILE SEEKS FOR PEACE

Because of his adherence to the White Guelfs, Dante was banished from his native city, Florence, in 1302, and never again did he see his home, as he died a wanderer in 1321. The above illustration, from the painting by P. van Ouderaa, shows the poet at the monastery of Santa Croce Cirvo, at which he found shelter on his way to Paris. When asked by the kindly friar what he sought, Dante made the brief answer, "Peace."



A SESSION OF THE GREAT COUNCIL IN THE HALL OF THE COLLEGE OF VENICE
 The small but beautiful chamber in the ducal palace known as the Hall of the College was chiefly used for the reception of foreign ambassadors and state functions of the Grand Council, a session of which is represented in the above picture
 From the painting by Malombra in the Prado Gallery at Madrid.

Bologna, the Da Polenta over Ravenna—Dante's place of refuge—the Manfredi over Faenza, the Ghibelline Ordalaffi over Forli, the Malateste over Rimini, the Varani over Camerino, the Montefeltri over Urbino the Prefetti da Vico over Viterbo and Civita Vecchia. Here also the Italian tendency towards multiformity is preserved. The case may be summed up as follows. In places where the term "signoria" implies no expressed lordship, development remained some decades behind, in comparison with other towns which possessed "signori" proper. As a matter of fact, the free communes in Tuscany maintained their ground longer than in Upper Italy, and in this respect such examples as the signori of Florence were a late growth of the preceding age.

After the battle of Meloria, Pisa endured three years of Guelf supremacy under Count Ugolino della Gherardesca, as captain-general (1285-1288). When this yoke had been shaken off with great cruelty, the decay of the town was accelerated by the restoration of a communal government; in the armistice of

July 31st, 1299, Pisa was obliged to cede Corsica and part of Sardinia to Genoa, paying an indemnity of 160,000 lire, and was driven from the sea. Eventually, in 1313, it was easily overpowered by the Ghibelline Uguccione della Faggiuola, who also subjugated Lucca in 1314—where Dante, upon his second banishment, remained until 1316—and defeated Florence on August 29th, 1315, at Monte Catini. In 1316 Uguccione was banished from Pisa on account of his severity to Castruccio

Venetian Castracani—who died in 1328 as
Fleet Duke of Lucca—and other nobles.
Defeated The signory was then held by the Gherardesca family until June 5th, 1347, after which date the Gambacorta family retained a comparatively firm grasp of the power until 1399, notwithstanding changes of fortune and occasional alterations of constitutional form.

The proud city of Genoa had inflicted a crushing defeat, on September 5th, 1298, upon the Venetian fleet off the Dalmatian island of Curzola. For some time it was governed by a Ghibelline party in the

FLORENCE AND VENICE IN THEIR SPLENDOUR

style of a signory, upon a democratic basis, though with two aristocratic chiefs; on November 22nd, 1311, this independence, which the town had maintained even against Charles of Anjou, was replaced by an imperial signory.

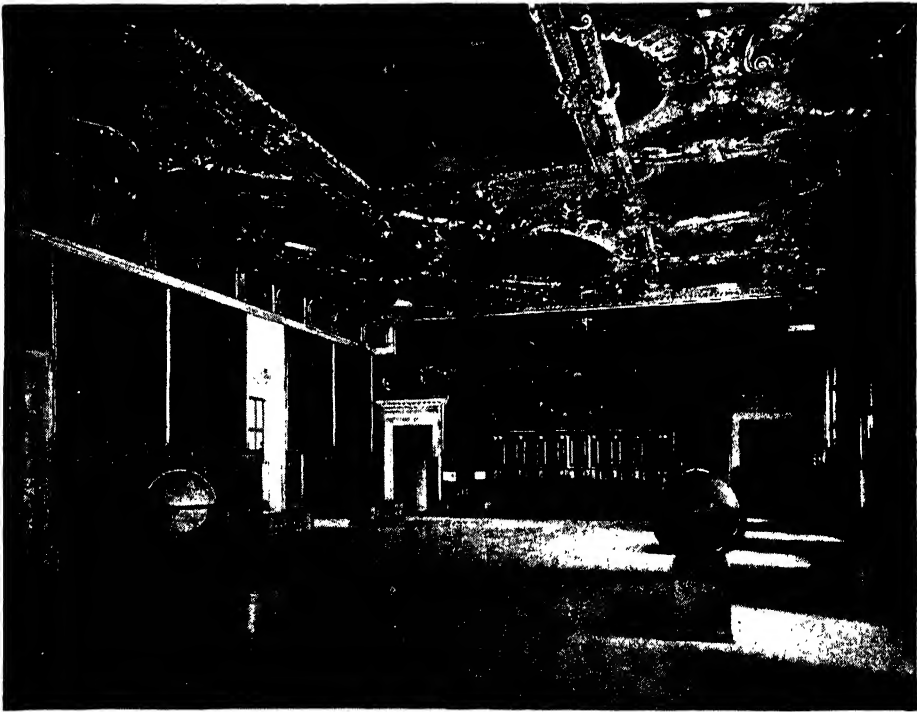
This government, however, was of short duration, and soon afterwards civil war broke out the more violently. The resulting disasters were invariably compensated and repaired by the advantages of geographical position, a highly valuable attribute: had they been possessed, for instance, in the same measure, by the ambitious town of Ancona, Ancona would undoubtedly have become a second Genoa. The attempts of the inhabitants to shake off the rule of Milan, of the French, of a foreign Montferrat dynasty, or, finally, of a native aristocracy, never resulted in any permanent success.

Affairs in Venice ran a similar, and yet in details a very different, course. The similarity consisted in the desire, which most of the Italian towns displayed, to put

an end to the wide membership of the commune, and to replace this body by a smaller council, invested with sovereign powers, to substitute for the democracy and mob rule an oligarchy of consuls and of the podestà, which eventually gave way to a half monarchical signoria. This process can be traced plainly throughout the constitutional life of Venice. On the other hand, in Venice a pure monarchy

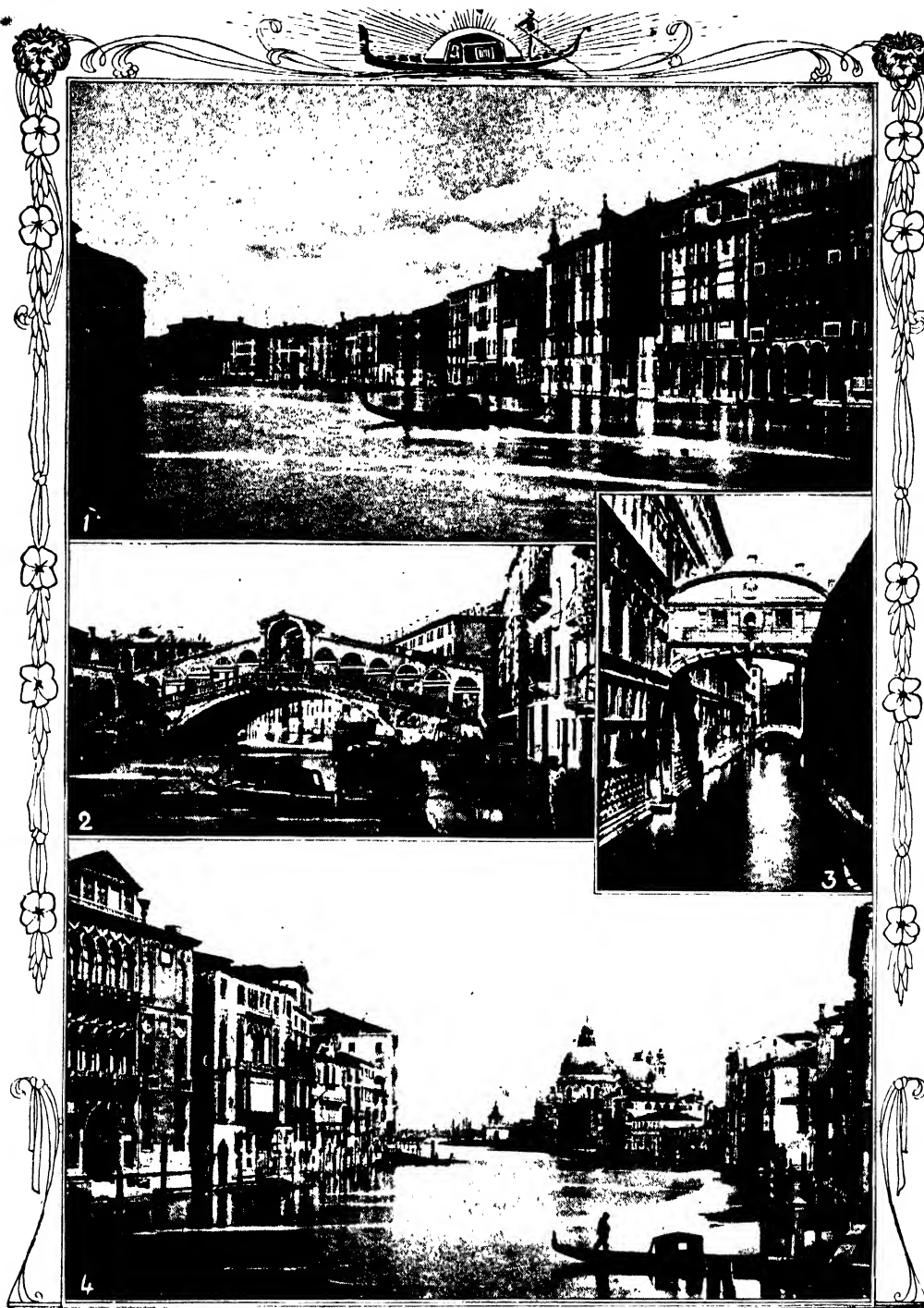
**The Doge
Who was
Executed**

never came into existence; in the "hall of the great council" of the palace of the Doge, in the centre of the row of seventy-six Doge portraits, a black plate marks the spot which should have been occupied by the portrait of the Doge Marino Faliero, who was beheaded on April 17th, 1355, for high treason. The podestà, notwithstanding his title, "by the grace of God," was very far from enjoying a monarchical position, and similarly the powers of the Doge were strictly limited by several oligarchical authorities, the "signori" proper of Venice. The more or less



THE HALL OF THE GREAT COUNCIL AT VENICE

In this magnificently decorated hall, whose walls and ceilings were painted by Titian, Tintoretto, Paul Veronese, and other famous artists employed at the expense of the republic, the Great Council, presided over by the Doge, met to deliberate on the affairs of the state. Around the frieze are portraits of all the Doges in the history of Venice with the exception of Marino Faliero, who himself fell a victim to the extraordinary intrigues which were commonplaces in the annals of the ambitious republic and its unscrupulous statesmen. This chamber is one of the gems of Venice.



Many of the great palaces on the Grand Canal (1) still remain outwardly as they were in the Middle Ages, nor has the aspect of the Rialto Bridge (2), formerly the Exchange, been greatly altered, while the Bridge of Sighs (3) remains as it ever was. Santa Maria della Salute (4), the fine church built in 1632 as a memorial of deliverance from the plague, is one of the most characteristic views of Venice.

ON THE GRAND CANAL AND OTHER FAMOUS SCENES IN VENICE

Photos: Frith and Anderson



THE SPLENDID MONUMENTS OF THE GREAT DAYS OF VENICE

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stringent absolutism of a Carrara, Medici, Scala, and Visconti was never at any time possible in the history of Venice.

Thus from 1148, and to a greater extent from 1192, onwards, at which date Enrico Dandolo swore to the constitution, Venice



VENETIAN CITIZEN OF THE MIDDLE AGES
From a painting in the Corsini Gallery, Florence

for fully six centuries remained the pattern of a true oligarchy. Great, indeed, were her achievements in this character. After the Fourth Crusade, which brought vast profit to the Venetians (1202-1204), she founded her possessions in the Adriatic and the Ionian Islands, and consolidated and extended her hold of Cerigo and Eubœa, of Candia and Cyprus. The state became purely mercantile. Commercial voyages grew to the size of expeditions. Nicolo Maffeo and Marco Polo remained in China at the court of Kublai Khan from 1275 to 1292.

To the reasonable vexation of Venice, the Latin Empire was overthrown in 1261 by the efforts of Genoa, and the rule of the Palæologi was restored, though to a more modest extent. The unfavourable conditions in Syria increased the rivalry of Venice and Genoa for predominance in the Black Sea, where Tana and Kaffa were the chief centres of Genoese commerce. Eventually the long-desired end to the struggle was secured by the surrender of Chioggia on June 22nd, 1380,

ensured by the co-operation of Vittore Pisani and Carlo Zeno, and by the Peace of Turin of August 8th, 1381, which was gained by the good offices of the "Green Count" Amadeo VI. of Savoy. After that date a new revival began. Advantageous treaties with the infidels were justified after 1454 with the characteristic excuse, "Venetians first and Christians afterwards." The previous century, however, had induced the Doge Francesco Dandolo (1329-1339) to make extensive acquisitions of territory in the Trevisan interior. These mainland conquests were successfully continued as far as the Adda and Rimini by his successors in office, Michele Steno (1400-1414), Tommaso Mocenigo (1414-1423), and Francesco Foscari (1423-1457), together with Erasmo Gattamelata of Narni in 1438, celebrated by Donatello's mounted figure before Sant' Antonio at Padua, who saved the republic when captain-general from the Viscontine condottiere Niccolò Piccinino.

If we turn our eyes upon the extension of the square of St. Mark, running towards the sea, astonishment and admiration are infinite, so close has been the co-operation between Nature and human art. Yet even



A VENETIAN SENATOR IN HIS ROBES
From a painting by Tintoretto

a view in full moonlight will not provide unmixed satisfaction. Between the two granite pillars bearing St. Theodore and the lion of St. Mark rises the shadow of the hero of Macclodio (1423), the condottiere Francesco Bussone of Carmagnola, who

was executed on March 5th, 1432. On the right hand, the silent mint reflects the watchful strength of the Venetian constitution. But few windows illuminate the solemn splendour and the proud dignity of the Doge's palace. Even though its notorious leaden chambers have been destroyed for 110 years, yet its "cisterns," its rack chamber, and its Bridge of Sighs which connects it with the old criminal prison, preserve the memories of a system of state inquisition and police supervision, the counterpart of which can have existed only in Spain or under Asiatic despots. It is no mere chance that the ambassadorial and diplomatic systems and the use of a diplomatic cipher—evidenced by documents so early as 1226—found their earliest and most distinguished development in Venice.

It would indeed be surprising that the plastic arts here found so fertile a soil were it not for the fact that economic prosperity and the Oriental wealth of the ambitious reigning families inspired and preserved the taste for beauty and luxury. Andrea del Verrocchio, the creator of the magnificent equestrian statue of the captain-general, Bartolommeo Colleoni (1400-1475), the rich memorials of the Dominican churches of San Giovanni and San Paolo, and, finally, the master of the full Renaissance, Jacopo Sansovino, who, as "architect to the republic," constructed, from 1536 onwards, the magnificent double hall for the proper housing of the libraries of Petrarch and Bessarion—these poured the sunlight of Florence with lavish hand upon the darker gloom of the commercial town, with its domination of sea and land.

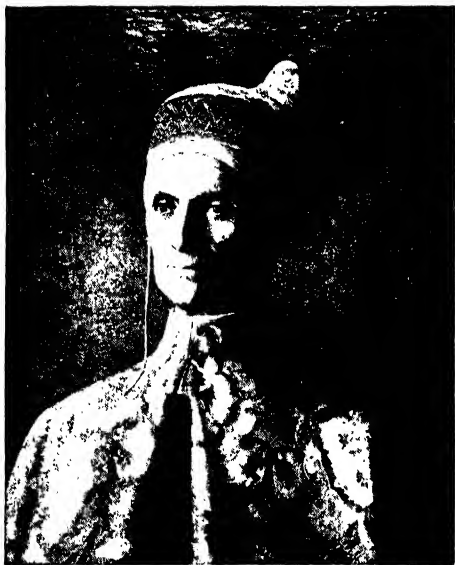
In respect of artistic creation Florence undoubtedly occupies the foremost place during those centuries; inspiring light and breath proceed from her activities from an early date. Even such early

creations as the "Madonnas" of Giovanni Cimabue (1240-1303) and the frescoes of his pupil, Giotto (1266-1337), are radiant with light, purity, and vital force. The "Madonna" painted about 1270 for the Cappella Rucellai was carried from the house of Cimabue to the church of Santa Maria Novella by the enthusiastic Florentines "with much splendour and trumpets, in solemn procession." Nobility of form, naturalness, character and virility are the oft-noted characteristic features of the work of Giotto, which announced a new era.

In sunlit Tuscany the stereotyped formality of Byzantine tradition was overpowered and cast aside by the faithful

observation of Nature. Even more truly Florentine than her painting, which was influenced from neighbouring sources, is her sculpture, which held the first place from the Trecento to the Cinquecento, from Andrea Pisano and Andrea di Cione—known as Orcagna—to the times of Lorenzo Ghiberti and Donato Bardi—known as Donatello—and thence until Luca della Robbia and Michelangelo Buonarroti. The first ecclesiastical construction of the Renaissance is the Medicean church of San Lorenzo.

Great, however, was the contrast between these artistic powers and the political condition of the chief city within this happy district, with its hedges of olive and fruit trees, with its holm-oaks and pines, its villas and cupolas, and with such towers as that of San Gimignano. The soil gives food in full abundance, colour to the painter, and marble to the sculptor; yet here, as everywhere in Upper and Central Italy at that date, confusions of party faction, reigns of terrorism, and political disruption were intensified. "From the thirteenth to the sixteenth century there was always a Florence in exile," says Ranke. Yet it is possible that this violent



A FAMOUS PORTRAIT OF A DOGE
The genius of Giovanni Bellini has bestowed unmerited fame upon the subject of this portrait, Leonardo Loredano, who held the office of Doge during a period of "comparatively small importance to the constitution of Venice." This famous painting hangs in the National Gallery, London.

contrast between Nature and mankind may have stimulated imagination and given it wings, and have provided an un-failing supply of nourishment to artistic imaginative power.

War is the father of all things, and the fact is true in the present case. The age of the signories, when the idea of republican "freedom" often suffered such extraordinary explanations, compelled the Italian spirit to produce its finest works. Continuous vacillation between hope and fear, the abrupt and violent transitions from supreme power to banishment, from the bounteous table of the ruler to the scanty bread of the outcast, offered a rich supply of dramatic situations, crying for

The Great Days of the Arts

comparatively wide influence, as was only natural from a democratic point of view. This influence is evidenced, for instance, by the documents relating to the statue of St. Matthew of Ghiberti (about 1420); also by the history of the building of the Tempio Malatestiano of Rimini, about 1450, by the great memorial of the Renaissance couple, Sigismondo Pando-lofo Malatesta and Isotta degli Atti, with its contorted s, raised by L. B. Alberti, or, finally, by the accurate terms of the commission, which the highly cultivated Isabella d'Este gave to such an artist as Perugino—"The Victory of Modesty over Lust," in 1505. During those golden centuries the patron, whether an individual or a corporation, prescribed rules for



A RELIGIOUS PROCESSION IN THE PLACE OF ST. MARK AT VENICE

It is the unique glory of Venice that the republic spared no expense in attracting to its capital the greatest of the artists of the time, and in encouraging its own children to strive for distinction in the arts. As a result, no town in the world could vie with it in artistic riches. It even granted a splendid palace to Petrarch for no other purpose than to have the greatest living poet of Italy a resident in Venice. The above picture by G. Bellini illustrates a procession in the Place of St. Mark, and shows how completely the whole place has been preserved.

be used, and immortalised both by the plastic and by the literary arts. The only perceptible difference is the fact that poetry was rather cherished by the sufferers under banishment, while painting and sculpture, in the majority of cases, were in the service of the prosperous, who were driven by guilty consciences to make amends to God. Roman Catholicism places high value upon artistic appeals to the senses; what marvellous art did Benvenuto Cellini expend merely upon the unseen vessels in the kitchen of Maria of Loretto!

In most cases it was a secret anxiety for the cause of art which inspired the artistic patron to make his sacrifices; hence the artist readily conceded to him a

performance, and watched, though with full respect, the work of the artist stage by stage, reserving the right to interfere. The co-operation of religious fanaticism and the spirit of self-sacrifice, of the sense of beauty and the Italian climate, was bound to produce splendours of imperishable

Imperishable Splendours of Italy

power. So arose the Gothic cathedrals of Siena and of Orvieto; the former, though begun amid the confusion which heralded and conditioned the defeat of Montaperti, is in complete harmony with the prosperity of the proud victor at that moment, the faithful copy of Genoa as a territorial city state; the latter, begun a generation later, at the edge of the small and gloomy rock fortress, hardly to be

FLORENCE AND VENICE IN THEIR SPLENDOUR

compared with Spoleto, impresses the surprised spectator as indeed marvellous. From a political point of view, however, the disaster of Montaperti had

produced little or no permanent effect upon the humiliated Florentines. The old murderous quarrel between the Guelfs and Ghibellines, which the exaggerations of tradition retrace to the murder of a Buondelmonte by the Amidei, Lamberti and Uberti, on the Easter morning of 1215, continued after 1250, when the nobility were expelled by the community of the citizens, to the end of the century, until the spring celebrations of May 1st, 1300, when it was prosecuted in the internecine division of the Guelfs into the "Blacks" (Donati) and the "Whites" (Cerchi). In 1301 the Florentine "Whites" assisted in the expulsion of the "Blacks" from the neighbouring town of Pistoja; the "Whites," who

were then overthrown by the ferocity of the ambitious Pope Boniface VIII., at the end of September, 1300, joined the Ghibelline party with their adherent Dante, who from June 15th to August 14th had been one of the six guild priors of his native town. The threat of excommunication and interdict by the papal "pacificator," the Cardinal Bishop Matthew of Aquasparta, thus did not come about until the

expiration of Dante's priorate. The 450 confiscations of property and condemnations which the "White" Pistoja executed, in many cases without

examination or investigation, between 1301 and 1303 accurately reflect the ferocity of the methods employed by the Guelfs in Florence until 1306.



A DOGE OF VENICE

Francesco Foscari was elected Doge of Venice in 1423, and was expelled from that office in 1457 as a result of the opposition of his hereditary foes, the Loredani.

The breach had become irreparable. Florence then possessed a dominant economic position. Through her hands passed the greater part of the trade in salt and corn, in wool and cloth; her financial business was highly profitable, and as early as 1250 the project for a Tuscan coinage union had been conceived and carried through within her walls—an extremely far-reaching project for that date. Her share of Mediterranean traffic and shipping during those decades was surprising in its prodigious and almost undisputed extent. No attempt, how-

ever, was made to utilise these advantages in favour of a comprehensive policy: on the contrary, the city continued the process of self-destruction, and condemned herself by her own acts to political impotence.

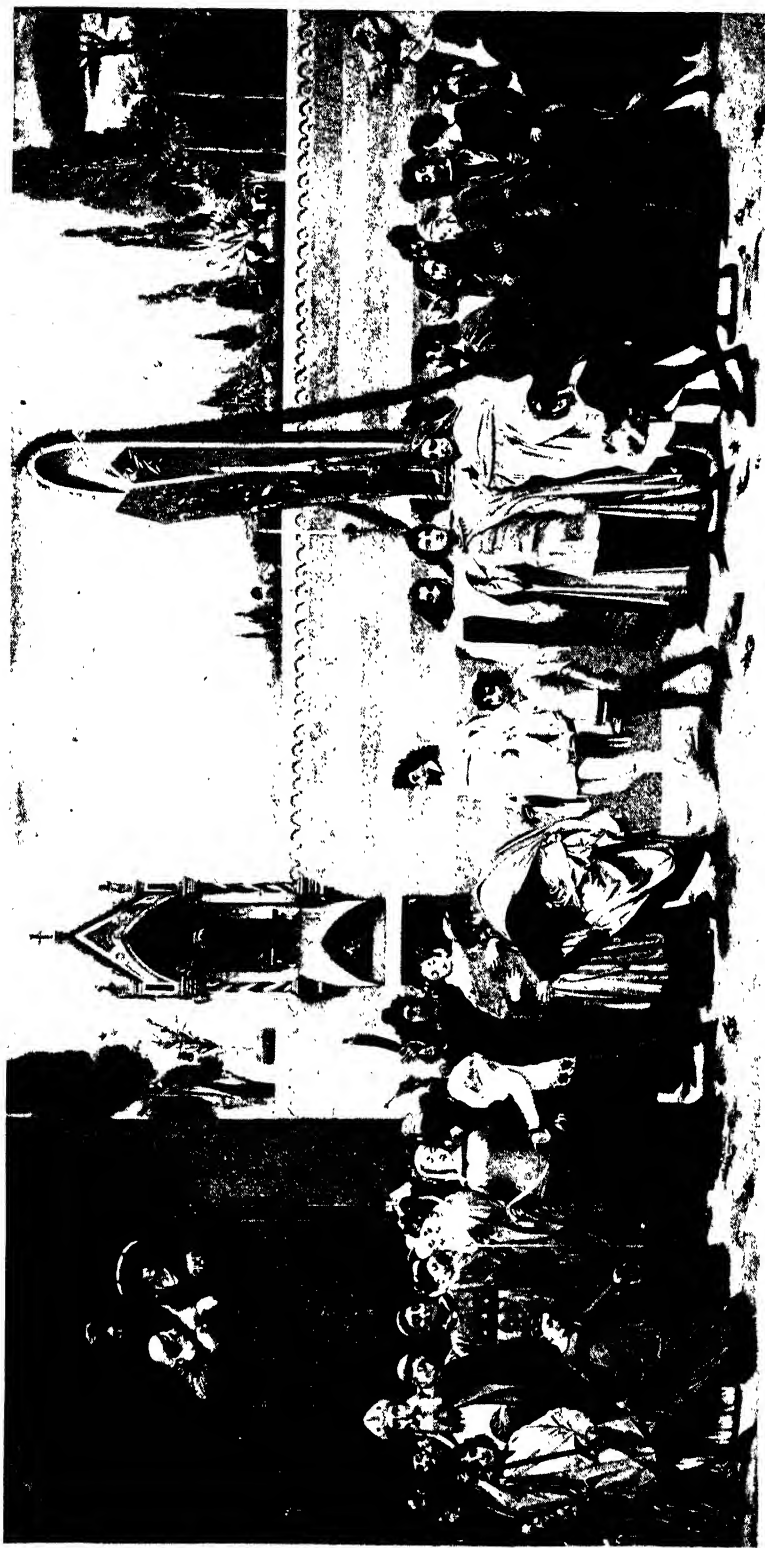
Under Guelf fanaticism Florence closed her gates on January 6th, 1311, to Henry VII., who had been crowned at Milan with a crown of steel fashioned like a laurel wreath in place of the famous "iron crown," which the Della Torre had pawned with a Jew. Henry might otherwise have been capable of unifying Italy. The city preferred to endure for ten



A FAMOUS STATUE AT PADUA

When Captain-General of the republican army, Erasmo Gattamelata saved his country from the Visentine condottiere Niccolò Piccinino, and this statue of the brave leader, by Donatello, stands before Sant' Antonio at Padua as a perpetual reminder of a heroic life.

years (1313-1321 and 1326-1328) the yoke of the Angevin kings, Robert of Naples and Charles of Calabria, and in 1342 conferred the signory upon the titular Duke of



THE FAMOUS PROCESSION OF CIMABUE'S GREAT PAINTING TO THE CHURCH OF SANTA MARIA NOVELLA IN FLORENCE

Nothing can better illustrate than this picture the glorious idealism of the Renaissance, when, despite the distracted condition of Europe and all the petty wars and family feuds continuously being waged, the minds of men were steadily fixed on spiritual things and their expression in literature, art, and architecture. Cimabue, the Florentine artist, was one of the great pioneers of the Renaissance in art, not so much on account of his actual work but because of his immense influence on his contemporaries of the younger school. Art had long been left to the mosaicists, and in the centuries after the decay of Rome and the rise of Byzantium design had frozen into conventions suited to expression in mosaic. But Cimabue, with the revival of painting, struck a note of freedom and naturalism while still retaining from the old mosaic its decorative value. This is admirably illustrated in the celebrated painting of the "Madonna and Child," now preserved in the church of Santa Maria Novella, in which we observe at once the touch of actuality in the figures and faces and the influence of the mosaic decorative art in the arrangement and detail of the picture. Florence was so delighted with this painting that it could find time to crown the painter with laurels and carry his picture in procession through the streets. The youth whom Cimabue has by the hand is Giotto, the greatest of his pupils, whom he had found as a shepherd lad, and who did so much to adorn Dante's famous city.

From the painting by Luca Signorelli, a reproduction of the Fine Art Society, 141, New Bond Street, W.

FLORENCE AND VENICE IN THEIR SPLENDOUR

Athens, Walter VI. of Brienne, though his expulsion became necessary so early as July 26th, 1343. The popular party made many attempts to wrest the government from the plutocracy, from the time of the commercial lord Giano della Bella, a kind of Cæsar or Mirabeau (1293-1295), to the revolt of the Woolcombers (1378-1382) and to the time of the "last Florentine republican" Filippo di Filippo Strozzi, who died in 1538. All of these resulted in failure after some short success. Upon one occasion Florence, with the help of a German king, succeeded in thwarting the Ghibelline Milanese and their attempts to establish a general supremacy, at an expense of 175,000 ducats. Here we meet with that remarkable conjunction of events which drove Wenzel's rival, Rupert of the Palatinate, into a declared Guelf alliance in 1401, and reduced him to the unworthy position of the English condottiere John Hawkwood, who led the city mercenaries from 1390 to 1394. The republic was then ruled by the noble family group of the Albizzi, and was reluctant to expend a single additional halfpenny upon the enterprise, while Rupert, though inspired by the best of motives, was without resources; consequently the alliance did not secure for Florence the supremacy at which she aimed, and the result was a

miserable fiasco for both sides. The conquest of Pisa by Gino Caponi on October 9th, 1406, brought a gleam of hope to the almost exhausted city, a possibility renewed on June 27th, 1421, by the acquisition of Livorno from the Genoese for 100,000 ducats. After that date the trade in Egyptian spices passed through the hands of Florentine merchants, who paid for those desirable wares with woollen fabrics.

Eventually Cosimo di Giovanni de Medici, the son of a

banker, who was influential with the lower classes, secured an almost monarchical position, while retaining the forms of a republic. His administration at the same time betokens the dawn of a second Periclean age. The spirit of princely patronage over art was incarnated in the person of the Medici who succeeded the "Father of his Country," who died on August 1st, 1464; these were Piero's sons Lorenzo the Magnificent (1469-1492) and Giuliano (1469-1479). Lorenzo's second son Giovanni, who became Pope Leo X. (1513-1521), and Duke Cosimo I. (1537-1574), after 1569



THE FIRST GREAT PAINTING OF THE RENAISSANCE
The above is a reproduction of the celebrated "Madonna" painted by Cimabue, and preserved in the church of Santa Maria Novella at Florence, the story of which is told on the opposite page.

Grand Duke of Tuscany." This period of the Renaissance and the coming Rococo age. It brought forth indeed, some unsound fruit, such as Catherine, the instigator of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and others. Typical of these products are the criminal pair of

marks the zenith connects it with the coming Rococo age. It brought forth indeed, some unsound fruit, such as Catherine, the instigator of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and others. Typical of these products are the criminal pair of

cousins, Alessandro and Lorenzino, murdered on January 6th, 1537, and on February 26th, 1548.

Pandolfo Petrucci ruled Siena from February 7th, 1494, until his death, on May 21st, 1512; and had his successors been men of similar character and capacity, this smaller but more brilliant neighbouring town might easily have become the seat of the Tuscan dukes in place of Florence. None the less, no royal family rendered such services to art and science in so comparatively short a time as the dynasty of the Medici. This was no small achievement in an age which saw the artistic rise, not only of such centres as Rome, Venice, and Naples, but also of

smaller capitals, such as Ferrara and Modena — in the sixteenth century, under the two Alfonsos of Este, the friends of Ariosto and Tasso; Mantua, under the art lover Gonzaga; Parma, 1547-1731, under the Farnese; Turin, from 1408 the capital of the Counts of Savoy; and Urbino, the birthplace of Raphael, under the Montefeltro and Rovere.

The attempt to discover an Italian signory which may serve as a type of a true patriotic policy would prove successful only in the case of Milan, so long as that town remained under the rule of the Visconti (1311-1447), a dynasty disturbed by no moral scruples, but ruthlessly pursuing its object, the unification at least of Lombardy. In this case we meet

fidelity, which may reconcile us to many divergences from the strict path of uprightness, and to many acts of severity. With the exception of an interim from 1277 to 1302, the town had been ruled by the Guelf family Della Torre from 1240, and in the winter of 1310-1311 it offered a reluctant submission to Henry VII. and his policy of composing all differences. The remaining nine decades of the fourteenth century secured the inclusion of Milan in the empire, a change which met with little opposition, and offered every prospect of undisturbed expansion and amalgamation, while no danger was to be feared from the obvious weakness of the empire. The imperial power of an Otto, a Frederic, or



THE READING OF A PROCLAMATION IN MEDIEVAL VENICE
From the painting by Jacques Wagrez, by permission of Messrs. Braun, Clement & Co.



MEDIÆVAL PERSIAN MERCHANTS TRADING WITH LADIES OF VENICE

In the Middle Ages all the riches of the Orient were poured into the wonderful city on the Adriatic; its streets swarmed with the most cosmopolitan population, and the merchants of the East came laden with their precious wares to dispose of among the luxury-loving and wealthy citizens of the maritime republic, whose palaces lined the Grand Canal.

From the painting by Jacques Wagrez, by permission of Messrs. Braun, Clement & Co.

a Henry had long since disappeared, leaving no trace behind, and the task of mutual recognition and tolerance had become extremely simple.

Nothing is more characteristic of this situation than the commercial attitude of Charles IV. between 1354 and 1355, and in the summer of 1368. Italy was then harassed by the constant plague of mercenary troops, the "Compagnie di ventura," who, while generally brave, were entirely unscrupulous: she was also anxious to recover her spiritual head, now far away in dependence upon France. These tasks had been attempted with better, though not with lasting, success by a famous woman, Santa Katharina Benincasa of Siena, who died in 1380, and to them the second Luxemburg king devoted no real part of his power. The exact antithesis of his ideal grandfather, Henry, and of his father, John, who was ever a chivalrous character, he preferred negotiation to action.

Thus the shattered country was again threatened with the necessity of casting out the plague of foreign defenders and native intriguers—who used this disruption

for their own purpose—by means of a few sharp strokes, after which the process of reform might be attempted. The curative process was painful, and consisted in a complete renunciation of the almost inevitable factions and in a transition to the hated "subjection" under some absolute ruler, and this process was almost automatically completed. The physician in question was Giovanni Galeazzo de Visconti—born October 16th, 1351, in Pavia—who would most certainly have deserved the name of a national hero had it not been for the premature death which overtook him on September 3rd, 1402, before he could complete his difficult task.

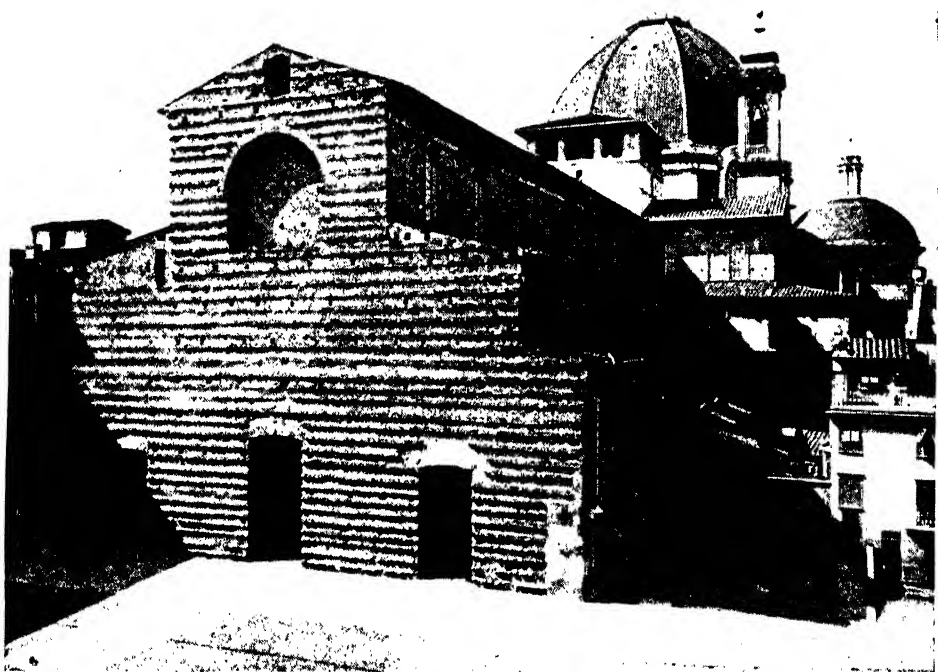
His government began by his determined efforts to destroy the power of his cruel uncle, Bernabo, in 1385. He proceeded to secure his own inheritance in defiance of Bernabo's sons, to expel from Verona the remnants of the Della Scala, who seemed ready, under Can Grande, the patron of Dante, and under Mastino II., to realise the Ghibelline idea of Italian salvation. The next steps were the determined expulsion of Francesco I. and II. da Carrara



A GENERAL VIEW OF THE BEAUTIFUL CITY OF FLORENCE

Photochrome

The gallery which is here seen carried across the river Arno on the top of the old bridge connects the two famous picture galleries of the Uffizzi and the Pitti, which were formerly palaces belonging to the families whose names they still bear.



THE UNFINISHED MEDICI CHURCH OF SAN LORENZO IN FLORENCE

It was under the Medici that Florence reached the height of its mediæval prosperity, and the tombs of that remarkable family are one of its great sights. These are contained in the chapel attached to the unfinished church of San Lorenzo illustrated above, and are largely the work of Michelangelo. The unfinished church is, in some sort, a symbolical memorial of the downfall of the Medici, who had so long and tyrannously imposed their rule on the state of Florence.



THE TITULAR DUKE OF ATHENS, WALTER VI OF BRIENNE, BEING COMPELLED TO RESIGN THE SIGNORY OF FLORENCE IN 1343
From the painting by H. K. S. ch. by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.



Cosimo I, Duke of Tuscany



Lorenzo de Medici



Giuliano de Medici

THREE FAMOUS LEADERS OF THE GREAT FAMILY OF THE MEDICI

The Medici were a Florentine family that rose to great power in the fourteenth century, and wielded vast influence. Expelled from Florence towards the end of the fifteenth century, the Medici were soon afterwards re-installed in power.

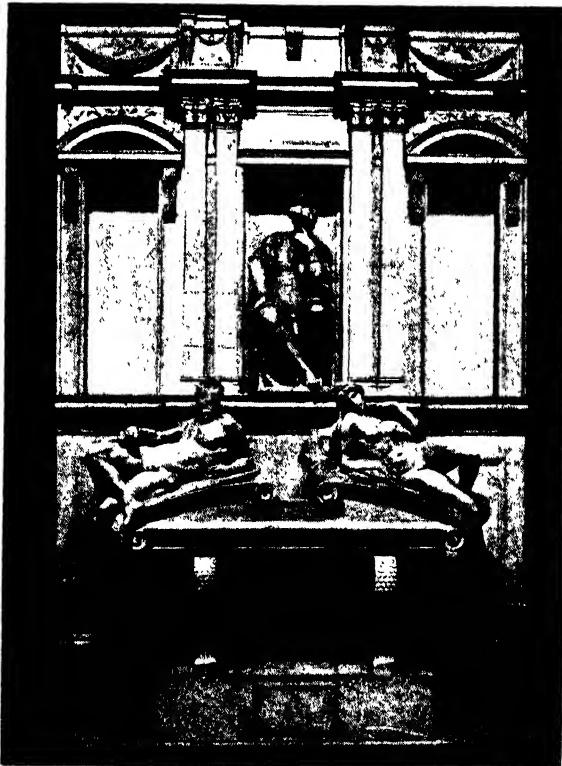
from Padua, and the intimidation of Francesco I. da Gonzaga by the attempt of his naval engineers to divert the course of the Mincio, and to transform Mantua into a swamp; then followed the purchase of the ducal title from the needy King Wenzel, the elevation of Pavia to a county, and the successful inducement of Niccolo of Este to enter Ferrara in 1401. Mean-

while gentle pressure or stern menaces had steadily secured for him the signories and towns of Assisi, Bologna, Nocera, Perugia, Pisa, Siena, and Spoleto, the acquisition by inheritance of Alessandria, Arezzo, Asti, Bassano, Belluno, Bergamo, Bobbio, Casale, Bormio, Brescia, Como, Crema, Cremona, Feltre, Lodi, the Lunigiana, Monza, Novara, Parma, Pavia, Piacenza, Pontremoli, Reggio, Sarzana, Tortona, Valenza, Vercelli, Vicenza, and Voghera.

These gains brought the power of Gian Galeazzo to such a height that the anxiety of the towns and signories, which wished to remain Guelf at any price, became very intelligible, as also did the joy and satisfaction of the other towns at the approaching fulfilment of the "idea unitaria" by the Visconti.

A view of Upper and Central Italy as it

existed in the summer of 1402 will show no power comparable with the Duchy of Milan, except Savoy and Piedmont, Saluzzo and Montferrat, Asti, and Genoa, Massa and Carrara, and the other districts of the Malaspina, Mantua and Modena, Venice and Florence, and the Church State. It is thus no remarkable exaggeration when Alfieri, a worthy teacher of Latin at Kaffa in the Crimea, in his "Ogdoas," composed about 1421, makes Gian Galeazzo ask: "And what would have



TOMB OF LORENZO DE MEDICI, BY MICHELANGELO



LUCREZIA BORGIA DANCING IN THE PRESENCE OF HER FATHER, POPE ALEXANDER VI., AND HIS CARDINALS
 Lucrezia Borgia, famous for her beauty and for her love of art and science, was the daughter of Rodrigo Borgia, who, in 1492, became Pope, taking the title of Alexander VI. She is here
 pictured as dancing in the presence of her father, sitting in the papal chair, with his cardinals around him. Lucrezia was three times married; she was born in 1480 and died in 1519.
 From the painting by Hans Baldung Grien in the Vatican Museums.

happened if fate had granted me five years more?" and represents his illegitimate son, Gabrielle Maria, as replying: "The whole of Italy would have obeyed thy sceptre." Notwithstanding the occasional severity of his decrees, he was revered for another hundred years by the people as a saint, and this in spite of the fact that the increasing expense of his military enterprises had obliged him to withdraw his support from the splendid building of the Certosa, near his brilliant capital of Pavia. This monastery had absorbed considerable benefactions from 1303 to 1306, but from the laying of its foundation stone on August 27th, 1306, had received no help from the ruler until his death, while he was also unable to spend upon the marble cathedral of Milan after 1386 as much as he had done during the first decade.

The Lombard crown, after an absence

of twenty years in Avignon, had been once more kept at Monza from March 20th, 1345, and was thus in the power of Gian Galeazzo, but the proud ruler of Milan was not destined to wear it. The tripartite division of the



TWO OF THE FAMOUS VISCONTI

Giovanni Galeazzo de Visconti was the most famous of the noble Lombard family of the Visconti. He did much to regain the territories of his house, but died, in 1402, before his task was completed. Matteo, whose portrait is also given, belonged to an earlier period, and in the thirteenth century held for a time the government of Milan. In 1322 he was condemned as a heretic, and died three months after his trial.

whole of Christendom" was contemplated under his will, but was prevented by the execution of Gabriele at Genoa in 1408, by the murder of Gianmaria at Milan in 1412, and by the efforts of the brave generals of Filippo Maria (1412 - 1447); these were Francesco da Carmagnola, Niccolo Piccinino, and Francesco Sforza, the eldest son of Giacomo Addendolo, known as Sforza of Cotignola, who was drowned in the Pescara on January 4th, 1424. The fourth representative of the family of the last-mentioned upstart, a highly capable character, Lodovico Sforza il Moro, suggested the invasion of Italy to the French.



THE ENTRANCE OF CHARLES VIII. INTO FLORENCE

From the painting by Bezzuoli in the Gallery of Modern Art at Florence



SOUTH ITALY UNDER THE ANGEVINS THE SICILIAN REVOLT & SPANISH SUPREMACY

IN 1266 the Angevin dynasty displaced the Hohenstauffen in Southern Italy. During their period we meet with vitality, and occasionally with freedom, though within intelligible limits. The brilliant traditions of the Normans and the carefully organised administration of the Hohenstauffen could not be abolished in a moment. At the same time the Southern Italian is by nature so protean a character that, provided blood is flowing in his veins, the impact of any foreign influence will suffice to drive him forward on an altered course: only the torpidity of the later period of oppression has caused the extinction of this characteristic.

Hence an accurate examination does not confirm the impression that the foreign French or the first Spaniards were responsible for the sudden death of southern civilisation. It is, no doubt, true that the presence of these foreign rulers intensified that separation from the rest of Italy which originated in the Byzantine period, and became permanent in view of the hopelessness of all attempts at fusion with the north. This alienation it is which has indisputably stamped the general historical development of the two Sicilies with that lifeless character which has prevented every careful observer, from the papal Saba Malaspina to N. Nisco and R. de Cesare, the biographers of Ferdinand II. and Francis II., from feeling the pleasure of unrestrained satisfaction before exploits of undoubted magnificence; the sense of some flaw in the picture is ever dominant.

Charles I., the first Angevin king of Naples and Sicily (1266-1285), began by thoroughly destroying all traces of the government, which he had set aside; he wished, above all things, to erase from the book of history the two previous decades. This Capetian and Provençal ruler was disinclined to appear

as the heir of the Germans, an attitude adopted by his greater Carolingian predecessor in 774 towards the Lombard inheritance: Charles made every conceivable effort to appear as a "new master." In this bureaucratic state, which had grown

The Great Ambitions of Charles I.

up under the Normans, the Saracens, and the Hohenstauffen, the feudal system underwent an unexpected revival under French forms. Dependence, however, upon pre-existing forms, and resistance, upon the other hand, to aggressive attempts, caused the king constant anxiety. In 1270 he considered that the second crusade of his brother Louis IX., if it had failed to capture the last refuge of the Hohenstauffen party, had yet sufficiently terrorised that retreat. He therefore reverted to the old Norman idea of foreign policy, and proposed to become master of both shores of the Adriatic. He was, however, unable to cope with the superior diplomacy of Byzantium.

The battle of Berat brought Charles' ten years of struggle for Albania to a temporary conclusion in April, 1281; while the dangerous alliance of Orvieto, which Charles concluded on July 3rd, 1281, with Pope Martin IV., Venice, and Philip of Courtenay, the husband of his daughter Beatrice, with the object of reviving the Latin Empire of Baldwin II., broke down at the moment when it was put to the test, and Sicily, which was wildly excited by the intolerable burden of taxation, threw off the heavy yoke forthwith.

On March 31st, 1282, the alarm was rung by the vesper bell of Santo Spirito, in the plain of Oreto to the south of Palermo, and was transmitted to the capital by the bell of San Giovanni degli Eremiti, with its almost Mohammedan cupola. The Sicilian Vespers overthrew the French supremacy, and after a five months' republican government, Peter III., the Great,

on Aragon seized the masterless throne. The island of Sicily—that is to say, one-half of the southern kingdom—was for the long period of more than two centuries a valuable possession for the dynasty of Aragon. Naturally the policy of Aragon exerted a decisive influence upon Sicilian history between 1282 and 1516. Some few

Spain's Dominance in Italy

exceptions there were during this period, after James' renunciation in favour of Anjou in 1295 had been nullified in 1296 by the elevation of the Ghibelline Frederic II. The weak government of Frederic III., who ascended the throne in 1355 and reigned thirteen years, conceded too much influence to Rome and Naples after 1372; then came the reign of his daughter Maria, during whose minority the barons rose to power and engaged in faction fights until her husband, Martin the Younger of Aragon, appeared in 1392 and overthrew the opposition nationalist party of Andrea Chiaramonte. The interregnum between the death of Martin the Elder, in 1410, and the election of his nephew Ferdinand I., the Upright, in 1412, was too short to enable the island to throw off the yoke of Spain.

The preponderance of Spain was but strengthened by the union with the kingdom of Naples, which was introduced theoretically in 1420 and practically between 1442 and 1458 by Alfonso V. —commemorated to-day by the magnificent renaissance triumphal arch at Castel Nuovo—and was made a permanent institution in 1454.

The reconquest of Sicily was never effected by the Angevins, although they employed powerful naval forces—in 1283, 1299, and on other occasions—and used the gentle persuasions of Angevin princesses, such as Bianca and Eleonora. Attempts to secure Maria's marriage with an Italian prince—among other possible candidates Giovanni Galeazzo de Visconti, a widower from 1372, was proposed in 1377—were nullified in 1378 by her abduction to Barcelona. It thus became necessary for good or evil to leave the island to itself. It cannot be said that the kingdom of Naples was greatly affected by this reluctant renunciation.

On the contrary, after the turbulent and unfortunate government of Charles II. (1288–1309) it seemed as if some prosperity might be vouchsafed to Naples, which had been isolated since 1302 under the government of the philosophical and poetical king, Robert the Wise (1300–1343). His efforts to check, first Henry VII., at the end of 1311, who replied by deposing him on April 26th, 1313, and then, in 1328, Lewis of Bavaria, by a strong federation of the Guelph towns in Tuscany, eventually proved successful. A fundamental feature in the policy of Robert, and of the Angevin rulers in general, was an attitude of friendliness to the papacy, which need cause no surprise in view of the origin of these kings and of the position of the papacy at that moment. The reign of Robert was suc-



CHARLES OF ANJOU
The youngest son of Louis VIII. of France, Charles of Anjou became King of Naples in 1296, but his government created a discontent which led to revolt.

ceeded by a century of confusion which centres round the whims and passions of two masculine queens-regent, Joanna I. (1343–1382) and Joanna II. (1414–1435). Charles Robert, as the great-grandson of the Arpád Stephen V., who was a nephew of King Robert, had ascended the Hungarian throne in 1308, and Naples, which then enjoyed a remarkable degree of intellectual culture, was thus brought into a highly interesting connection with the semi-barbarous country of the Magyars. Complicity in the murder of Andreas on September 18th, 1345, the

unfortunate first husband of the beautiful and sensual young Queen Joanna, a character typical of Petrarch's period, helped to secure a certain influence for Provençal-Neapolitan civilisation upon the leading classes in Hungary. The nobles who accompanied Lewis the Avenger to Italy in 1347 were the most receptive

and inquiring spirits of their nation, a fact needing no proof. In 1348 the bubonic plague, or "black death," described by Boccaccio in the introduction to the first day of the "Decameron," was brought to the Mediterranean territories from Asia by way of the Crimea. Notwithstanding "preventive" measures such as murders of the Jew and pilgrimages of flagellants, the plague spread with extraordinary rapidity, and prevented

SOUTH ITALY UNDER THE ANGEVINS

any lengthy stay on the part of Lewis, though in 1350 he reappeared in Naples. Even after the cruel end of the unbridled but highly cultured princess on May 22nd, 1382, the attempt was renewed to consolidate this remarkable alliance between Southern and Eastern Europe. At the beginning of 1386 Charles III., the Short, was crowned, and in 1403 was succeeded by his brilliant son Ladislaus. In either case these projects resulted in failure. It seems as if the friendly star which had guided the first Charles to Naples, and pointed the way for his

merating a number of territories which he had little prospect of ever possessing, as his claims existed only upon paper; at the same time he had the resources and the capacity to pursue an imperial policy in the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian seas. The increase of the power of Gian Galeazzo of Milan disturbed his Guelf opponents and obliged them to concentrate. During those years we meet with more than one mention of a league between Naples, the Pope, Florence, King Rupert, and Venice, which Padua, Bologna, Ferrara, and Mantua were to have joined. On the



THE SICILIAN VESPER: MASSACRE OF THE FRENCH AT PALERMO

The tyrannous government of Charles of Anjou pressed very heavily on Sicily, which, in 1282, rose in revolt, the outbreak beginning with the massacre of the French at Palermo, known as the Sicilian Vespers, from the vesper bell giving the signal. The island then came under an Aragonese dynasty, and in later years became a Spanish dependency.

energetic grandson, Robert, had deserted the latter at Angevins. The fact is true both of the Durazzo dynasty and of the three Louis of the younger house of Anjou, invited southwards by Joanna I.; they were unfortunate, or fortune mocked them.

One exception there seems to have been — namely, Ladislaus (1390–1414). His titles were pompous; he styled himself “King of Hungary, Jerusalem, Sicily, Dalmatia, Ramia, Servia, Galicia, Lodomeria, Cumania, and Bulgaria, Count of Provence, Forcalquier, and Piedmont,” thus enu-

merating a number of territories which he had little prospect of ever possessing, as his claims existed only upon paper; at the same time he had the resources and the capacity to pursue an imperial policy in the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian seas. The increase of the power of Gian Galeazzo of Milan disturbed his Guelf opponents and obliged them to concentrate. During those years we meet with more than one mention of a league between Naples, the Pope, Florence, King Rupert, and Venice, which Padua, Bologna, Ferrara, and Mantua were to have joined. On the

other hand, the continued cry raised by the East for a thorough Crusade against the Turks gave a great stimulus to the project of an alliance of some of these powers with France, Genoa, and Athens. In no case did the plan meet with any considerable success, but the ready compliance with which distant and close neighbours made overtures to the liberal King of Naples sufficiently shows what extraordinary prestige Ladislaus enjoyed about 1400. On April 25th, 1403, Rome opened her gates to him, an example

followed by Perugia. These ambitions, however, aroused distrust elsewhere, for no one was anxious to replace the ambitious Visconti with an Angevin, who might complete the unification of Italy. None the less, when he had availed himself of the schism so far as to be upon the point of regaining his mastery of

**Italy's
Age of
Decadence**

Rome, he died, before he had reached the age of forty, on August 6th, 1414, not six months after he had granted at Piperno, on the edge of the Pontine marshes, remission of house tax to some two hundred families of Sezze—an instance of his care for the people. He, again, possessed neither good fortune nor guiding star.

Ladislaus and his sister, Joanna II., belong to the age of decadence, as is attested by the inscription on the Gothic memorial raised by the king's fraternal love behind the high altar of San Giovanni Carbonara at Naples. A new spirit, or the revival of the old, is first typified in Alfonso I. the Noble of Sicily, who had been Alfonso V. of Aragon since 1416, and in his mastery of Naples by twenty-two years of obstinate struggle. His theories of life were far removed from the general obscurantism which characterised the Angevins, of which there is no more striking proof than the fact that under his government the keen champion Laurentius Valla attacked the secular power of the Pope in 1440 by his researches "*de falso credito et eumentia Constantini donatione*."

In the same sense is to be understood Alfonso's remarkable grant of help in 1453, during the last heroic struggle of Constantine XI. It was not so much the result of zealous championship of Christian doctrine as the outcome of a

**Revival
of the
Sciences**

calmly considered imperialist policy. However, in company with other royal humanists of his time he eagerly grasped the precious fruit of the destruction of Constantinople, the revival of the sciences by the dispersed exponents of Greek civilisation. The first seven years of the reign of his illegitimate son and successor, Ferdinand I. ("Ferrante"; 1458-1494), were disturbed by struggles with the Angevin John

of Calabria, the son of René of Bar. He was a true contemporary of men like Sixtus IV. della Rovere and of the upstart Francesco Sforza, and he succeeded in establishing his own rule by marriage alliances with both families. The nobility soon felt the results of his success, and upon this question King Louis XI. had already provided a precedent which cried aloud for imitation. Otranto, an outpost important for its advanced position, had been captured by the Turks, with great cruelty, on August 11th, 1480; thirteen months later — on September 10th, 1481 — Prince Alfonso reconquered it with the help of the Pope. In other respects Ferdinand showed high capacity in his position; two favourite objects of his domestic care were jurisprudence and the culture of the silk-worm.

With the death of Ferrante the favour of fortune which had protected the south for half a century came to an end. Alfonso II. was intimidated by the menaces of Charles VIII. and hated by his people.

Naples'

**Heavy Loss
to Spain**

On the last day of the first year of his reign he abdicated in favour of his son, Ferdinand II. The latter triumphed over the French, after eighteen months of conflict, on July 20th, 1496, and died upon October 7th of the same year. The throne of Naples was once again left desolate. Frederic (1496-1501), the brother of Alfonso II., was said to have shown too great a friendship towards the Turks; and under the excuse of protecting Christendom, Louis XII., who had inherited the claims of his cousin, Charles VIII., upon Southern Italy, joined the cousin of Ferrante, Ferdinand the Catholic, in 1500. The latter, however, who was at heart a determined enemy of the French, used the allies merely for the purpose of a joint conquest. The whole of the Neapolitan kingdom was eventually recovered for united Spain in 1504, after the brilliant triumphs of Gonsalvo de Cordova, "the Great Captain."

This transference implied a heavy loss to Naples; henceforward the kingdom became a mere appanage of the Spanish monarch, which fell by inheritance to the House of Hapsburg in 1516.

HANS HELMOLT



THE SPANISH PENINSULA

MOORISH ASCENDANCY IN SPAIN

THE SPLENDOUR OF THE CALIPHATE AND THE ANDALUSIAN CIVILISATION

IN the middle of the eighth century Spain was but very loosely connected with the Saracen Empire. Rival races set up rulers by force of arms, so that it happened on occasion that Kelbitic tribes helped a Kaisite, or vice versa: the Berbers either formed alliances with the Arab races, or acted for themselves, under the guidance of some fanatical "saint," without attaining any lasting result. In 750 the most powerful man in Spain was the Kaisite Somaïl; after the Kelbites had been defeated in the battle of Secunda, he found a docile instrument in the governor Yusuf, though his cruelty to the vanquished made him an object of inextinguishable hatred to all the Kelbitic tribes.

Meanwhile, the reigning house of the Ommayyads in Bagdad had been overthrown and almost exterminated by the Abbassides. Only a few members of the family made their escape, among others, the youthful and ambitious Abd ur Rahman. After various adventures, he took refuge in Africa; but there, as everywhere, his attempts to gain power made him an object of suspicion. He was obliged to flee from place to place, and at length his thoughts turned to Spain.

The unsettled condition of the country, which seemed to be on the point of falling apart into separate feudal states, no doubt attracted him. A large number of Arab families in the peninsula had been under the special protection of the Ommayyad house and from them he might expect unlimited support. But it was essential for any pretender who would step forward

to oppose the hated Somaïl and Yusuf to win the favour of the Kelbitic race; and the more so if he belonged, as Abd ur Rahman did, to a Kaisite family. Abd ur Rahman succeeded in entering into relations with the friends of the Ommayyad house, and in September of the year 755 he landed on the Spanish coast. Yusuf's first attempts at resistance failed; negotiations were begun, but came to nothing. Most of the Kaisite tribes gathered at Yusuf's camp, while the Kelbites flocked to Abd ur Rahman. Auxiliary Berber troops joined both sides. In the following year Abd ur Rahman won a brilliant victory over his adversaries and seized Cordova; Yusuf and Somaïl then recognised the Ommayyad prince as the emir of Spain.

Abd ur Rahman devoted all the untiring energy of his ambitious nature to the desperate task of forming Spain into an independent and united nation. Unscrupulous as to the means he employed, crafty and determined, and peculiarly favoured by fortune, he accomplished his task; but he was enabled to hold his ground only by the fact that the Arab tribes, though ever ready to revolt, could never unite or hold together for one common purpose.

Brilliant Period of Arab Rule The age of the caliphate is the most brilliant period of Arab rule in Spain, both as regards the economic and intellectual progress of the country. To understand the development of Spanish-Arabian civilisation, as well as its gradual decline, it is essential to gain a clear conception of that part of Spain which was not under

the rule of Islam, which now began to rise from unimportant beginnings, and eventually came forward as the most dangerous enemy of the caliphate. At first it seemed not only that Spain was submerged in the flood of Moslem conquest, but also that Southern France would fall before the Arab onset. It was only Charles Martel's

Martel's Great Victory

brilliant victory at Poitiers in the year 732 that drove the army of Islam back across the Pyrenees. But even in Spain the inhabitants of the mountains in the north were never really subjugated. Their submission to the Romans and the Goths had been only temporary, and they had, to some extent, retained their original Iberian language. The Arabs deemed those barren heights comparatively unimportant.

The situation became more critical when that portion of the Gothic people which was capable of offering resistance began to gather in the northern mountains, and to project the recovery of their land by force of arms. Under the leadership of Pelayo, or Pelagius, the people of the Asturian mountains shook off the yoke of their enemies not long after the conquest. Then the Berbers, who had largely settled in the North of Spain, were weakened by the collapse of their rising against the Arabs; moreover, a terrible famine obliged them to migrate southward, and the Christian inhabitants of Galicia seized the opportunity to revolt.

Alfonso, the Duke of Cantabria, which had also declared its freedom, was now recognised as over-lord by all the inhabitants of the north coast of Spain. He made at once a determined attack, wrested Leon and Old Castile from the Berbers, and pushed on to Coimbra, on the west coast, and to Toledo, in the interior of the country, although he was unable to secure these conquests. Thus there rose within a short time a dangerously powerful Christian state, which was really a continuation of the West Gothic kingdom.

Absolute Monarchy of the Caliphs

As the caliphs had established an absolute monarchy, the foreign history of Spanish Islam is, for some centuries, bound up with the personality of these monarchs, or of those who held the reins of power in their stead. Abd ur Rahman I. was succeeded by his son, Hischam I., who was immediately obliged to take measures against two of his brothers, who had revolted and attempted to found

independent states in the north of the kingdom. After several bloody conflicts, he succeeded in subduing both of them. Hischam also fought successfully against the Christians of the North, but his character inclined him rather to peace and to the furthering of his subjects' welfare.

After his death, in the year 796, his son Chakam ascended the throne. He was at once attacked by the two brothers of Hischam, who had already thrown the kingdom into confusion. At the same time the northern frontier was disturbed by incursions of the Frankish troops. Chakam succeeded in getting the better of his relatives, but against the Franks he was not so successful.

Barcelona fell into the hands of the Christians, and the nucleus of the kingdom of Catalonia was thus formed. Chakam's army was almost perpetually under arms against the kings of Leon. The fleet, which had been of little importance before the period of the caliphate, undertook punitive expeditions against the Balearic Islands and Sardinia. A revolt of the renegades in Cordova was crushed with terrible severity; some of the inhabitants

The Caliph's Luxurious Court Life

were forced to emigrate, and, after many trying adventures, they finally found a home either in Crete or in Fez.

The reign of Chakam's son, Abd ur Rahman II., was even more brilliant. The ideal of this monarch was the luxurious court life of the caliphs at Bagdad. Marvels of architectural skill were created during his life. Poetry and music were ever honoured and encouraged at the court of this weak but artistic prince, while the arts of war were neglected. In stern contrast to Abd ur Rahman was his successor, Mohammed, a cold, fanatical devotee, whose stern rule drove the Christians of Toledo and the south-eastern mountain ranges to revolt. Of special importance was the terrible rebellion of the Christians of Granada, which sapped the strength of the kingdom; neither Mohammed nor his successor, Mondhir (886-888), was able to subdue this uprising.

As the central authority began to decline, feudalism among the Arab, Berber, and Spanish nobles again appeared. The next caliph, Abdallah (888-912), had to cope with both of these dangers; and the result of his efforts was most unsatisfactory. Every important noble lived as an independent prince behind his castle walls.

THE MOORISH ASCENDANCY IN SPAIN

The Christians and the renegades of the Granada mountains pressed forward to the very gates of Cordova, under their leader, Omar ibn Chassun, and the caliph's feeble policy of reconciliation was wholly fruitless.

In the extremity of despair, Abdallah ventured to attack the Christian army which was threatening his capital, and won a victory as brilliant as it was unexpected in 890. He thereby gained momentary relief; but in the year 902 the attempts of the aristocracy to win their independence, and the restlessness of his Spanish subjects, brought him into pressing difficulty. It was only when Abdallah succeeded in winning over his most dangerous opponents, the Arabs of the district of Seville, that the power of the caliphate began to revive.

Abdallah's grandson and successor, Abd ur Rahman III., took vigorous measures to strengthen the tottering monarchy. The dreaded rebel, Omar ibn Chassun, had died in the year 917, and the Christian revolt gradually subsided. War was also successfully waged against the northern Christian states. By adroitly turning to his own advantage the racial wars in Africa,

the caliph got possession of several of the coast towns, and a portion of Morocco became a Spanish protectorate. After a warlike reign of twenty-seven years, Abd ur Rahman III. could say that the caliphate had been restored to its former splendour. The boundaries had been extended and secured; the feudal nobles had been humbled, and deposed from all influential positions. But, in his fear of the Arab nobles and their encroachments, Abd ur Rahman had adopted a dangerous policy. He drew his officials from among freemen and foreigners, and especially the "Slavs" who came to Spain as adventurers or prisoners of war, and who included in their number representatives of every Christian state in Europe.

A moderate estimate informs us that Abd ur Rahman had 6,000 "Slavs" about his person. The preference given to these classes, who were utterly despised by the pure Arabs, aroused the greatest discontent among the nobles, and on certain occasions cost the caliph dear, for several battles were lost owing to the misbehaviour of the native contingents. However, Abd ur Rahman was incontestably the greatest ruler of the Ommayyad dynasty. He was marvellously successful in over-

coming all opposition, in repairing disasters, and, notwithstanding his continual wars, in furthering the progress of the country in every direction. An army such as Arabian Spain had never before seen was under his command, and the most powerful princes, East and West, desired his favour and courted his friendship. In Spain, as elsewhere,

Progress Follows Arab Victories the victory of the Arab power implied an advance in economic progress. In other European countries feudalism steadily gained ground; in Spain it continued to decline, and left room for the increase of general prosperity. The free peasants were able to increase their acquisitions at the expense of the Arab nobility, who were continually at war over private feuds.

The princes and nobles of the land were ever ready to foster and promote the cause of learning; reading and writing were universal accomplishments among the common people. All this intellectual activity was not the artificial creation of an autocratic monarch; it was the healthy and brilliant bloom of well-nurtured material prosperity. In truth, the northern inhabitants of Europe, living as they did in gloomy city alleys or miserable village hovels, clustered around the castles of a rude, uncultured nobility, would have thought themselves in fairy-land, could they have been transported to this joyous, brilliant world. But that which would have especially surprised them, which would have brought a flush of shame to the cheeks of anyone with a spark of Christian feeling in his heart, was the noble spirit of toleration and of intellectual freedom which breathed over the happy plains of Andalusia. He would have been forced to admit that even Christians might receive from the followers of the hated Mahomet instruction in that generous forbearance to enemies with which the

Where Greeds Were Tolerated Founder of their faith had sought to inspire them, Herein lies the fascination which to-day impels us to look back with yearning and regret upon the too rapid flight of that happy period, when Cordova and Toledo guarded the sacred fire of civilisation upon European ground, a fascination which still throws its glamour around the halls of the Alcazar of Seville or the pinnacles of the Alhambra.

Our picture of the dreamy beauty of Andalusian civilisation would be incomplete if we omitted the glorious development of the art of poetry, which drew its sustenance from the western imagination and blossomed to a richer life even than it did upon the banks of the twin rivers of Mesopotamia. But it was

**Where
Poetry
Flourished**

not only in the domain of poetry that the Andalusians exercised the splendid intellectual power which often compelled admiration from their co-religionists. Philosophy also found a home and a refuge from persecution at the courts of the caliph and his governors and feudal princes, who had long since learned that the most audacious opinions must be heard openly among men, and that otherwise they would grow to strange and dangerous proportion in secrecy and persecution. Theologians with their arguments might attack the sceptics when these demanded the mathematical proof of the truth of their religion; they might attempt to brand these unbelievers for ever as drunkards and voluptuaries; they did not burn them at the stake in Moorish Spain.

Abd ur Rahman was, on the whole, successful in checking the growth of the Christian kingdom on the north and in securing his frontiers; but the hopes of conquering Africa, which the revolt of the Abu-Jazird against the Fatimides had aroused, were only of short duration. In the year 947 the rebels, who recognised the spiritual supremacy of the Caliph of Cordova, were beaten and slain.

Spain, in its most flourishing period, was never equal to the task of subjugating Morocco; and before long it came to owe its very existence to the help of African Islam. During the reign of the peaceful successor of Abd ur Rahman II., the patron of the arts, Chakam, or

**The Caliph
as the Patron
of Learning**

Hakem II., the Christian states renewed their attacks with redoubled vigour; but the continual quarrels of his opponents, and the magnificent army which his predecessor had left to him, gave Chakam so great an advantage that in the year 970 the Castilians were glad to make peace, and the caliph obtained leisure to concentrate his attention upon the furthering of civilisation in his country and upon the advancement of learning.

But that wonderful prosperity of Spanish Islam which permitted the rise of a large number of wealthy and brilliant cities, and allowed individual provinces to gain in strength and independence, became dangerous at length to the ascendancy of the Ommayyad dynasty, and prepared the way for the disruption of the kingdom into a number of petty states. Prosperity and progress might gain rather than lose by such a separation, but it could be foreseen that the military power of Spanish Islam would be fatally weakened thereby. Upon the death of Chakam II., in 976, signs of the coming disruption were apparent.

The successor to the throne, Hisham II., was then only eleven years old, and various personages of importance began to quarrel about the regency. Fortunately for the empire, the most capable of these aspirants, the chamberlain Ibn abi Amir, or Al Mansur, as he afterwards was called, succeeded in seizing the chief power by cunning and force, and retained it to the end of his life against his various opponents. Hisham had been brought up by his mother, Aurora, a native of Navarre, who was allied to Al Mansur, in accord-

**An Age of
Moslem
Triumphs**

ance with his ideas, and remained a tool in the regent's hand throughout his life.

Abroad, the period of Al Mansur's rule was, undoubtedly, the most brilliant in the history of the Ommayyad dynasty. Never since the conquest had the Moslem sword won such brilliant victories over the Christians, never had the armies of Andalusia penetrated so far into the lands of their hereditary enemies. In the year 981 Zamora was captured. Barcelona was taken in 985, and the fortress of Leon in 987. A tremendous impression was created in 994-997, when Al Mansur pushed on into the barren land of Galicia and captured the national shrine of Spanish Christendom, that of St. James of Compostela, and razed it to the ground.

Such successes were made possible only by the sweeping reforms which Al Mansur had introduced, for his own ends, into the military organisation of Andalusia, and by his final breach with the remnants of the old Arab racial organisation. The levy by tribes was wholly abolished, and the inhabitants called upon to serve were arbitrarily drafted into the different regiments. The flower of the army, upon which Al Mansur relied, was formed partly of Berbers from Morocco and partly of Christian soldiers

THE MOORISH ASCENDANCY IN SPAIN

from North Spain, who had no scruples whatever in fighting against their compatriots. The Christian states were continually at variance with one another, and did not reject the help of the Moors when occasion offered. Al Mansur's most dangerous rival was Ghalib, the commander of the troops on the northern frontier, and a successful general. After he had been defeated and slain the regent could place implicit reliance upon the fidelity of his troops, and could successfully meet all attempts to overthrow his power. But a military supremacy, naturally, did not benefit Spain in the long run. The fact that Al Mansur attempted to strengthen his perilous position by lending a close adherence to the orthodox theology was

as being responsible for the burden that oppressed the people—in particular Al Mansur himself and his most faithful dependents, the Berber chiefs and the Christian soldiery. Upon Al Mansur's death an uproar arose in Cordova, the inhabitants furiously demanding that henceforward Hisham II. should reign as an independent monarch. Mozaffar Abd al Melik Modhaffer, the son of Al Mansur, had much trouble in subduing the rebels. When Mozaffar died, in the year 1008, the general discontent broke into open riot; the brother of the deceased, who took his place, was driven out and killed.

It soon became evident, however, that nothing had been gained by the overthrow of ministerial government. Individual



THE ALCAZAR OF SEVILLE, BUILT BY THE MOORS IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY. The name "Alcazar" was given to several palaces built by the Moors in Spain; that at Seville, shown in the illustration, is famous for its architectural beauty, and there are many ancient treasures preserved within its walls. Photo by Frith

disadvantageous to the progress of learning and of philosophy in particular. The unfavourable consequences of Al Mansur's reign surpassed its benefits. It is true, however, that the material prosperity of the country, which he was practical enough to encourage, reached its highest point under his guidance. The construction of a system of roads is due to him, and, in fact, the government of a great general is usually productive of good in this direction.

Towards the close of Al Mansur's reign dissatisfaction had begun to ferment among almost all classes of the people. In the great capital of Cordova the social problem became critical before its essential nature was properly understood. As usual, individuals were attacked

governors and generals made themselves more and more independent in the provinces and towns, while in Cordova itself monarchs and regents ran in rapid succession, the real governing power being a military despotism of Berber or Slav soldiery, unless the moneyed classes and the patricians of the town gained some decisive advantage for themselves, or the all-powerful mob proceeded to govern the city in its own fashion. The unfortunate Hisham II. disappeared, and could never be discovered, nor has his fate ever been explained.

A supply of pseudo-Hishams was, naturally, at once forthcoming, pretending to be the real caliph returned to resume his feeble authority. The confusion, natur-

ally, increased. At length the aristocracy gained the upper hand in the desolate and ruined city. They abolished the caliphate, and thereby hastened the disruption of a kingdom that had once been so powerful into a number of feudal states and city republics in 1031. The last caliph of the Ommayyad house, Hisham III., died a few years later, forgotten and despised, in Lerida, where he had found a refuge in his need.

Fall of the Ommayyad Dynasty

The interests of the great towns, Cordova and Seville in particular, had long ceased to coincide with the interests of the rest of the country. It was inevitable that these great centres of commerce and manufacture should eventually drift apart from the provinces, the prosperity of which was based upon agriculture and domestic industries. The fall of the Ommayyad dynasty was perhaps accelerated by the fact that they had united their interests too closely with those of the people of Cordova, for the development of Cordova was bound to result in republicanism, and when they were abandoned by the fickle citizens of the capital they could get no support from the country at large. The kingdom naturally fell into the hands of the military leaders, except where the remnants of the Arab landed nobility recovered strength enough to found independent principalities.

The centre of the Berber power was Malaga; there the family of the Cham-mudites, who traced their descent from Mahomet's son-in-law, Ali, laid claim to the dignity of the caliphate, though they were unable to enforce their demands. Badis, the ruler of Granada, afterwards came to the head of the Berber party, and brought Malaga under his rule in the year 1055. Badis was thoroughly typical of the North African soldier-prince; a rough, passionate man of very moderate intellectual power.

Fortunately for him, he found a vizir of unexampled astuteness in the Jew Samuel, and with his help gradually subdued a district nearly coincident in extent with the later kingdom of Granada.

Further northward in Mohammedan Spain, the Berbers, who had immigrated at an earlier period, and were practically Arabs, gained the power—as, for instance, in Toledo and Badajoz. The “Slav” generals had settled in the east, and

Almeira, Denia, and Valencia, were in their hands—the last-named town, however, for only a short period, as one Amiride, a descendant of the great Al Mansur, speedily seized the government of that town.

In the south-west, Mohammed, the Cadi of Seville, who carried on the government in the name of a pseudo-Hisham II., became the head of the Arab party. Owing to his efforts, Cordova was outstripped by its sister town, and the Arab population in the regions under Berber rule came over to him. After the death of Mohammed, his son, the refined but utterly unscrupulous Motadhid, utilised the opportunities of his position. He aggrandised the town of Seville to such an extent that even Badis of Granada trembled before his dangerous rival, and planned, upon one occasion, the massacre of all the Arabs of Granada, in view of their natural leanings towards his enemy.

The strong contrast between the rough, unpolished Berber state and the brilliant culture of the kingdom of Seville became still more prominent after Motadhid's death in 1069, when the poetic and pleasure-loving, but energetic, Motamid

came to the head of the state. The intellectual centre of Spanish Islam was then, undoubtedly, to be found in Seville. Abroad, the city triumphed over its failing rival, Cordova, the old capital of the caliphate. After once capturing Cordova, Motamid took definite possession of the town in the year 1078, and put an end to the rule of the aristocracy.

And yet this brilliant edifice rested upon a miserably weak foundation. In fact, it survived only through the forbearance of the Christian princes of Castile, who even then were sharpening the sword that was to cut down all its splendour. Alfonso VI., of Castile, who had assumed the proud title of Emperor, finally determined to make an end of the petty Mohammedan states. In helpless despair the threatened princes saw the end approach. The kingdom of Toledo had already fallen into the hands of the Christian monarch with scarcely a show of resistance in 1084, Valencia was in extreme danger, and a Christian army was before the walls of Saragossa. A part of the Moorish population began to contemplate seriously a retreat to Africa, as salvation seemed impossible. But once again their destruction was to be averted, though at heavy cost.

Threatened Doom of the Moors

Towns Held by the Slavs

WESTERN
EUROPE IN
THE MIDDLE
AGES



DEVELOP-
MENT OF THE
NATIONS:
THE SPANISH
PENINSULA II

THE RISING CHRISTIAN REALMS AND THE DECAY OF THE MOSLEM POWER

MEANWHILE, among the wild mountains or on the high tablelands now parched with heat, now lashed by icy storms, the Christian warriors had gathered to resist the advance of a foreign nation and an alien faith. A number of states, whose mutual relations were constantly changing, had sprung up on the north coast and at the foot of the Pyrenees. The differences resulting from situation and nationality became apparent at a very early period—differences which have continued beyond the sixteenth century, and have not been wholly obliterated even now.

The flower of the Gothic nobility had betaken itself to the central portion of the northern coast land, to Asturias. Here Pelayo, who is known to the Arabian historians, raised the standard of national resistance and drove out the Arab governor, who had established himself at Gijon. Under Alfonso II., about 800, Oviedo

The Forward Policy of Alfonso I.

became the capital of the new state, to which was united Cantabria on the east, which had also been liberated by the Gothic nobles. The retreat of the Berber settlers, who were driven out by dissension and famine, had given King Alfonso I. the opportunity of pushing southward into the Castilian plains, seizing the country at the foot of the mountains as far as the Douro, and making a desert barrier of the rest of Old Castile. The Christian inhabitants were transported thence to the northern districts, and the Mohammedans were driven southward. Alfonso's successor, Froila I., conquered Galicia, which the Arabs had never entirely subdued.

The new kingdom was a feudal state, with all the advantages and weaknesses of feudalism. It was divided into principalities, the rulers of which were equally ready to take the field against the Saracens with their contingents, to make the king's life a burden to him with their revolts, or to quarrel among themselves.

Differences of nationality were also a source of trouble. The Basques in the eastern province of Alava showed no intention of yielding permanent obedience, and the stubborn inhabitants of the Galician valleys, where the last remnants of the Suevi had fled at the time of the

Gothic invasion, manifested their desire for independence in their restless behaviour. As the territory of the kingdom of

Oviedo spread southward, and the plains of Castile and Leon became gradually populated, the centre of gravity naturally shifted to that part of the kingdom. Perhaps the Christian kings of Northern Spain were rather too slow to realise this natural development of affairs; when Ordonez II., in the year 955, at last moved the seat of government to Leon, numerous important counties had arisen in Castile.

Alfonso III., the Great (866-910), who did a great deal to assure the existence of the kingdom, and created a strong southern frontier by fortifying the line of the Douro, would have done better to abandon Oviedo with its unfavourable situation. By his division of the kingdom among his sons, this otherwise admirable ruler fostered the seeds of dissension, which must have developed in any case, and made it possible for the Moors, after they had concluded their internal quarrels, to carry on a vigorous frontier policy under Abd ur Rahman III. and Al Mansur.

The polished inhabitants of Andalusia looked with horror and disgust upon the danger which threatened them from the north, upon this kingdom ringing with the clash of arms, the people of which seemed created only for the purposes of war and conflict, and were as little acquainted with the bounteous gifts of Nature as with the enjoyment of a high civilisation. They felt that this enemy was irreconcilable and, in the long run, unconquerable. Though all barriers

Andalusia Stricken With Fear

between the nations were broken down, one insuperable obstacle remained—religion. In the last resort the sword must decide whether the soil of Spain was to belong to the followers of Mahomet or to the Christian believers. The opposition became only the sharper with the lapse of time. During the first centuries

Symbols of Christian Supremacy

the rough and bold warriors of Leon and Castile faithfully paid their contributions to erect those mighty churches and cathedrals which were the tokens of Christian supremacy: but they were not ashamed, upon occasion, to enter the Moorish service, or by their efforts on the side of the unbelievers to remind princes of their own nation that they owed duties to their feudal nobility. With the same carelessness the smaller Arab princes entered the lists against the mighty power of the caliphate, in union with the kings of Leon or the courts of Castile. Afterwards fanaticism became more fervent upon both sides, and religious hatred took deeper root. Closer relations with Rome turned the Castilians into distinguished supporters of the Catholic religion, who were eventually to thwart the progress of the Reformation. The Moors of Spain displayed the resolution and constancy of martyrs in their misfortunes.

The state which included Galicia, Asturias, Leon and Castile, quickly formed, and no less quickly divided, into separate provinces, was the chief Christian power in North Spain. Scarcely touched by any external influence, shut in between the waves of the Bay of Biscay and its Moorish enemies, it was from the beginning the most Spanish, the most national and independent, of all states, and was therefore destined to leadership and eventually to dominion. But it was not the only power. Near it were the kingdoms which rose in the valleys and at the foot of the Pyrenees. The mountain

The Arabs Overthrown in France

barrier of the Pyrenees had not prevented the Arabs in their first invasion from passing over into Southern France, where they claimed the West Gothic possessions as their inheritance, but were finally defeated by the vigour of the Frankish nation. They did not long hold out upon the north side of the mountains: Narbonne, their strongest fortress, was taken by the Franks in the year 759, and it became speedily apparent that

the Pyrenæan valleys too had never been entirely in the power of the Arabian. The Iberian races, against which Romans and Goths had in vain directed their arms and the resources of their civilisation, the Basques of Navarre and Biscay, had this time, too, made only a show of submission. Further eastward the Gothic nobles held out here and there, and kept up relations, by the mountain passes, with their people in Southern France.

These thin seeds of new states began to sprout when Charlemagne made his expedition across the Pyrenees, formed the district held by Arab governors and petty chieftains into the "Spanish Mark," and organised the small beginnings of Christian states into principalities. The later kingdoms of Aragon and Catalonia, the lowly foundations of which were then laid, were thus brought into close relations with the South of France and with Central European civilisation, a connection which persists to-day in language and customs, and sharply differentiates Northern Spain from Castile and its neighbouring districts. The Basques, however, did not submit to

Conquests of the Basque Mountaineers

this influence. They had not resisted the Arabs merely to be ruled by Frankish counts; they felt no reluctance, for once in a way, to enter into alliance with the Mohammedan governors, and to attack the Frankish army in the mountain passes. The half-legendary destruction of Roland and his army, and the more credible overthrow, probably in the year 824, of a division of the Frankish force in the pass of Roncevalles, are sufficient evidence of the Basque policy. Finally, towards the end of the ninth century, the Basque mountaineers extended their conquests to the Ebro, and the kingdom of Navarre arose.

It appeared at first as if this new state would gain an important share of the tottering Moslem kingdom, for in the tenth century important territories beyond the Ebro were in the possession of Navarre. But the Basques, while almost invincible in their own mountains, have no aptitude for colonisation and no inclination to spread beyond their ancient boundaries.

In the year 1054 Navarre lost its foreign possessions in war with Castile, and remained henceforward confined to its original territory. The kingdom of Aragon, starting from poor beginnings, ran a very different course of development. When

THE RISING CHRISTIAN REALMS IN SPAIN

the kingdom of Navarre was formed the principality of Aragon included only the upper valley of the river of that name, which runs deep between the Sierra de la Pena and the chain of the Pyrenees. A wild and barren district, it seems for a long time to have formed a part of the Spanish Mark and to have been governed by counts of Gothic origin; during the ascendancy of Navarre it formed a part of that kingdom.

At the beginning of the eleventh century Navarre, under Sancho the Great, seemed destined to form the nucleus of a mighty kingdom, and Castile was added to it by marriage; but upon Sancho's death, in the year 1035, the kingdom again collapsed. Thereupon Aragon obtained its independence under Sancho's son, Ramiro I. Ramiro found his kingdom very diminutive. Its extension was stopped by Navarre on the west, and on the east by the little Pyrenean state, Sobrarbe, which had fallen to one of his brothers. South of it, in the valley of the Ebro and in the surrounding mountain country, were powerful Arab

Tottering Arab Empire

states, the centre of which was Saragossa. An attempt of Ramiro to get possession of Navarre failed. However, after the death of his brother, Gonzalo, he gained Sobrarbe, which comprised the valleys on the southern slope of the Central Pyrenees. He could now venture upon operations against the Arabs, whose empire had begun to fall with the death of Al Mansur.

In the year 1118 the conquest of Saragossa and the valley of the Ebro gave the kingdom of Aragon its natural capital and wider room for expansion. Meanwhile, the principality of Barcelona, the nucleus of the kingdom of Catalonia, had developed quite independently of Aragon. Frankish influence had been greatest and had continued longest in the north-eastern corner of Spain. Socially and politically this district clung tenaciously to its powerful and energetic neighbour, and was able to turn to excellent advantage the benefits arising from this connection. The principality of Barcelona may have been made a part of the Spanish Mark when that district was conquered; and though Barcelona itself was more than once captured by the Moors, the region successfully resisted all attacks from the south. In the year 865,

the Spanish Mark, which now included little besides the principality of Barcelona, was separated from Septimania—*i.e.*, Languedoc—Barcelona thus taking its first step towards complete independence.

The next period is marked by the fact that a family apparently of Gothic origin becomes the hereditary ruler of Barcelona with the consent of the Frankish king. In the usual feudal manner separate districts, such as the counties of Urgal and Gerona, branched off from this state, or the whole was united in one hand. The port of Barcelona enjoyed great prosperity, owing to its advantageous situation, and was always a most important source of strength to the kingdom of Catalonia. It had, in consequence, a character of its own, enjoying a special freedom of life and manners which reminds us of the Provençal or the Italian spirit.

There was one kingdom which came into being far later than all the rest, the only kingdom in the peninsula which refused submission to the Castilian yoke, and preserved an independent existence and a language of its own—the present-day kingdom of Portugal. All the other states of the peninsula extended their territory in a southerly direction, Asturias being the nucleus of Leon, Old Castile of New Castile, Aragon of Valencia; similarly, the mother province of Portugal was, undoubtedly, Galicia, a wild, mountain district in the north-west corner of the peninsula. In fact, when Portugal appears as a separate state, we find Galicia and Portugal united under the government of Garcias, the son of King Ferdinand of Castile, in 1065. But even then a revolt of the counts of Portugal against Garcias showed that enduring dissensions were now beginning to develop. The important influence of geographical conditions is here apparent. The original Portugal, which takes its name from the

Source of Portugal's Name

harbour Porto Calle, the modern Oporto, was the district lying between the Lower Douro and the Minho, a territory which was certainly extended southward at an early period, and included the town of Coimbra by the year 1064. Portugal thus embraces the western coast of the Iberian peninsula. Its climatic conditions are highly favourable, its long seaboard and its river mouths make it an attractive district to the

outside world, and in this respect its only rivals were the Mediterranean states of Catalonia and Valencia. Central Portugal is, moreover, one of the most beautiful portions of the whole peninsula, a land of smiling hills and uplands, which must have produced a population with characteristics of its own, and one widely different from the Castilian of the barren tablelands, or the wild Galician. The power which deemed itself the champion of Christianity against Islam, and finally attempted to bring the whole of Spain under its sway, could not afford to relinquish the guardianship of the bones of St. James, the patron of all true Spaniards. So the early policy of the independent Portuguese kingdom was war with Galicia, which, indeed, remained apart from the kingdom of Castile-Leon only for a short time. The new state succeeded in gaining its independence at the time when Castile, under Alfonso VI., was vigorously attacking the petty Moorish states, and when the growing Castilian power was shaken by the counter-assaults of the African saviours of Islam, the Almoravides.

Long and bloody conflicts occurred between the different parts of the Northern Spanish kingdom, above all between Leon and the rising Castile, before their united strength could be exerted against their religious enemies in the south. These struggles were prolonged by the interference of the neighbouring states of Aragon and Navarre in their internal dissensions. Abd ur Rahman II. and, above all, Al Mansur were able to turn the unhappy disunion of Christian Spain to their own advantage; their brilliant campaigns restored the shattered caliphate to its old splendour, and they were aided by Christian troops, who were not ashamed to serve in the ranks of their country's hereditary foes. The kingdom of Leon was threatened with total destruction. Castile

was practically independent. When Sancho the Great of Navarre obtained possession of Castile by hereditary right, in the year 1028, after Aragon and Sobrarbe had already done him homage, the centre of Christian power seemed to be gravitating definitely eastward. But the triumph of the little province of Navarre was more apparent than real. Shortly before his death, Sancho partitioned a kingdom which he had never thoroughly united, and

his second son, Fernando, obtained Castile. No great provocation was required to plunge Fernando into war with Bermudo III., the king of Leon. Eventually Castile prevailed over the more ancient kingdom of Leon. Bermudo fell in battle, and Fernando took possession of his territory by right of conquest and relationship. In the place of the old Gothic royal house of Reccared, a race of Frankish origin appeared as rulers of the ancient Spanish Mark.

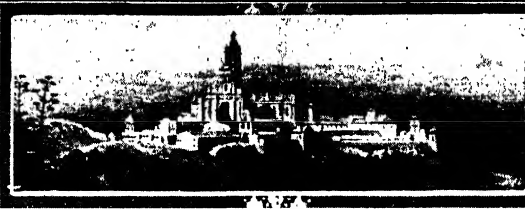
The union of Leon and Castile under a Castilian prince was a fact of decisive importance for the future of Spain, although the new kingdom was destined to undergo many a severe shock. Not long afterwards, Navarre lost its conquests on the south of the Ebro to this newly arisen kingdom, and saw itself cut off from all hope of further expansion. The Saracen princes of Toledo and Saragossa hastened to appease their dangerous neighbour as long as possible with payments of tribute. After Ferdinand's death, the kingdom was threatened with disruption; but the civil war ended in the complete victory of Alfonso VI. in 1073. The

Portuguese Cid's campaign against Valencia nearly coincides with the date of the First Crusade.

The enthusiastic spirit of battling for the faith, which then swayed the whole of Europe, was also felt in Spain. But in the case of Spain it was not necessary to go to Jerusalem to find the enemies of Christianity: on the contrary, a papal decree especially directed the Spaniards to overcome the foe within their own country. One of the barriers between Spain and the rest of Europe was removed by this fact: many knights, from France in particular, flocked into the country, as in the case of Henry of Burgundy, to fulfil at so convenient a distance from their homes the Crusader's vow they had taken.

The Portuguese owed several decisive successes to the help of German and Dutch Crusaders, who put into Portuguese harbours on the way to Jerusalem. But the lively hope of further conquest, which had been aroused by the fall of Toledo, remained for the moment unfilled: the Spanish Moslems, in the extremity of their danger, had summoned an ally from Africa, which was powerful enough to check the advance of the Christians, though at the same time it made an end of most of the petty Moorish kingdoms.

WESTERN
EUROPE IN
THE MIDDLE
AGES



DEVELOP-
MENT OF THE
NATIONS:
SPANISH
PENINSULA
III

WANING OF THE MOORISH POWER AND AWAKENING OF THE CHRISTIAN REALMS

THE Spanish Moslems found an African ally in the person of Yusuf, the prince of the Almoravides, or Murabites, in Morocco. The Almoravides were sprung from the wildest nomad tribes of Western Mauretania; they were a sect of religious warriors, and seemed the incarnation of that fanatical energy which had inspired the early period of Islam. In them the strength and violence of nomad life again triumphed over the peaceful forces of agriculture and trade. In the first half of the eleventh century began that movement which overthrew the Zeirites, who were then the dominant power in Morocco, and finally wrested the ancient kingdom of Carthage from the Fatimides. Morocco became the capital of the new kingdom.

An acute and determined leader came to the front in the person of Yusuf, and a crisis of momentous importance arrived for Spain: from the north Alfonso's armed troops

**Morocco to
the Help of
Andalusia**

swept down upon the fruitful fields of Andalusia; on the other side of the strait was Yusuf's army, ready to lend dubious assistance to the hard-pressed country. The Andalusian princes finally decided to ask Morocco for help; Yusuf was only too glad to grant their request. In the year 1086 he landed in Spain with a powerful army, which was strengthened by the addition of the Andalusian forces; he marched upon Estremadura, which was then extremely hard-pressed by the Castilians. A battle was fought at Zalaca, near Badajoz, and the mailed knights of Castile were defeated by Yusuf's infantry and negro guard.

Alfonso quickly recovered from this blow, and in the next year made ready to meet any attempt on Toledo; but he was obliged to renounce all plans for the conquest of Andalusia. The claws of the Castilian lion, with which he had threatened the followers of Islam, were cut for a long time to come. Yusuf was now able to complete his designs on Andalusia undisturbed. The

Almoravides had not the least intention of giving up the country for which they had fought so fiercely—a country whose riches and hopeless disunion made it at once an attraction and a prey to any energetic conqueror. The emir of

**Spanish
Islam
Saved**

Saragossa was alone able to maintain his independence through subtle policy and thanks to the favourable situation of his little kingdom. With the support of the Almoravide troops, he repelled three attacks of the Aragon army, and succeeded cleverly in getting rid of his inconvenient guests. Huesca was then, in 1096, definitely lost to Aragon.

Thus Spanish Islam was saved, and its political unity again restored, but at a heavy price. The idyllic life of the small states was at an end. In all the large towns Almoravide garrisons were quartered, and the union of the sword with the Koran crushed all freedom of thought.

So long as Yusuf was alive order was maintained throughout the kingdom, and his son, Ali, who followed him in 1106, was no unworthy successor. Great hopes were aroused by his military ability; in the year 1108 he defeated Sancho, the young son of Alfonso VI., at Ucles; and it seemed as if Toledo would soon be again in Moslem hands. But the victory of Ucles marks the culminating point of the Almoravide power. The princes of Saragossa would not unite with the Almoravide troops to repel their common foe, and in the year

**A Blow
to Islam's
Power**

1118 this town fell into the power of Aragon. Its loss was a severe blow to the power of Islam, for the most northerly outpost, which had hitherto checked the advance of Catalonia and Aragon, was thereby lost. The war with the Christians who, fortunately for the Andalusians, were then involved in internal struggles, resolved itself into a frontier warfare,

entailing heavy loss on both sides and leading to no permanent result. In the year 1125 Alfonso of Aragon replied to the Almoravide incursions by a punitive expedition, organised on a large scale. He received assistance from the Mozarabic Christians, who were still numerous in Granada, and pushed forward into Granada and the neighbourhood of Malaga. It was, however, only a brilliant feat of chivalry, and nothing more.

The Tyranny of African Barbarians

The pitiful condition of the Almoravides must have finally induced the Andalusians to attempt to realise their hopes of shaking off the tyranny of the African barbarians. They were already preparing with the help of the Christian kings to drive the Almoravides over the sea and to exchange one ruling power for another, when the impending dissolution of the Almoravide kingdom in Africa turned their gaze in another direction.

The sect of reformers known as the Almohads, whose founder, Abdallah, gave himself out to be the Mahdi, had developed, in spite of persecution and occasional defeat, into a formidable political power, in direct opposition to the Almoravides. In the year 1145 the Almoravide monarch, Taschfin, was defeated and slain in battle by the followers of the Mahdi, Abd al Mumen. In the previous year a revolt had broken out in Eastern Andalusia. It was soon followed by others in different provinces.

Spanish Islam was now in a state of indescribable confusion. New kingdoms rose and fell; provinces and cities fought one against the other; and throughout the turmoil the Almoravides, who had, meanwhile, lost the town of Morocco, their last African possession, continued to hold out in individual fortified towns and castles. With the help of Christian troops, they even, in 1147, recovered Cordova, which they had lost. At last an Almohad army landed in Spain. It did not,

Moorish Stronghold Captured

however, make such rapid progress as might have been expected. The Christian princes, naturally, did not forgo the opportunity of attacking the country while it was thus rent with internal dissension. A powerful army, under the leadership of the King of Castile, marched through Andalusia and Granada, and, with the help of a fleet, provided by Genoa, Pisa, and Catalonia, took the town of Almeria, the stronghold of the Moorish pirates,

and long an object of hatred to all the Christian powers on the Mediterranean. Almost at the same time King Alfonso of Portugal stormed Lisbon; the Count of Barcelona seized Tortosa and the mouth of the Ebro.

Fortune gradually declared in favour of the Almohads. Cordova fell into their hands, and Almeria was retaken by them. Finally, they stormed Granada, the last refuge of the Almoravides in Andalusia. The remnants of that nation once so powerful fled to the Balearic Islands in 1157. Christian Spain had only been temporarily united, and its disruption and the confusion thence resulting gave the Almohads time to establish themselves securely. In general their rule was milder than that of the Almoravides had been. In fact, it was the better portion of the mixed population of North Africa which had gathered round the white Almohad banner to oppose the cruel tyranny of the inhabitants of the plains, and had trampled the black Almoravide standard in the dust.

After the death of Abd al Mumen, in 1163, his son, Yusuf, conquered Valencia and Murcia, where a Mohammedan dynasty had hitherto held out with the help of the Christians. War

Castilians Defeated at Alarcos

against the Christian states followed with varying results. In the time of Yusuf's successor, Al Mansur, occurred one of those important conflicts which occasionally break the monotonous list of sieges and incursions. Unfortunately for themselves, the Castilians, who could not at that time expect any help from their co-religionists, had made a devastating expedition into Andalusia, and brought down upon themselves the Almohad princes: Al Mansur crossed the straits with an enormous army, and after a bloody conflict in 1195 at Alarcos, utterly defeated the Castilian forces, which had in vain expected reinforcements from Navarre and Leon. Al Mansur's attempt to reconquer Toledo in the next year failed entirely.

The most brilliant successes of the Mohammedans were able to check, but not to avert, impending destruction. The confusion which broke out again in Christian Spain brought no advantage to the Almohads. When, at length, Al Mansur's successor, Mohammed, gathered all his strength for one tremendous blow, union among the Christian princes was restored at the eleventh hour. In the

battle of Navas de Tolosa the fortunes and the power of the Almohads were utterly shattered.

Hardly had Alfonso VI. of Castile been buried, in 1109, when Castile took up arms against Aragon. In the wars and confusion which resulted Castile came off much the worst. Social order and public morality disappeared under the mad rule of Urraca, whereas the king of Aragon was able to bide his time, extend his boundaries, and conquer powerful Saragossa in 1118. The death of Urraca, in the year 1126, dissolved the connection between Aragon and Castile: Alfonso VII. took up the government of his disordered country. The power of the Castilian lion rose again during continual warfare against the Saracens, while Aragon, after the death of Alfonso I., was again divided into its original provinces of Aragon and Navarre, and thereby lost its preponderance. At the same time the principality of Barcelona was united to Provence, and gained considerable power and prestige.

This change of circumstances made Alfonso VII. so pre-eminent that in the year 1135 he had himself proclaimed Emperor of Spain at the Council of Leon, apparently with the consent of the other princes, who were present in person or were represented by envoys. Ferdinand I. and Alfonso VI. had already made a temporary claim to the title of emperor, which in Spain naturally did not bear the same significance as in Italy and Germany. The confusion which broke out shortly after the coronation made it sufficiently plain to Alfonso VII. that the conception of the princes concerning their relations to the emperor did not coincide with his own.

Portugal in particular now made a decisive effort for independence, and was supported by Navarre, the mountaineers of which country were as unconquerable as ever. In the year 1139 Count Alfonso of Portugal took the title of king. In 1147 he wrested Lisbon from the Saracens with the help of German and Dutch troops, and thus gained a capital worthy of his country.

Meanwhile, however, important events were taking place in the east. Ramiro II. of Aragon had abdicated, and left the country to his two-year-old daughter, Petronella, who had been betrothed to Count Raymond Berengar IV. of Catalonia

with the consent of Alfonso VII. The count at once undertook the duties of regent for Ramiro, who retired to the seclusion of a monastery. Thus the kingdoms of Catalonia, or Barcelona, and Aragon were practically united. The results of these events were of immeasurable importance for the whole of Spain. Catalonia was a maritime power; hitherto its policy had been entirely foreign, and its most important interest lay in the Mediterranean. Its close union with Aragon, the most thoroughly Spanish of all states, gave it the advantage of a strong barrier in the rear, but also connected its future indissolubly with that of the Christian kingdoms of Spain. The development in the Iberian peninsula necessarily tended towards union; it at once became manifest that Catalonia was destined to be a Spanish, and not a French, province, and that all the conquests made by the Catalonian sea-power were bound to be the inheritance of the rising power of Castile.

The great Spanish empire of later times was largely founded upon the possessions of Catalonia and Aragon in the west of the Mediterranean. The Catalonians entered upon these conquests shortly after their union with Aragon; their previous attempts upon the Balearic Islands had led to no permanent result. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the influence of the two united kingdoms was considerably extended, until at last the standard of Aragon waved over the largest islands in the Western Mediterranean, including Sicily; even a part of Greece recognised the dominion of Aragon for a short period.

At the same time, the domestic interests of the dual kingdom obliged it to press southward, and so to secure a proportionate share of the Moorish spoils. Thus, in the year 1238, Valencia fell into the hands of Aragon. The advantage in this rivalry remained decisively on the side of Castile, which occupied Murcia in the year 1243, and thereby entirely cut off from Aragon any possibility of further advance.

Side by side with this development of Spanish foreign policy important changes within the kingdoms were taking place, which made the eleventh and twelfth centuries extremely important in the history of the country. Hitherto the Spanish kingdoms, especially Leon and Castile, had lived in self-dependent isolation, in

conformity with their geographical position. The unceasing warfare which they had carried on by their own efforts had driven their hereditary enemies from one portion of the ancient Gothic kingdom. Such civilisation as had survived these rough times sprang chiefly from the prosperity of the Gothic kingdom, in which the

Foundations of Church and State Roman and Gothic elements had been united under the banner of the Athanasian belief. On these old foundations rested both Church and State: the Gothic liturgy, which was preserved unchanged, and the alphabet of Toledo, were outward tokens of the isolation of the Spanish people, a state which was in such harmony with the very spirit of the race that any internal movement which might open up the country to the influence of Western European civilisation was inconceivable; while, naturally, religious convictions formed an absolute barrier to any possible approach towards the civilisation of the Moors.

There was, however, a power which could not permit the existence of Christian kingdoms in continued isolation from the universal Church—a power which had been working for centuries to subject the civil to the ecclesiastical influence, and to remodel and revive the ancient Roman Empire. This power was the papacy, on which the conviction was at last beginning to dawn that possibly the truest supporters of the papal supremacy might be found among the warriors who were fighting for the faith in Spain.

During the Crusades the Roman Curia had become aware of its powers, and now that Rome was beginning to carry out great schemes of world policy she could not afford to leave Spain out of consideration. First and foremost, the Spanish Church, which had a national character of its own, had to be bound to the Church of Rome; and to that end the Gothic liturgy must be abolished, and fresh blood infused into the

French Monks in Spain Spanish clergy. The struggle to make the influence of the Church preponderant was largely carried on by the French Benedictine monks, who came to Spain in large numbers towards the end of the eleventh century, and proved themselves the best advocates of the papacy. Their headquarters was the monastery of Sahagun, halfway between Leon and Palencia, to which extraordinary privileges were granted. Sahagun produced the Archbishop

Bernhard of Toledo, in whose fanatical attack upon the Mohammedans in his see we trace the beginnings of that unholy spirit of intolerance which was at that time wholly foreign to the rough but magnanimous Spaniards. It was foreign influence that first inspired this temper into a people naturally noble and kindly, until it eventually broke out, like a loathsome ulcer, in the horrors of the Inquisition. At the same time, the French monks were the involuntary means of introducing European civilisation. If Spain now became more open to the influences of the outside world, it is to the activity of these men, in great degree, that this result must be ascribed.

At the same time, the stirring period of the Crusades brought the chivalry of Spain into closer connection with that of neighbouring countries. The Templars entered Aragon and undertook with brilliant success a frontier war against the Saracens. In Castile, during the twelfth century, there was formed, upon the model of the Templars, the knightly orders of St. James, Alcantara, and Calatrava; in

Knightly Orders Founded Portugal was formed the order of Aviz. These orders proved a splendid weapon against the Moorish power; but the stimulus to the movement of political and religious ideas which they provided largely contributed to the formation of that spirit of militant fanaticism which became a source of temporary strength to Spain, but eventually a cause of permanent weakness.

The most important feature of the thirteenth century in Spain was the rapid and destructive overthrow of the Almohad power in Andalusia, where the kingdom of Granada was the only surviving remnant of the Moorish states. Castile came definitely to the head of the Iberian kingdoms as soon as it had collected its forces and secured for itself the united aid of the other kingdoms of the peninsula; but the journey to this goal had been long and toilsome. The Emperor Alfonso VII. of Castile during his restless life had taken up arms now as the friend of the petty Moslem states, now as the ally of the hard-pressed Almoravides, always keeping one object before himself, the weakening of Spanish Islam and its final overthrow by a vigorous onslaught. The interference of the Almohads in Andalusian affairs entirely thwarted his plans. The last

WANING OF THE MOORISH POWER IN SPAIN

campaign, in the year 1157, miscarried, and the emperor died in the Muradal pass during his retreat. Unfortunately for Christian Spain, Alfonso had divided his kingdom between his two sons; the one, Sancho III., obtained Castile, while the other, Ferdinand II., received Leon with the adjoining territory. The consequence was a series of wars between the Christian states, which allowed Portugal to secure its complete independence.

Sancho III. was preparing to assume the title of emperor, and would, perhaps, have succeeded in maintaining the supremacy of Castile, had not his untimely death left his three-year-old son, Alfonso VIII.—or IX.; by Castilian reckoning he was the third of this name—upon the throne. A period of the wildest confusion began. The most distinguished of the noble families of Castile, those of Castro and Lara, attempted to secure the guardianship of the child for themselves. As they looked everywhere for allies, the other Christian rulers and even the Saracens became involved in the struggle. The pernicious power which the feudal nobles had gained now became apparent for the first time in all its fatal force. It was only when the young king became strong enough to seize the reins of the empire that the disorganised kingdom was brought into some kind of order; hitherto it had been protected against the attacks of the Almohads rather by the efforts of the knightly orders than by its own power. But the dissension between the Christian states did not cease then; even the intervention of the Pope, with threats of interdict, did not accelerate the union of the Christian states in the face of the

The Pope's Efforts for Union

ever-increasing peril of the Almohads. Alfonso the Noble, of Castile, vigorously prosecuted the war against the Almohads so far as his struggles with his Christian neighbours permitted him; but the confusion rose to its highest point when the flower of the Castilian army fell in the battle of Arlarcos in 1195 and when the Almohad army appeared before Toledo in the next year. Necessity, at length, became a spur to greater unity. The Roman

Church, which had hitherto displayed and increased its power chiefly by its insistence on due respect for marriage, now took in hand the difficult task of uniting the Christian states for common action against the Almohads. It seemed, for example, an almost impossible undertaking to bring the sister kingdoms

Holy War Against the Christians

of Castile and Leon to reason, so deep'y had the venom of blind hatred permeated both. The plan formed by Sancho VII of Navarre of getting possession of the North of Spain with the help of the Almohads, and as their vassal, shows what was to be expected of the Christian princes. However, in the ensuing turmoil Sancho lost his Basque provinces to Castile. Alfonso the Noble had no sooner succeeded in restoring better relations among the princes than he began a policy that was desperate in appearance, but promised the most brilliant results in the event of success. It was apparently undertaken with the knowledge and concurrence of Pope Innocent III. By making repeated incursions into Andalusia, Alfonso so enraged the Almohad ruler, Mohammed, that the latter at length proclaimed a holy war against the Christians, and brought over an innumerable host from North Africa.

Now was the time to see whether Alfonso's calculations had been correct. If he succeeded in uniting the whole power of Spain for the moment under himself, he might reckon on victory, and Andalusia would fall into the hands of Castile. If his attempt failed, he would lose at least the southern portion of his kingdom, and the leadership of the Christian states would fall definitely to Aragon. Fortune declared on this occasion for Alfonso. The envoys of Rome succeeded in rousing in Spain a fiery Crusading fever, which ultimately no prince could venture to oppose. Warriors anxious to fight for the faith streamed in from France as well. At Navas de Tolosa, near the upper Guadalquivir, the confederate Christian army met the Almohads and overthrew them with dreadful slaughter in 1212.





THE CONQUEST OF THE LAST MOORISH KINGDOM IN SPAIN
 Granada was the last unconquered part of the Mohammedan Empire, which for many years had been so great a menace to Spain, and its conquest undertaken with great enthusiasm by the Spaniards, was passionately desired. For a long time it held out and succeeded in maintaining its independence, but in 1492 it was overthrown by Ferdinand the Catholic.



THE UNIFICATION OF SPAIN AND THE LAST DAYS OF THE MOORS

THE fate of Andalusia was now decided, although the conquest of this extensive district occupied ten years, and a remnant of the Moorish power continued to maintain its position in Granada. Immediately upon the death of Alfonso the Noble, in 1241, further progress was stopped by quarrels about the succession. However, Alfonso's immediate successors died, and the throne finally went to Ferdinand the Holy, son of the king of Leon. Upon the death of his father this ruler reunited the kingdoms of Leon and Castile in 1230. The gloomy period of war between the two kingdoms was thereby concluded, and the Castilian kingdom securely founded.

At last it was possible to reap the fruits of the victory of Navas de Tolosa. The Almohads could not recover from their defeat. Their power grew weaker every year, owing to revolts in Andalusia and quarrels concerning the succession. Thus no permanent resistance to the Castilian arms could be even contemplated.

Cordova in the Hands of Ferdinand
In the year 1236 the old caliph capital, Cordova, fell into Ferdinand's hands, though a vigorous attempt to raise the siege was made by the leader of the Andalusian Moors, Motawakkel, a descendant of Beni Hud of Saragossa. After the death of Motawakkel, the best of the Moors gathered round Mohammed ben Alahmar, the son of a noble Andalusian family. He established himself in the mountains of Granada, and succeeded in founding a kingdom which was destined to endure for some time. Mohammed recognised Ferdinand's suzerainty, and even joined with him in the conquest of Seville; he thus contrived to avert the storm that threatened his embryo state.

Murcia also became tributary to Ferdinand in the year 1243, but was unable to maintain this semi-independent position for any length of time. Populous Seville offered the most stubborn resistance, and was

not conquered till the year 1248. Valencia had been taken by Aragon ten years previously, and the Portuguese had possessed themselves of Algarve, so that of the Mohammedan Empire, which fifty years before had been such a menace to Spain, there remained only Granada, which still, however, displayed surprising vitality, Murcia, and the unimportant state of Niebla. A large part of the Andalusian Moors, especially the inhabitants of Seville and other towns, emigrated, while the country population remained for the time being. The growing Spanish nation speedily repopulated the towns.

Failure of Moorish Revolt
As early as the year 1263 the Andalusian towns, at the desire of the Emperor Alfonso, formed a confederacy, a *hermandad*, for mutual protection against Granada, the prince of which state had called in auxiliaries from Morocco, and was attempting to secure his complete independence with the further support of Murcia and Niebla. The Moorish revolt failed; the crafty ruler of Granada succeeded, by timely negotiation, in preserving his relations with Castile; but Murcia and Niebla were now incorporated into the Castilian kingdom. This state of affairs was to continue for two centuries.

Visionary Ideas of Alfonso
At first it seemed as if the victorious career of the Castilian monarchs would carry them even beyond the Straits of Gibraltar: Alfonso X., who succeeded his father, Ferdinand, in the year 1252, made upon several occasions large preparations for an attack upon Morocco. But the unfavourable financial condition of Castile, resulting from the many wars of conquest—Alfonso had tried in vain to improve affairs by depreciating the coinage—barred these ambitious projects. Finally, Alfonso's visionary ideas of making good his claim to the duchy of Swabia, and of gaining the crown of the holy

Roman emperor, diverted Castilian policy from its natural course. Alfonso attained no real success, and shortly before his death, in 1284, had the mortification of seeing King Peter III, of Aragon take advantage of the revolt of Sicily against Charles of Anjou to seize that rich island. Aragon had already opened the road to Italy by its conquest of the Balearic Islands in the year 1229. But even without these great political projects of Alfonso the period of conquest was bound to come to a temporary close. The time was drawing on for a definite partition of power between the feudal nobles and the king, a crisis through which every rising state in the Middle Ages had to pass.

It was evident that this struggle would not be easy or capable of any speedy termination. The attempt of Alfonso X. to unify the internal administration of his kingdom by issuing a common legal code had met with such determined opposition that he was obliged to abandon the idea. The king at length found a number of his nobles, under the leadership of the Lara, united with the rulers of Granada in open revolt against him.

Fortunately, Alfonso found an earnest friend in King Jaime of Aragon. This ruler knew the nobility; the conflict which was breaking out for the first time in Castile had already been fought out before his time in Aragon. Peter II. of Aragon (1196-1213), in order to secure his heritage, and to break down the influence which the nobles exercised over the choice of a king, had formally received his kingdom as a fief from Pope Innocent III., and by this desperate measure had attained to his end in 1204.

The nobles of Aragon had, naturally, not been pacified by this means. King Jaime's opinion of them is shown by his words to Alfonso X. : " Two orders in the state you must especially cherish and

The Castilian Kingdom in Confusion promote : the clergy and the inhabitants of the cities and towns ; for these love God more than do the knights,

who are more inclined than any other order to revolt against their lord." At length, even Alfonso's son, Sancho, raised the banner of revolt, so that, upon the death of the king, the Castilian kingdom was in the greatest confusion. Sancho IV. (1284-95) made an unfortunate attempt to play off the Haro family, to which

he showed special favour, against the rest of the nobility; the insatiable greed and the ingratitude of his protégés soon placed him in a most embarrassing position.

This difficulty seemed to be further increased upon Sancho's death, when his son, Ferdinand IV., who was still a minor, came to the throne, and his mother, Maria de Molina, undertook the regency. However, Maria de Molina showed greater insight than Sancho ; instead of depending on the feudal nobles, who were invariably false, she turned to the towns of Castile for support. Confederations of towns, the first of which had been founded by Alfonso X., among the towns of Andalusia now came into being in all the provinces. With their help Maria de Molina obtained the recognition of her son's supremacy and of that of her grandson, Alfonso XI., after her son's death, in 1312.

It was only the influence of this extraordinary woman which averted a state of absolute anarchy, as is shown by the fact that after her death, in the year 1321, the kingdom fell into hopeless dissension. Only

The Bold Step of the Young King when Alfonso XI., in 1325, at the age of fourteen, seized the reins of government with a strong hand did the grievous state of affairs begin to improve. An immense army from Morocco crossed the straits in the year 1340, only to be confronted by the united power of the Castilian people at Salado, and to be utterly defeated. After a long siege, Algeciras, a town which had been one of the main gates for African invasion into Spain, fell into the power of Alfonso. During a vain attempt to wrest Gibraltar from the power of Granada the king died in camp of the plague in 1350.

In Peter I., the young son of Alfonso XI., there came to the throne of Castile one of those personalities which destiny raised up in different countries as the special champions of the royal power. Peter, who speedily justified his nickname of the Cruel, was not one of those natures which make their way openly by force of arms. He employed the weapons of craft, and, when needful, of treachery, in his struggle to assert the power of the throne, both against the nobles and also against the towns, which had shown increasing independence since the time of Maria de Molina. Peter did not succeed in finally attaining to his

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object, as did Louis XI. of France, a man of very similar character, a century later. The sole reason was that Peter was not a man of stern and cold determination; all his cunning plans were hampered or ruined by his irritability and his wild explosions of anger. The flaw in his character was all the more fatal to him, because no less a personage than his half-brother, Henry of Trastamare, appeared at the head of the opposition.

Henry was a man who had displayed great tenacity and acuteness in the course of his chequered career, and his strong character assured him the unswerving adherence of his followers. Peter's unhappy marriage with Blanche of Bourbon, his relations with Donna Maria Padilla, whose children he finally legitimised, his malicious and ruthless behaviour towards all whom he mistrusted, gradually alienated every class of the people, and nullified any good effects that absolute government had produced. It was in this contest that Edward the Black Prince intervened, with disastrous effects on the finances of Aquitaine, and consequently on the position of the Plantagenet rulers.

Intervention of the Black Prince After repeated failures Henry of Trastamare defeated his brother on March 14th, 1369, at Montiel, and during the subsequent negotiations he treacherously slew with his own hand this master in the art of treachery.

As Henry II. the victor could maintain his position (1369-79) only by abolishing a large number of innovations of Peter that had greatly benefited the country, and by liberally dividing the country among his followers. His successor, John I. (1379-90), had to recover the lands which had been distributed, in order to avoid the obvious results of such a policy. He found the task difficult. As the next king, Henry III. (1390-1406), continued this policy, the royal power gradually attained to great eminence and passed triumphantly through a severe crisis on the death of Henry in 1406.

Although his successor, John II., was but two years old, the struggles and confusion which had hitherto been inevitable were now avoided. Unfortunately, the feebleness of John's rule (1406-54) brought this progressive movement to a standstill. Henry IV. (1454-74) was wholly in the hands of his favourites, and well deserved his nickname of Help-

less. Under his rule all the ground which the crown had gained in its struggles against feudalism seemed lost. In the year 1465 civil war broke out. When the young "Infant" Alfonso, who had been set up in opposition to Henry, died in 1468, the eyes of all the discontented turned towards Isabella, the high-spirited

sister of the king and heiress of the throne. This princess, against her brother's will, gave her hand in marriage to the heir of Aragon, Ferdinand, in the year 1469, and thereby made the first step towards the union of the two most powerful kingdoms of the Pyrenean peninsula, a step of incalculable importance for the future of Spain. When Henry died, on December 11th, 1474, this union had come within the bounds of possibility.

The history of Aragon from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century offers, in general, a more cheerful picture than that of Castile. The rulers of the country proved able to pursue with great success a far-reaching policy, to which they were impelled by the fortunate position of their country. It is a characteristic fact that in all their more important undertakings the kings could rely upon the Catalonian portion of their dominions, while the nobles and towns of inland Aragon conducted themselves quite in the manner of the Castilian feudal nobles.

We have already related how Peter II. attempted to put a stop to the interference of the different orders in settling the succession by accepting his kingdom as a fief from the Pope. His feudal obligations did not prevent him from appearing as an opponent of the papacy, which had helped him in the war against the Albigenses, in which he lost his life. His successor, Jaime I., concluded the subjugation of Valencia during his long rule. The native population remained, for the most part, in the country, and continued to till the fruitful Huerta of Valencia as the vassals of the Catalonian nobles, who had taken the chief part in the conquest.

Attempted Expulsion of the Moors Then arose those friendly relations between the great nobles and the industrious Moors which came to be so important later on.

All early attempts to expel the Mohammedans entirely were frustrated by the decisive attitude of the feudal lords who held fiefs in Valencia. Under Peter III. (1276-85), the successor of Jaime, the

transmarine policy of the kingdom assumed great importance, for there remained nothing more to conquer in the Spanish peninsula. The people of Sicily had shaken off the rule of Charles of Anjou, the creature of Rome, in the bloody Vespers of the year 1282; they offered the crown to Peter III. as King Manfred's

The Sea Power of Catalonia

son-in-law, and on his arrival with a strong Aragonese army received him with joy as their liberator and saviour. Upon this occasion also Catalonia alone bore the cost of the war; and we may estimate the strength of its sea-power from the triumphant resistance which Peter III. and his bold admiral, Roger de Lauria, offered to the overpowering numbers of his allied enemies, among whom were the Pope and the King of France.

Aragon, as we have said, took but little share in the trouble or the glory of this war, but continued its regular development as an inland state. The ostensible object of this internal policy was to weaken the evil effects of the feudal system by the union of all peace-loving classes, without having recourse to the dubious means of an absolute monarchy. It is a process worthy of observation, though at times it conflicted with the foreign policy of the kings.

The towns stood at the head of the movement. Their representatives met in *juntas*, which were especially concerned with the maintenance of the public safety, and sent their delegates once every year to Saragossa. At the head of this organisation, which was found to work admirably, stood the justiciar of Aragon, to whose sovereign power even the king had to bow upon occasion. As a matter of fact, this republican state had no real need of a royal chief. Peter III. learned of how small account the king was there in the year 1283, at Tarragona, when he appealed to the classes of the Aragon people for help against the formidable preparations of

France, and instead of receiving money and troops, met nothing but hostility, threats, and demands for fresh privileges.

The evolution of Catalonia into a great maritime power proceeded also for some time without any help from the kings and even against their desires. When Jaime II. gave up Sicily, as the price of a final and lasting peace with the Pope and with France, his brother Frederic kept possession of the island with the help of the

Sicilians and the Aragonese forces on the spot, although Jaime supported his enemy with troops and ships. In return for Sicily Jaime had received Sardinia and Corsica as a fief from the Pope. Although Frederic continued to retain Sicily, Jaime had no scruples about seizing these islands in the year 1322.

The real struggle, in this case, was carried on by Barcelona, which provided most of the munitions of war, against the powerful commercial town of Pisa, which then lost its possessions in Sardinia. The place of this decayed trading town, at the mouth of the Arno, was taken by its old rival, Genoa, which energetically took up the war with Catalonia for the mastery of the Western Mediterranean and for the possession of Sardinia, which that mastery carried with it. The war, in which both sides suffered heavily, was at length closed by a peace of exhaustion, and Catalonia succeeded through the utmost exertions in retaining possession of Sardinia.

Up to this time the affairs of Aragon had run parallel to those of Castile. The Catalonians carried out a far-reaching

Healthy Development of Aragon

maritime and commercial policy in close connection with the monarchy; but in Aragon the same struggle between feudalism and absolutism which had ravaged Castile went on, with this difference, that the development of Aragon had been sounder and healthier, as is shown by the fact that the nobles and the towns were generally united against the king.

At the time when Peter the Cruel was fighting against feudalism in Castile, the ruler of Aragon, Peter IV., found himself involved in a struggle with the people of Aragon, who were joined by the people of Valencia, while the Catalonians stood aloof from the turmoil. Just as in Castile, the leadership of the nobles against the king was taken by an Infant of the royal house. Peter IV. was more fortunate than his Castilian namesake; he defeated the barons of Aragon and Valencia in open battle at Epila, and by cleverly utilising this success, he established, in 1348, the predominance of the royal power in Aragon.

Peace, however, was not definitely assured, as was seen under Peter's successors; the continual wars for the possession of Sardinia and of Sicily, which was reunited to Aragon, afforded many an opportunity to the feudal nobility for creating the usual disturbances

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and defying the power of the throne. The dominion of Aragon over Sardinia had no sooner been firmly established than the ancient family of the counts of Barcelona became extinct upon the death of King Martin in 1411, and quarrels concerning the succession introduced fresh confusion. Fortunately, the different orders in the state soon agreed to raise to the throne the Infant Ferdinand of Castile, a grandson of Pedro IV.

Ferdinand I. made it clear during his short rule (1412-16) that he proposed to increase the power of the crown by every possible means. His successor, Alfonso V. (1416-58), gave, on the contrary, his most assiduous attention to the foreign policy of the country, and after a struggle lasting twenty-two years, obtained possession of the kingdom of Naples. The defence of his new acquisitions and the continual wars with Genoa kept the king on active service until his death. The close connection with Italy was not without favourable results for the countries of the Spanish peninsula; a breath of that spirit which was bringing forth the Renaissance in Italy came over to the Iberian coasts, and was welcomed at the king's court and among the rich citizens of Barcelona. Even under King Martin the effeminacy of the court gave great vexation to the rude nobility.

The citizens of Barcelona had almost the entire maritime traffic of Catalonia in their hands; they really sustained the ambitious foreign policy of the country, and it is, therefore, a remarkable fact that they should have lived for centuries on such excellent terms with the royal power. This fact is not only good evidence for the statesmanlike conduct of the rulers, but also shows that the successors of the old counts of Barcelona considered their interests as involved in the good or ill fortune of the city. It was only under John II. (1458-79), the successor of Alfonso V., that Barcelona became hostile to the crown, and the immediate cause of this change of attitude was a series of unhappy events in the royal family. After the old dynasty had become extinct the little kingdom of Navarre had fallen to Carlos, John's eldest son by his first marriage, and heir apparent to the throne of Aragon. But John's second wife, the Castilian Joanna Henrietta, worked with unscrupulous energy to win the kingdoms of Aragon

and Navarre for her own son, Ferdinand. The consequence was civil war, which did not terminate even with the sudden death of Carlos, who was most probably poisoned, in the year 1461. Shortly afterwards, the same fate overtook his sisters, to whom his claims had descended. Barcelona especially prosecuted the war with the energy of despair, called in foreign princes to its aid, and could not be brought back to its allegiance until the year 1472. It is difficult to say whether the town would have developed into an independent state or not; but the union of Aragon and Castile, which Queen Joanna brought about by the marriage of her son Ferdinand to Isabella of Castile, naturally gave a new turn to Spanish politics, unfavourable to the aims of Barcelona.

Joanna's project of uniting Navarre and Aragon was not immediately successful. The fortunes of the little Pyrenean state up to the fifteenth century can be sketched in a few words, inasmuch as there is no extensive foreign policy to be traced, and the internal development of the country ran a course parallel to that of the rest of Spain. The advance of the Castilians southward excluded Navarre from any share in the spoils of the Moors; its princes had to satisfy their ambition in little frontier wars or marriage alliances. After the dynasty of Champagne became extinct, Navarre was for some time (1285-1328) united to France, but recovered its independence when the house of Valois came to the French throne.

A remarkable parallel to Peter the Cruel of Castile, or rather a caricature of that unscrupulous and autocratic monarch, is seen in Charles II., the Bad (1349-1387). His successor, Charles the Noble, was fully occupied in undoing the mischief which his predecessor had caused. Charles the Noble was succeeded in 1441 by his daughter Blanche, who had married John of Aragon; it was their son who came to so unhappy an end in the quarrel about the succession in Aragon. However, Blanche's mother undertook the government of the kingdom, and left the country to her nephew, from whom it finally passed to the Count of Perigord, Jean d'Albret. Thereupon the ruler of Castile and Aragon, Ferdinand the Catholic, made a vigorous attack, and united Upper Navarre to his own kingdom in 1512. The portion of Lower

**Union of
Aragon and
Castile**

**Spain's
Effeminate
Court**

**Ferdinand
Enlarges his
Kingdom**

Navarre situated north of the Pyrenees remained in the possession of Jean d'Albret. After the county of Roussillon had passed out of the hands of the kings of Aragon into the power of France the best and most natural frontier for Spain was established; the growing monarchy began steadily to remove the feudal dissensions that divided the country. The foundations for the union of Aragon and Castile had been laid by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella in the year 1469, but there were difficulties in the way of its completion: complete incorporation was wholly to Ferdinand's interest, but was not desired by the people either of Aragon or of Castile. Isabella was a true Castilian, and well able to maintain the rights of her position against her husband. Herein she found herself vigorously supported by her subjects, who looked with burning jealousy upon any encroachment of Aragon. Gradually, however, better relations came about between the parties, and the union was cemented by common inclination. To this fact, above all others, is due the permanent union of all the Spanish-speaking states.

After the conquest of Andalusia by the Castilians, the existence of the kingdom of Granada depended solely upon the disunion of Spain. So long as several Christian powers existed side by side in the peninsula, and continued to wear one another out by their continual quarrels, so long was there room for the little Moslem state in the mountains of Andalusia, and its alliance was as much desired as its hostility was dreaded. The admirable geographical situation of the last Moorish kingdom favoured the far-sighted policy which its rulers successfully pursued for a long time. The flourishing tract of Granada formed the heart of the kingdom. It is surrounded by precipitous mountain-walls; above it tower the snow-crowned

The Proud Fortress of Granada battlements of the Sierra Nevada, and it is well watered by the brooks and streams which flow down from the mountain ranges. On this frontier, dominated by the eminences which bear the castles of the Alhambra and Generalife, rises the fortified city of Granada, before whose proud walls many a hostile army has recoiled. From the southern harbours of the country a glimpse can be caught of the coast of Morocco, the warlike

inhabitants of which were always ready to cross the straits as allies of the kings of Granada, and even manifested a desire at times to conquer the little Spanish kingdom for themselves. In such cases the regular policy of Granada was to buy the help of one of the Christian states by paying tribute, and to play it off against their inconvenient fellow-believers from Africa. Around the fortresses of Gibraltar, Algeciras, and Tarifa, where invaders from Morocco entered the peninsula, the forces of Castile-Granada and North Africa fought many times in different combinations, while the kingdom of Granada, which nearly corresponds in extent to the modern Spanish province of that name, maintained to the end its natural boundaries.

The state was not, however, a closely organised unity. Feudal tendencies prevailed here, as in Christian Spain, and the governors of individual districts often held independent power. In particular, Malaga, which was divided from the vega of Granada by precipitous mountains, and Guadix, on the east of the capital, constantly and successfully defied their suzerain during the early history of the kingdom. Not, however, through its favourable position alone was Granada able to maintain its independence for so long a time. The kingdom was the most thickly populated and the most highly civilised of all the states of the peninsula. The further south the Christian conquerors forced their way, the more did the flower of the Moorish people retreat into the mountain fastnesses on the south-east, the only refuge that remained open to their religion and their social institutions.

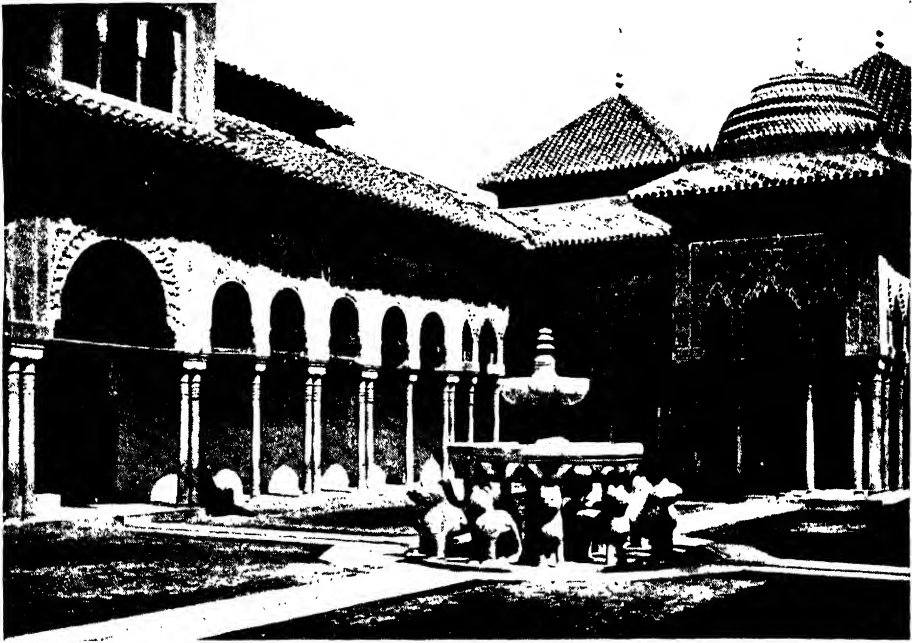
The most skilful representatives of the arts, the sciences, and the trades from the different towns of Andalusia, Valencia and Saragossa, pressed into Granada, and raised town and kingdom to such a height of civilisation and prosperity as it had never attained in times when the Moors had freedom and territory enough and to spare. The husbandmen of Andalusia, who also flocked in a body to the mountains, put forth all their experience and skill to wrest the utmost measure from the land. Thanks to their industry, the over-populated district was never forced to depend upon foreign supplies for its food. The capital was a brilliant and busy manufacturing town, containing

THE UNIFICATION OF SPAIN

probably half a million inhabitants at the height of its prosperity; riches of immense value were collected there. The king's revenue was correspondingly great.

Thus, Granada, rich and populous, was a dangerous opponent of the Christian states. The concentration of large numbers in so small a district enabled the rulers to take the field with a considerable army in a short space of time. The overflowing treasury enabled them to equip their troops in the best possible manner, or, if policy so dictated, to buy peace from the needy Christian princes by the payment of large sums. In Castile

Granada upon the fall of the Almohads, maintained itself upon the throne till the disappearance of the kingdom. Mohammed succeeded during his long reign (1232-1272) in protecting his little kingdom from the danger which immediately threatened it. Owing to the dissensions prevailing in Christian Spain, it was easy for his successors not only to preserve their independence but also to come forward frequently as the trusted allies of contending parties and states, and thereby to advance the standing of their country. However, as we have already observed, Granada itself was not free from



THE FAMOUS COURT OF LIONS IN THE ALHAMBRA CASTLE AT GRANADA

especially, every rebel and man with a grievance turned by preference to the king of Granada, who was always ready to devote troops and money towards increasing the confusion of the enemy's kingdom. Still more naturally, the Moors who had remained in Christian districts looked upon the last Moslem ruler as their natural protector. And on their side the people of Granada could count, in times of danger, upon embarrassing their enemies and obliging them to retreat by causing an insurrection of the Moors in their rear. The Nafrid dynasty, which, under Mohammed I., had gained possession of

disputes about the succession. At the outset of the fourteenth century, for instance, the general, Osman, was the real ruler. The country was largely indebted to Yusuf I. (1333-1354) for advancement in civilisation. During the fourteenth century the prosperity of Granada was at its zenith. It seemed as if the decaying Moorish people were determined to show the world what splendid possibilities lay within it, and how honourably it had filled its place in the history of mankind. But even at this eleventh hour there is no trace of any tendency to fusion of the Christian and

Moorish civilisations. In the East the horizon was rosy with the dawn of the Renaissance, while in the far West the noblest star of the Oriental world of thought sank into the darkness, leaving not a trace behind. It is true, to use another metaphor, that the inheritance of Moslem civilisation in Spain was scattered far and wide, and that here and there a gleam of the old brilliancy reappears. But no one was found to take up

**Granada's
Political
Decadence**

that heritage as a whole, and to take it further towards perfection. At the end of the fourteenth century Granada begins to decline from its high political position. Whether the material prosperity of the kingdom also declined is a question that cannot be settled, owing to the lack of information on the subject. Complete destruction threatened when disturbances broke out under the government of Abu Nasr. The king attempted to put a stop to these by crushing the Beni Serradsch, the most powerful family of the feudal nobility. Legend has made use of these occurrences, a fact which shows how deep an impression they must have made upon the people, which ascribed to them most of the blame for the approaching ruin. However, the king by no means destroyed the Beni Serradsch, for they again appear as playing a part in the disputes which followed with the royal power.

Under Abul Hasan (1462-1482) the kingdom was shaken by dissension within the royal family. At the same time the rulers of united Christian Spain were making their preparations for striking a decisive blow at this remnant of the Moorish power. In the beginning of the year 1462 a band of Christians succeeded in taking the important Alhama, which was situated on the southern boundary of the vega of Granada, and commanded the granary of the country. The king made a desperate attempt to reconquer

the fortress, but at that moment a palace revolution broke out in the capital, and one of the sons of Abul Hasan, the prince

Abu Abd Allah, or Boabdil, seized the throne. A civil war thereupon broke out, which Ferdinand I. cleverly turned to his own advantage. Thanks to his activity, the resistance of Granada, though very vigorous in certain quarters, became disorganised and futile, and the Christian arms made great progress. The confusion

continued after Abul Hasan's death until, in the year 1487, the whole of the western half of the kingdom, including Malaga, was in the hands of the Spaniards. At length only the capital held out against the attacks of the Christians, where Abu Abd Allah prepared to resist to the last. Granada did not fall till the beginning of the year 1492. With it collapsed the last remnant of the power of Islam in Spain. Some small portion of the Moors emigrated. The majority remained on the spot, to drain the cup of tribulation to the dregs in after years.

The overthrow of Granada was but the culmination of the admirable domestic policy of the Spanish rulers, who had succeeded in using the advantages of their position for the establishment of the units of Spain and the absolute monarchy. The union of Castile and Aragon had given irresistible power to the crown, while those parties that were hostile to the throne, the feudal nobles in particular, were unable to combine for common action while the struggle of races continued. In Castile, which was now the leading power in

Spain, there was a complete and decisive revolution. Queen Isabella, in her struggle against feudalism, availed herself of two allies, the burgher classes and the Church. The latter was strengthened by the spirit of fanaticism which the Moorish wars had aroused, and finally succeeded in pushing so far to the front that, in Spain, Church and State were fused into one indivisible whole, a result which eventually caused incalculable harm to the welfare of the Spanish people.

For the moment, the towns rendered indispensable aid in the struggle against the nobles, whose pride had known no bounds since the time of that feeble king, Henry IV. The natural interests of the citizens brought them, on this occasion, into close union with the crown. According to the ancient Spanish custom, the towns of Castile formed a great confederation, the "sacred hermandad," which provided 2,000 men for police and militia duty, cleared the land of robbers and criminals in a short time, and so intimidated the rapacious nobility that many of the grandees themselves joined the Holy Brotherhood. The government at once profited by this success to introduce a general code of laws, doing away with numerous discordances of the "fueros."

**The Queen's
War with
Feudalism**

**Progress
of the
Christians**

THE UNIFICATION OF SPAIN

The queen, whose efforts were directed to the establishment of an absolute monarchy, did not propose to set the hermandad on a permanent footing. In the year 1498, the confederacy was dissolved, although a part of the police troops provided by the towns continued under arms.

A dangerous instrument in the hands of the feudal nobles were the three knightly orders of Santiago, Alcantara, and Calatrava. Their extraordinary wealth made their members, who were recruited from the nobility of the country, men of considerable power. The crown took this weapon from the nobles by permanently vesting the grand mastership in the king. Membership could, consequently, be conferred only by him, so that the vigorous

brought them into close connection with the clergy, whose help they bought by concessions of a most important kind, so that Spain eventually became the centre and stronghold of all the reactionary tendencies of ecclesiasticism. But the cause of this is hardly to be found in the nature or inclination of the Spanish rulers.

If the unity of Spain and of its people – a unity that had been so hardly won, after many failures – was to be preserved, if the discordant elements in the state were to be harmonised, and the irreconcilable elements expelled, it was necessary to unite all Spaniards by some spiritual bond. This bond it was necessary to preserve intact by every possible means. And the only possible unifying force was



THE CHIEF KNIGHTLY ORDERS OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

The first of the knightly orders shown in the above illustrations is that of Calatrava in Spain, which goes back to the year 1158. The order was dissolved in 1872, but one class was restored two years later. A Knight of St. Benedict of Aviz, in Portugal, is represented by the second figure, this order having been founded in 1147 and constituted by Pope Innocent III. in 1214. It is not known when the Order of St. James of the Sword, in Spain, depicted in the third illustration, was founded, but it is known to have been in existence in the year 1030, while the Order of Our Lady of Montesa, in Spain, a knight of which is represented in the last figure, was established in 1316 by Jacob II. of Aragon.

life of the military organisations faded into an empty show of court ceremonial. But it was not only by these circuitous ways that the crown, which now began to reap the fruit of its alliance with the Church, gained advantages for itself. It felt itself strong enough to undertake the revision of the proprietary rights of the nobles, and to demand the return of the alienated possessions of the crown.

In lieu of their property, titles and honours were freely bestowed upon all who had been thus deprived of their land; and the nobility were incited thereby to leave their lonely castles and enter the service of the king and live at his court, where these titles had at least some value. The aims of Isabella and her successors

to be found in the orthodox Church. Spain contained many powerful elements of disruption in the numerous Jews and Moors resident in the country. Hence the monarchy, struggling to make itself absolute, could not permit the Reformation to drive a wedge into the nation which should cleave its religious beliefs asunder, as happened later in the case of Germany. Religious innovations would have inspired the opponents of the monarchy with fresh and irresistible vitality, and the Pyrenean peninsula would have been threatened with a period of tumult and confusion, such as resulted in the Thirty Years' War in Germany. On the other hand, if success crowned the efforts to maintain unity of

religious belief, it was to be expected that the Spanish nationality would evolve into an organic whole, which would expel from Iberian ground all members of an alien faith—that is to say, every one of foreign race. Then it would be possible, with the help of the nation, to carry out those ambitious schemes of foreign policy which Ferdinand I. was already beginning to contemplate. What importance, in comparison with these considerations, had the cry for light and for intellectual freedom which rose in Spain, where a growing humanitarianism began to dispel the mists of stolid ignorance that had so long shrouded the peninsula? The Inquisition—originally instituted for the suppression of heresy—was nowhere so gladly received as in Spain, for the Spanish rulers, in advancing the Inquisition, were fighting for their own influence and for the preservation of the purity of the Spanish race. In vain did the feudal republicans of Aragon protest against the introduction of the courts of the Inquisition. Church and State were now united in invincible force against them. In Castile the Grand Inquisitor, Thomas de Torquemada, encouraged the spiritual courts since the year 1483, and during the period that he held office remorselessly consigned countless numbers to the stake; but it was not till later that the Inquisition attained to the widest scope of its pitiless activity.

It cannot be doubted that so cold and calculating a man as Ferdinand favoured the Inquisition, because its aims were in harmony with his own foreign policy. This policy now becomes of momentous and fatal import in the history of Spain. This policy it was that brought the kingdom, after a rapid and brilliant rise, to the extreme of degradation and weakness.

For centuries the Spanish people had kept one object before their eyes—an object that had guided them through all the devious windings of their history—

the expulsion of Islam and its adherents from Spanish soil. Other European nations had turned their attentions to new intellectual and economic problems, but no new ideal was possible or desirable for Spain so long as a Moorish banner floated over the battlements of an Iberian fortress. During centuries of warfare the states of the peninsula had worked towards this end. Body and mind had been constantly in action, the whole country had been turned into an armed camp, and thus a spirit of confidence in their cause had been aroused in the people, and a readiness to fight for the faith, a spirit which broke out with irresistible power in internecine quarrels whenever the war against the hereditary foe was interrupted by treaty of peace or armistice.



THE FIRST QUEEN OF SPAIN
Isabella of Spain, the first queen of that country, was the wife of Ferdinand V., whom she married in 1469. Born in 1451, she died in 1504. Columbus found in her a warm friend.

Now their old enemies were utterly cast down. The Spanish nation stood in gleaming array upon the shores of the straits which divide Africa from Europe, with nervous arm uplifted in menace. The decisive moment in the national life was at hand. If the nation declared the time of war to be past and gone, if they turned their united strength and energy to improve their country, which was far behind all others, if they took their part in those great intellectual movements which were passing over Europe, then they might look forward confidently to a prosperous future. But how paltry did this ideal seem compared with the past object of the Spanish national life! The people would not lay aside their shining arms and enter into industrial and commercial rivalry with the rest of the world. The rulers would not renounce those great and ambitious designs which must, indeed, have forced themselves unbidden upon their notice. Feudalism, which had been repressed with such difficulty, now had its revenge. It gave a special colouring to the policy of the nation. While the other nations of Europe were entering upon the modern age of industry, of powder and cannon, Spain, like the last of the knights

THE UNIFICATION OF SPAIN

errant, went out in search of adventures. The journey had a glorious beginning; but, like that of the immortal Don Quixote, it came to a piteous end. If Spain had desired to continue its previous policy, the next move would naturally have been to pursue the enemy across the straits, and to win back North Africa to Christendom. Attempts of this kind were actually made. Among them was the conquest of the town of Oran in the year 1509, and in after years Charles V.'s expedition against Tunis and Algiers. But North Africa was too difficult and uninviting a prey. Easier and more splendid tasks soon diverted the attention of Spain from a definite African policy. And yet Spain's position in the world would have been entirely altered if she had succeeded in bringing the Straits of Gibraltar within her dominions, and thus obtaining secure possession of the entrance to the Mediterranean.

Two other ideals drew the Spanish rulers to a far-reaching foreign policy. First, there was the dowry which Aragon's maritime power had brought to the united empire, the claims to Sicily and Naples. If these were acquired, Spain's position as a European power was assured. King Ferdinand's policy here gained its most brilliant success. Thanks to the military genius of the "gran capitán," Gonsalvo de Cordova, he succeeded in overthrowing the power of France, and in the year 1503 added the kingdom of the two Sicilies to the Spanish crown. After Ferdinand's death efforts in this direction passed the bounds of discretion when the Spanish monarchy became united to the Hapsburg empire.

The acquisition of Naples was due to Aragon; but, as fate would have it, Isabella of Castile had already taken a step fraught with consequences of immeasurable importance to the realisation of a Spanish foreign policy in the widest sense of the term. When the royal pair were holding their court in the Alhambra, shortly after the fall of Granada, one Christopher Columbus knelt before Isabella's throne, as a bronze statue on the banks of the Genil represents, and implored ships and men to explore the route across the Atlantic Ocean to the

far Indies. In granting this request, Isabella gained a boundless acquisition for her realm, and laid the foundations of a world-wide power. This was the special work of the queen.

Ferdinand's attention was fixed upon the Mediterranean; and he was, therefore, indifferent to an undertaking which must have seemed to him shadowy and chimerical compared with his own European designs. His behaviour towards Columbus after Isabella's death shows that he clung to his prejudices, in spite of the discoverer's success. Possibly Ferdinand, with his cool and calculating mind, formed a more accurate estimate of the real and permanent significance of the discovery and conquest of America than did most of his contemporaries, who were blinded by the dazzling riches of the new country.

It must have been a source of anxiety to him to see the stream of immigration that soon began to pour into the New World at a time when the whole might of Spain was required to carry out the policy imposed upon the country by her position as a European power. At that moment, too, the emigration of a large number of Moors had left room enough for new settlements on the Pyrenean peninsula, and necessitated the utmost exertions to maintain the civilisation of the regions that had belonged to Islam at a fairly high level.

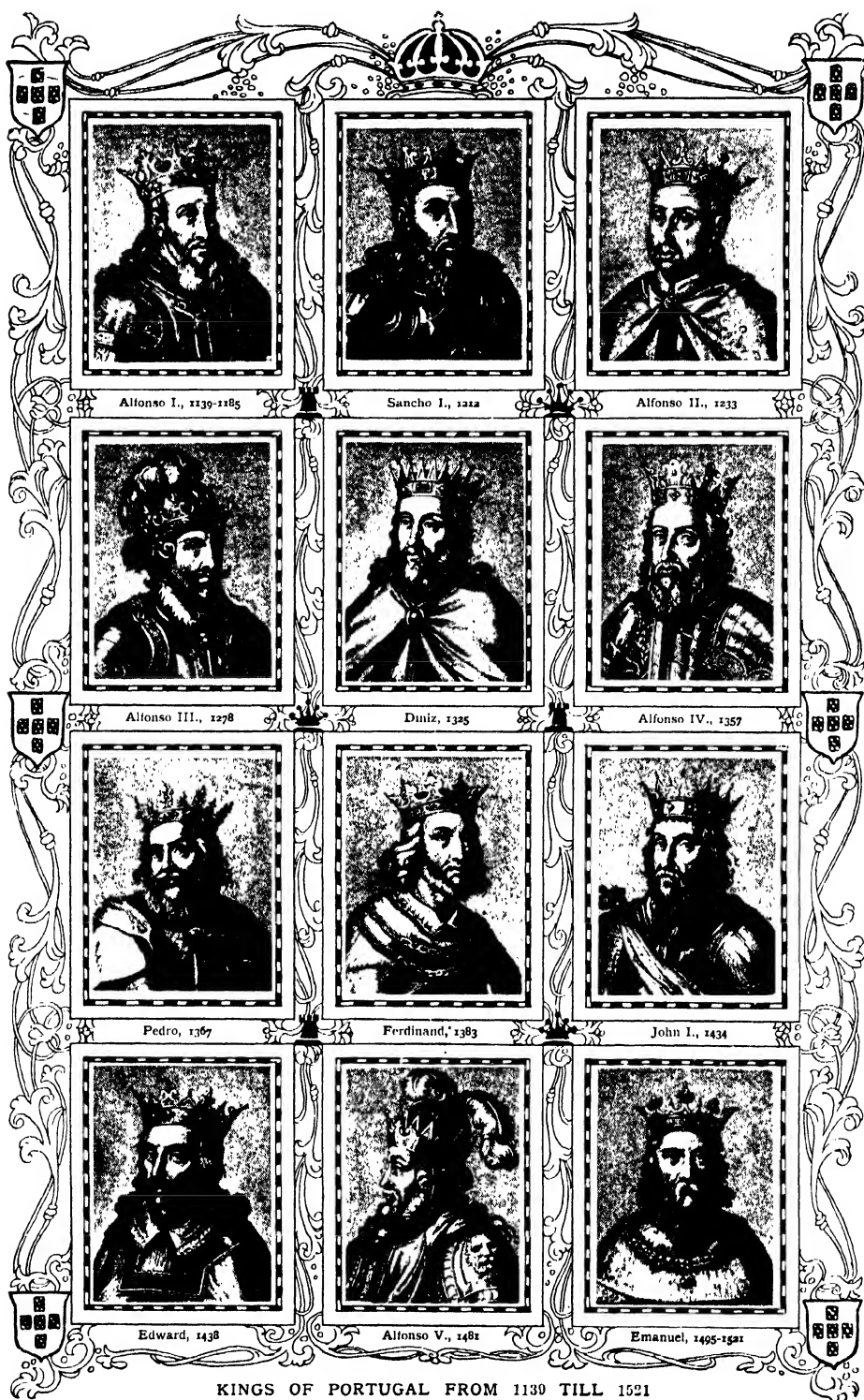
The treasures of America, which came over the Atlantic in abundance, were but a poor compensation for the strength that had left the country. Those treasures continued to attract fresh emigrants. Those who remained were excited by dreams of sudden wealth, and lost their capacity for hard and monotonous labour. Like an idle spendthrift who feeds upon the vain hope of some rich inheritance, the Spanish people gradually allowed the real sources of their prosperity to dry up, until they were forced to resign their proud position as leaders of Europe, in impotence and beggary.

This course of development did not immediately take place, and it needed the disastrous policy of Philip II. to bring it to full completion; but even in Ferdinand's time the first symptoms of the disease became apparent.



GONSALVO DE CORDOVA
Who overthrew the power of France, and in 1503 added the kingdom of the two Sicilies to the Spanish crown.

Columbus Appeals to the Queen



WESTERN
EUROPE IN
THE MIDDLE
AGES



DEVELOPMENT
OF THE
NATIONS:
THE SPANISH
PENINSULA V

PORTUGAL IN THE MIDDLE AGES

HER MARITIME TRIUMPHS & HER PITIFUL DECAY

THERE was a special reason for the support Isabella gave to the undertaking of Columbus. While Castile was pursuing its domestic policy, the little kingdom of Portugal, with persistent energy, had sought new fields for its activity. Its brilliant discoveries on the African coast had attracted universal attention, and, finally, the splendid voyage of Vasco da Gama had opened the sea route to East India. Jealousy and a desire of imitation was thereby aroused in Castile. Afterwards the Netherlands and England followed the example set. Thus far, Portugal was the pioneer of a maritime policy in Europe.

The usual dissensions and quarrels of crown against feudal nobles and clergy went on in Portugal, as they did everywhere else. But the tumult of these internal struggles was ever dominated by the roar of the sea, inviting the dwellers on the coast to plough its waves, and awaking a buoyant spirit of daring in their hearts. The sea is not only the natural frontier of Portugal, it is also the mainstay of the country: by the sea Portugal justified its independent existence and from it gained strength to maintain its independence against the power of the interior states.

Though in the South of Spain the kingdom of Granada held out for a century against all attacks, Portugal subdued that portion of Moorish territory which fell to its share immediately upon the collapse of the Almohad dynasty, at the battle of Navas de Tolosa. By the year 1250 the Portuguese kingdom had reached its present limits. Thus, while Castile was being wasted by internal feuds and wars with the Moors, Portugal was in a position which Spain did not reach till after the fall of Granada. The energy of this bold people then sought opportunities for fresh undertakings beyond the seas.

Extension of the Portuguese Kingdom

Portugal had been a naval power since 1180, when she won the first brilliant naval victory over the Moors; a royal navy was in existence under Sancho II. (1223-1245). The rich fisheries of the Portuguese coast, and, above all, the whaling industry, created a race of hardy seamen. In Portugal, to a much greater extent than in Spain, circumstances pointed the nation to the true sources of prosperity with unmistakable clearness. The Portuguese had already entered into commercial relations with the countries of Northern Europe, where they found excellent markets for the fish, wine, wax, and oil of their country, receiving woollen and cotton stuffs in exchange. In the fourteenth century the merchant ships of Portugal and Genoa met in the Straits of Gibraltar.

The enterprising merchants of Genoa and Pisa soon began to send their vessels to the mouth of the Tagus, where the advantages resulting from the commercial relations which had been established with the Mediterranean were fully recognised. Portugal was thus a happy, self-sufficing country, inhabited by a numerous population, which, in spite of its commercial occupations, was exceedingly warlike and well able to repel the occasional attacks of its Castilian neighbours. More than once the kings of Castile, when they had accomplished nothing by force of arms, approached their Portuguese cousins with requests for a loan out of that wealth which their flourishing trade brought home in inexhaustible abundance. It was only when the kings of Portugal abandoned their usual policy and attempted to extend their influence in the Pyrenean peninsula that the country experienced some of those evils which distracted the feudal states of the highlands. Ten years later the man was born who was to turn the eager spirit of the people into the new channel of activity, Prince Henry, who

Portugal's Wonderful Prosperity

afterwards received the honourable title of "the Navigator," a son of John I. of Portugal and a daughter of John of Gaunt, the progenitor of the house of Lancaster.

In order to afford the young princes of the royal house an opportunity for the performance of knightly deeds in time of peace, an expedition was made in the year

Portugal's Chivalry to the Front 1415 against the town of Ceuta, which then enjoyed a high measure of prosperity, thanks to its excellent situation, and was also the base of all expeditions from Morocco against the Pyrenean peninsula. It is highly probable that this was something more than a mere romantic adventure; the object was rather to protect trade passing through the Straits of Gibraltar, and to bring about the removal of the heavy toll which Ceuta levied on every passing ship. The preparations made for striking this blow ensured its entire success. When the people of Morocco attempted to retake the town, the chivalry of Portugal obtained an opportunity, as the king had desired, for the display of their prowess in arms to the benefit of their nation.

But among the warriors there was one upon whom the mysterious face of the African sphinx, that enigmatic look, which gave promise of new wonders, had made a deep impression, in spite of the uproar of battle. This was Prince Henry. From the day he first set foot on African soil he formed a firm resolution to solve the riddle of this sphinx, and to send forth ship after ship southward towards those legendary countries of which nought but vague rumours had come down from antiquity, and the treasures of which could not but fall to the man who was bold enough first to tread their shores. In the

Portugal in Search of New Lands year 1420 the first expedition which "the Infant" fitted out left the harbour of Lagos. Driven by storms, the mariners discovered far away in the ocean the little island of Porto Santo. Thence they reached Madeira in the same year. The discovery of this lovely island, where flourished the vine and sugar-cane and timber admirably adapted for ship-building, spurred them on to greater efforts. The Canary Islands, which had been

discovered by the Portuguese in 1335, had fallen, meanwhile, into other hands; it was now necessary to sail further southward along the African coast, and especially to round the formidable Cape Bojador, which threatened the seafarer both with real and imaginary terrors. It was twelve years before the adventure succeeded, in 1434.

Henry's death, in the year 1460, checked the adventurous spirit of the Portuguese discoverers for some time. A new impulse was given to discovery under John II. (1481-1495). After rounding the Cape of Good Hope, in the year 1486, Vasco da Gama sailed round the south of Africa and came to anchor on May 20th, 1498, in the harbour of Calicut, on the coast of India. An enormous region was thus opened to Portuguese activity, a region further increased by the discovery of Brazil in the year 1500. A great impulse to commerce and an extraordinary increase of wealth were the immediate results of the discoveries. For the best

The Blight of the Inquisition

part of a century the colonial ocean power was shared between Spain and Portugal, with the papal benediction, the Western Hemisphere being for the most part appropriate to Spain, and the Eastern to Portugal. In the long run, however, these enormous possessions proved a doubtful blessing. The pernicious desire to get rich rapidly and without labour seized on the whole people, who were not numerous enough, indeed, to colonise or to defend their new possessions. While the colonies were swarming with adventurers, and Portuguese navies dominated the Indian Ocean, the fertile fields of the mother country sank into desolation. The expulsion of the Moorish population, in the time of Manuel the Fortunate, or the Great (1495-1521), completed the decay of agricultural life which had already begun.

Soon afterwards the introduction of the Inquisition into Portugal arrested all further intellectual growth. Thus Portugal exhausted itself in the hour of its abundance even more quickly than Spain, which was larger and more capable of endurance. Both kingdoms passed through a common period of pitiful decay.

HENRI SCHURTZ



CRUSADERS SIGHTING JERUSALEM



♣ The Crusades ♣

AND WHAT THEY DID FOR EUROPE

THE BIRTH OF THE CRUSADING SPIRIT

THE Crusades may be regarded as the last throes of that great migratory movement which has modified and transformed Western Europe since the entrance of the Teutons into the clear light of history. The consolidation of the Frankish Empire and the downfall of the Teutonic Mediterranean states may seem to have terminated this process of migration, but the fact is that the period by no means ended with those events.

The invasion of the Arabs, even when the first deadly menace to the growth of Christian civilisation in Europe had been repelled by Leo the Isaurian in the East, and by Charles Martel in the West, introduced a constant element of fermentation into the West, notwithstanding its apparent solidarity.

The ordinary historical manuals are silent upon the fact that Rome was menaced by Saracen raids in 841 and 846, that Genoa was devastated in 935 and 993, that Pisa was captured in 1004 and 1011, that communication across the Alps was paralysed by these invaders for many decades, while they carried fire and sword to the neighbourhood of Lake Constance, and overran Hungary about 1092, starting from the Alps and the Adriatic.

The attempts of Western Europe to shake off this paralysing yoke are to be regarded as introductory to the Crusades, in which they were concentrated at the moment when the East, on which the victory of Leo the Isaurian had produced more permanent effects than that of Charles Martel, saw its mortal toe advancing in the last third of the eleventh century.

On the other hand, a Teutonic people appeared, advancing under the stress of a new migratory impulse. The Northmen again drove large masses of the population to leave their homes and seek new settlements elsewhere; their echeloned advance,

**Advance
of the
Northmen**

in connection with the western pressure against the Mohammedan barrier, may be regarded as the first territorial impulse towards a crusading movement; it was the return wave of a migration towards the south-east, by which the eastern empire was carried away in its final attempt to resume the attack against the infidels, a stream which did not spend its force before the middle of the thirteenth century.

A special sector has been already devoted to the raids of the Northmen, and the misery which they brought upon all the coasts of North-western and Western Europe in the ninth and tenth centuries has been already considered. Here, however, it is worth while to mention, for the sake of completeness, the manner in which these Viking voyages brought the furthest shores of the southern sea within the purview of western ambitions. The enormous range of their expeditions, which spread from Vineland to the steppes of Sarmatia and to the shores of the Levant, created a new and extended horizon for the Crusades, infinite in comparison with the narrow outlook of previous centuries; this horizon for the eastern half of the Old World was further extended to the Sunda Islands and to China, through contact with the science and the commerce of the Arabs. This extension of geographical knowledge is the most remarkable result

of the crusading movement, and is in immediate connection with the widening of the intellectual horizon. It was chiefly the voyages of the Northmen which enabled the western world thus to extend its view.

The advance of the Northmen to Palestine can be traced almost contemporaneously with the appearance of the Varangians in Byzantium. The usual road to Constantinople, the "Austrvegr," down the rivers of Russia, which led far to the South through Scandinavian territory, was the obvious road to the Holy Land for pilgrims; they were able to travel in their own vessels to the rapids of the Dnieper, from which point they continued under Byzantine escort. This road was not closed until the Latin conquest of 1204 cut the connection of the Russian principalities with Byzantium. On the other hand, princes and nobles who could fit out large fleets followed the "Vestrvægr" through the ocean and between the Pillars of Hercules.

For a long period bands of Vikings occupied points on the western coasts as ports of call to secure this maritime route. Such were the islands at the mouth of the Rio Tinto and off Cadiz, the harbours of Brittany, and even those of Normandy, which was colonised by their kinsmen. The road for the peaceful solitary pilgrim who travelled on foot was the "Sudrvægr," through the Alpine passes and the Apostolic City, which did not join the sea route east or west until the harbours of Italy were reached. This was the main pilgrim route from Central Europe to Jerusalem. It was largely used every year by northern pilgrims, as is shown by a visitors' book of that date from the monastery of Reichenau. This book shows a total of 10,000 names within two and a half years for this one spot, a striking testimony to the extent, in the early Middle Ages, of pilgrim traffic to the South and East.

St. Olaf and His Great Brother

From the eleventh century onwards the poetry and legend of the North points more definitely to the Holy Land. To this land legend transfers the death of the missionary Olaf Trygvasson, who fell in the battle of Svoldr in the year 1000. St. Olaf, who twice turned back upon the road to Palestine, is brought by legend to the country, perhaps in recollection of the heroic deeds there actually performed by his brother Harald Hardrada. After

the battle of Stiklastad, where Olaf lost his throne and life, Harald was wounded, and fled, a landless wanderer, to his fellow tribesmen in Russia, then to Apulia, and afterwards became captain of the Varanger guard in Byzantium, where he was unknown. During ten years, at the head of this corps, he visited Sicily, North Africa, Palestine, and Egypt. He then became a son-in-law of Prince Yaroslav in Russia, and eventually ascended the throne of Norway upon the death of his nephew Magnus.

He met his death when he attempted to seize the Anglo-Saxon kingdom, in conjunction with Tostig, the rebel brother of the Saxon king, Harold. Only eighteen days before the victory of William the Conqueror at Hastings, Harald Hardrada fell in the fierce battle of Stamford Bridge. Thus the whole of Europe, from the extreme north and north-west, to the furthest south and south-east, including the coasts of Africa and Asia, had seen the face and felt the arm of this great hero. He may be regarded as personifying that Scandinavian movement which created the horizon of the Crusades.

Effects of the Norman Conquest

In the meanwhile, the Norman conquest of England had set free large populations for the movement to the South-East. Anglo-Saxons, Danes and Frisians found themselves driven from the island kingdom, their former battlefield, and in many cases made their way to Byzantium or Syria, and played their part among the maritime people of the First Crusade. The final and immediate impulse to the crusading movement, if we regard this movement as a territorial expansion, is to be found in the seizure of Lower Italy by the Normans.

The path for this acquisition was prepared by pilgrims returning from the Holy Sepulchre, and the enterprise was completed in the course of the eleventh century. It is no mere coincidence that Pope Urban II. spent years among the Normans in banishment before starting from his recovered territory in the south to the synods of Piacenza and Clermont; or that the legend of Peter the Hermit expressly mentioned Bari as the harbour where the pilgrim returning with the Saviour's message first set foot once more upon western soil. The greatest result of the First Crusade was not the capture of Jerusalem, an acquisition of sentimental rather than practical importance, but the establishment of the Italian Normans in

BIRTH OF THE CRUSADING SPIRIT

a Syrian stronghold of the Mediterranean, little more than ten years after their fruitless attempt to conquer the eastern empire, and a short time after the conquest of Sicily from the Saracens. The Crusades began almost at that moment when the Norman impulse to expansion was necessarily turned towards the most westerly possessions of Islam.

At the same moment, after centuries of inactivity, the attack upon Islam was resumed from other quarters. In Italy this movement began at Pisa, which at the beginning of the eleventh century had suffered severely under the raids of the infidels. In the year 1032 the citizens of Pisa made their first retaliatory expedition to North Africa after they had freed Sardinia, in 1016, from the danger of a fresh Moslem occupation. This was followed by numerous enterprises against Sicily and Tunis, until a crushing blow was delivered by the allied forces of Pisa and Genoa, in 1087, under the banner of St. Peter, which had been given them by Pope Victor III. when they attacked the piratical emir of the Tunisian Mahdia; this victory secured freedom of trade for the Italian maritime towns upon these coasts and in this western gulf of the sea. Pope Urban II. was entertained in Pisa before he proceeded to Piacenza; the citizens of Pisa and Genoa supported the First Crusade by sea and turned it to commercial profit.

The conquest of Sicily by the Normans removed the burdensome yoke from commerce in the Eastern Mediterranean, and turned the eyes of the maritime nations to the coasts of Egypt and Syria. Hence the liberation of Apulia and Sicily from the Byzantines and Arabs, and the disclosure of the Greek and Oriental half of the Mediterranean to the eyes of the Latin half; these may be ranked among the most powerful impulses which influenced the coming migratory movement. The expansion of Western Europe against Islam was further stimulated by the advance of the Christian

Spaniards against the Arab conquerors during that same eleventh century. Since the middle of the century the struggles in the Pyrenean peninsula had attracted the neighbouring Catalonians, who were closely related to the Spaniards and the Provençals. Even on the Northern French coasts powerful armies of knights were formed, especially by Norman leaders, to assist their co-religionists in the south-west, when these were once more hard pressed by the Almoravids. "Hispania" and the Saracen territory are equivalent concep-

tions in several of the Frankish chronicles of the First Crusade. Thus it is clear that from this point also the European movement against Islam received an effective impetus.

At the same time that powerful movement towards the east, which for nearly two centuries flowed back, only to return apparently with revived force, could never have been aroused solely by the independent movements of superfluous populations towards the south-east, or by a new tendency, partly national and religious, partly political and economic, to attack Islam; equally insufficient would have been the adventurous impulses of individuals among the settled nations of Europe. The proximate cause of the First Crusade is not to be discovered in the conditions of Western Europe, but was provided by the Greek Empire. On its frontiers a breach was made into which the overflowing waters poured with destructive violence. The desperate position to which the East Roman Empire had been reduced by the Seljuks after the battle of Manzikert, in 1071, called forth that cry for help which the Emperor Alexius I. sent to Pope Urban II. in 1094. If we consider the response which greeted this appeal in the West, it becomes clear that the opposition of Christians to Arabs was not in itself sufficiently strong, in spite of the Spanish wars, to produce so violent a struggle between two worlds. After the Arabs had become a civilised power in the East,



NORWAY'S PATRON SAINT
Olaf seized the Norwegian crown in 1016, but was compelled to escape to Russia. Returning from exile, he lost his life at the battle of Stiklastad. He was canonised in 1104.

the devotees of Christianity had secured a comparatively safe and profitable position, which was only occasionally disturbed by such Mohammedan fanatics as the Egyptian caliph Hakim; the oppression of the Christians and the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre, which he commanded, were but temporary causes of irritation. It was the cruelties of Turkish rule which made the lot of Christian pilgrims and settlers in Palestine intolerable; it was the desperation to which Byzantium was reduced after the Seljuk invasion of its last remaining and most prosperous Asiatic provinces that produced the idea of a general European rising, of an offensive and defensive alliance against the new oppressor.

It was not so much solicitude for Jerusalem as the hope of reconquering Asia and of strengthening the Byzantine minor empire which inspired the great Pope Gregory VII. with the first idea of a Crusade immediately after the Turkish invasion of the year 1074. His preparations for the accomplishment of this idea were at the moment frustrated by the struggle with the empire. So, again, Urban II., a vigorous and clever successor of Gregory, received, if not the most permanent, at any rate the most decisive, impulse to this undertaking from Byzantium. The Emperor Alexius had restored the collapsing European provinces of his empire to tolerable order and peace; but the reconquest of Asia was beyond his powers. He could not possibly suspect that his appeals for western help would initiate a movement extending far beyond this immediate object, and threatening to overwhelm his empire in its mighty flood.

Thus, in accordance with this final impulse, the Crusades, like almost all previous struggles of the West against the East, were directed not so much against Islam as against the threatening

What the Crusades Aimed at Turkish power which had arisen within the Mohammedan empire. The barbaric vitality of the Seljuks reinforced the decadent power of Eastern Islam, even as the expansion of the Normans had revitalised the Christian West; with full justice Ranke compares the Turkish seizure of the decadent caliphate to the alliance which at the same moment identified the interests of the reformed papacy with those of the Italian Normans.

In each case a spiritual authority acquired new influence by a coalition with a new secular power. The importance of the new alliances became world-wide when they rushed into conflict.

The appeal of the Greek emperor to the West to begin the inevitable conflict with the Seljuks advancing from Central Asia roused a spiritual and intellectual movement, which gave this conflict between East and West a material importance, a territorial extension, and a degree of influence unparalleled in previous history; this result was due to the spirit which pervaded the West at the close of the eleventh century. Owing to this spirit the Crusades long retained the character of religious wars, in which the peoples of Europe fought with high enthusiasm for their most sacred possessions.

We have seen how the repeated interference of the German emperors had raised the Roman Church from the depths of degradation and decay: how, again, the Romance spirit, as expressed in the Cluniac reforms, had based a theocratic ideal upon the principle of self-renunciation, and had used for the realisation of this project the vacillations and necessities of the empire during the second half of the eleventh century. To outward appearance Gregory VII., the most powerful champion of this ideal, had succumbed before opposing forces; in reality, he had secured for the Church the spiritual supremacy over every department of secular life, and nothing but the invincible obstinacy with which he maintained his principles had prevented him from securing the victory in person.

Gregory's Victory for the Church Gregory's successor, Urban II., showed a more opportunist temper, and reaped what his forerunner had sowed. Urban's diplomatic skill raised the papacy to a proud position of supremacy over emperors and kings, over souls and bodies. When the Popes had subjugated the whole of the western world to their commands and theories, they could find satisfaction only in vigorous outward expansion under the sign of the Cross. Urban II. possibly regarded the appeal of the Emperor Alexius I. rather as an opportunity of reuniting the Greek Church to Rome than as one of reconquering the Holy Sepulchre. In his momentous address at Clermont on November 26th, 1095, he was able, first of all, to turn the hearts of his

BIRTH OF THE CRUSADING SPIRIT

French compatriots towards this object, which had played but a secondary part in Gregory's plans, for the reason that the horrors of the Seljuk invasion had gone home to Christian minds; but at the same time he discovered "a magic word" which unchained the spirit of the age: he was able to realise what Gregory had only projected when he identified "the more powerful current of popular feeling with the hierarchical movement."

It was by no means the Normans alone whose thoughts and desires were directed towards the Holy Sepulchre at that time. Pilgrimages to Jerusalem had never ceased from the time of the Roman Empire. Augustine's well-known epigram, "Christ is reached by love and not by sea," remained unintelligible to the youthful minds of the barbaric nations, as it had been to the increasing materialism of the age of decadence. As in the case of relic-worship, so also in that of pilgrimages, no tangible or satisfying symbol could be secured unless it implied a personal grasp of salvation, and provided participation in the promises of the faith through the penance and bodily danger incurred upon a perilous pilgrimage.

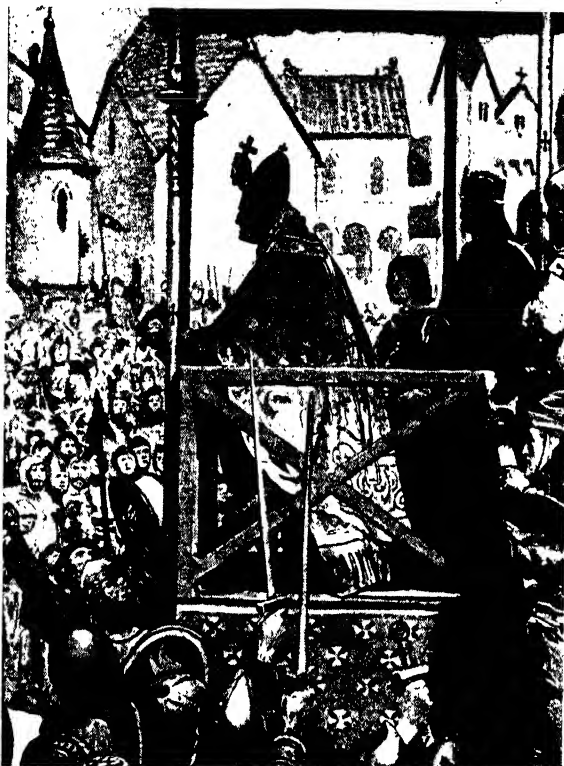
Even when the upper classes at least had acquired a more rational conception of religion, older personal theories of the struggle for salvation by no means became extinct. The new personal Christianity continued to employ the weapons of the old corporate Christianity; with the asceticism of the eleventh century was combined the fashion of pilgrimages to St. Mary of

Einsiedeln, to St. James of Compostella, to Rome, and especially, *oultre mer*, as the French said, to the spots "where the feet of the Lord had stood." From the Frankish Empire, from Teutonic territory, and from the British Isles these pilgrimages brought new adherents, and especially the most recent converts, of the Christian faith to Jerusalem. These pilgrimages had been facilitated and organised by Charles the Great—through his relations with Harun al Raschid and by the outlay of large sums

for the building of churches, monasteries, and shelters in the Holy Land—so that the legend credited the emperor himself with a pilgrimage to the tomb of Christ. During the following centuries the number of pilgrimages was to some extent influenced by the greater or lesser toleration of the Mohammedan rulers of Palestine. With the year 1000, which was expected to bring the end of the world, the eastward wave of pilgrims began to resemble a small migration.

About 1025, at the instance and with the help of the Duke of Normandy, 700 pilgrims started out

with the Abbot Richard of St. Vannes at Verdun; Lietbert, the Archbishop of Cambrai, is said to have led out the incredibly large number of 3,000 pilgrims in 1054. The largest of these bands amounted to as many as 7,000 men on the most moderate estimate, and included English, Germans, and French, under the leadership of Archbishop Siegfried I. of Mainz in 1064. This expedition underwent severe struggles in the Holy Land, from which scarcely a third of the pilgrims returned home.

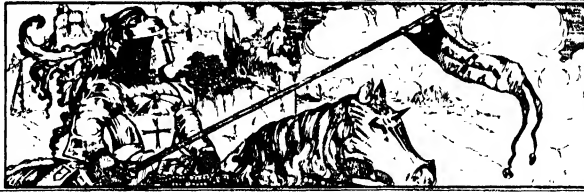


POPE URBAN II. PREACHING THE FIRST CRUSADE
In 1095, a council was held at Clermont, in Auvergne. Leaving the assembly, Pope Urban II. addressed a great gathering in the market place, eloquently picturing the wrongs suffered by the Christians in the Holy Land and pleading for volunteers to fight the infidels. His enthusiasm was contagious, and the assembly cried "It is the will of God!"



PETER THE HERMIT PREACHING THE FIRST CRUSADE
From the painting by James Archer, R.S.A. By permission of the Artotype Co.

WESTERN
EUROPE IN
THE MIDDLE
AGES



WHAT THE
CRUSADES
DID FOR
EUROPE II

THE STORY OF THE FIRST CRUSADE AND THE CHRISTIAN CONQUEST OF JERUSALEM

IN the meanwhile the advance of the Turks had cut off the overland route to Palestine through Asia Minor, while the barbarous oppression and persecution of the native immigrant Christians had made approach by sea almost impossible. It is conceivable that the message of the Saviour which Peter the Hermit, according to legend, brought to the Pope with the "letters dismissory" from the Patriarch of Jerusalem was an actual cry for help from this part of the Mediterranean to the "great brother" in the West.

Urban thus set free an impulse the energy of which had for centuries been hampered in the strictest and most unwelcome manner. The movement coincided with social and economic distress of every kind, which may not have weighed so heavily upon the world as the usual exaggerations of contemporary chroniclers represent, but none the less

Outcome of the Pope's Enthusiasm inspired in thousands the desire to escape from a distressing situation. The years from 1085 to 1095 are said to have been marked by a disastrous alternation of floods and droughts, and especially by pestilence and famine. The North of France was suffering from a dangerous excess of population, while the West and South of Germany had been perturbed for twenty years by the confusions of the investiture quarrel. It was no wonder that the wild and fervent cry of Clermont, "Deus Vult," with which the fiery eloquence of the Pope was answered, overwhelmed all misgivings and ran through the country like an epidemic, or that the flame of popular enthusiasm, carried from place to place, and fanned by such fanatical preachers as Peter the Hermit, seized high and low like a psychical contagion.

Every movement of popular passion was unchained by the new watchword which flew throughout the land. Of the lower classes, the first to be affected were the French, who were ever especially amenable

to such impulses; the movement then passed through Lorraine and the Rhine territories, and burst through all the bounds and forms of organisation under which the appointed leaders strove to bind it. Hence the preaching of the First Crusade produced a strange result, certainly unexpected by Rome. The peasants sacrificed their property and possessions to buy the means for their long journey, and migrated with wife and child as their forefathers had done. Masses came forth from the towns who could sacrifice nothing because they possessed nothing; the lower clergy followed, who had long yearned to take the field for the Church; and these with undisciplined monks, women, and vagabonds, composed the majority in the crowds which passed in wild excitement, during the spring and summer of 1096, through South Germany and Hungary to the east, led by a few adventurous nobles or preaching clergy, abandoned to the wildest licence, committing every kind of excess in the name of their faith, and spreading fire, destruction, and death through the Jewish communities in the Rhine towns—a precedent followed in every subsequent Crusade at every time and place.

Fiery Trail of the Crusade

The majority of these masses came to a miserable end in Hungary, where the warlike population mercilessly revenged the outrages of the strangers with their swords; others, under similar circumstances, reached Bulgarian territory, and were there scattered. One of the largest bands, under Peter the Hermit himself, after a severe struggle, succeeded in reaching Constantinople, the meeting-place appointed by the Pope; their marauding habits and want of discipline infuriated the Greeks, who immediately transported them beyond the Bosphorus. Upon their first advance into Seljuk territory they

Where the Crusaders Suffered

were annihilated by the enemy's cavalry. Peter himself had previously taken refuge in flight; he afterwards collected the scanty remnants of his bands in Constantinople, and played a somewhat derogatory part in the great crusading army as the leader of vagabonds of every description. The "Peasant Crusade," upon the most moderate computation, and allowing for the incompetency of that age to form any reasonable numerical estimate, must have depopulated Western Europe by far more than 100,000 men. Its disastrous issue proved that vague national impulses were not in themselves competent to solve the serious problems which the Pope had placed before the Crusade.

We have, then, to ask whether the organisation of the royal armies and bands of knights which followed on the heels of these peasant masses was any more competent to grapple with these tasks. It has already been observed that the only Crusade which ended in any small measure of success—namely, the first—owed its result entirely to the calm foresight and the colonial genius of the Italian Normans, who joined the expedition with largely secular aims and objects and soon became its leaders. Had it not been for them, and especially for their brilliant leader, Bohemond, the splendid armies of knights which started in the summer and autumn of 1096 would probably have failed to reach their goal, and would perhaps have suffered the fate of the peasant hordes. The nobles of France, Lorraine, and Provence, whose troops formed the nucleus of that army, doubtless realised more clearly than the adventurous leaders of the Peasant Crusade the material necessities and actual requirements of an armed pilgrimage; but unbridled want of discipline among some and a mystical

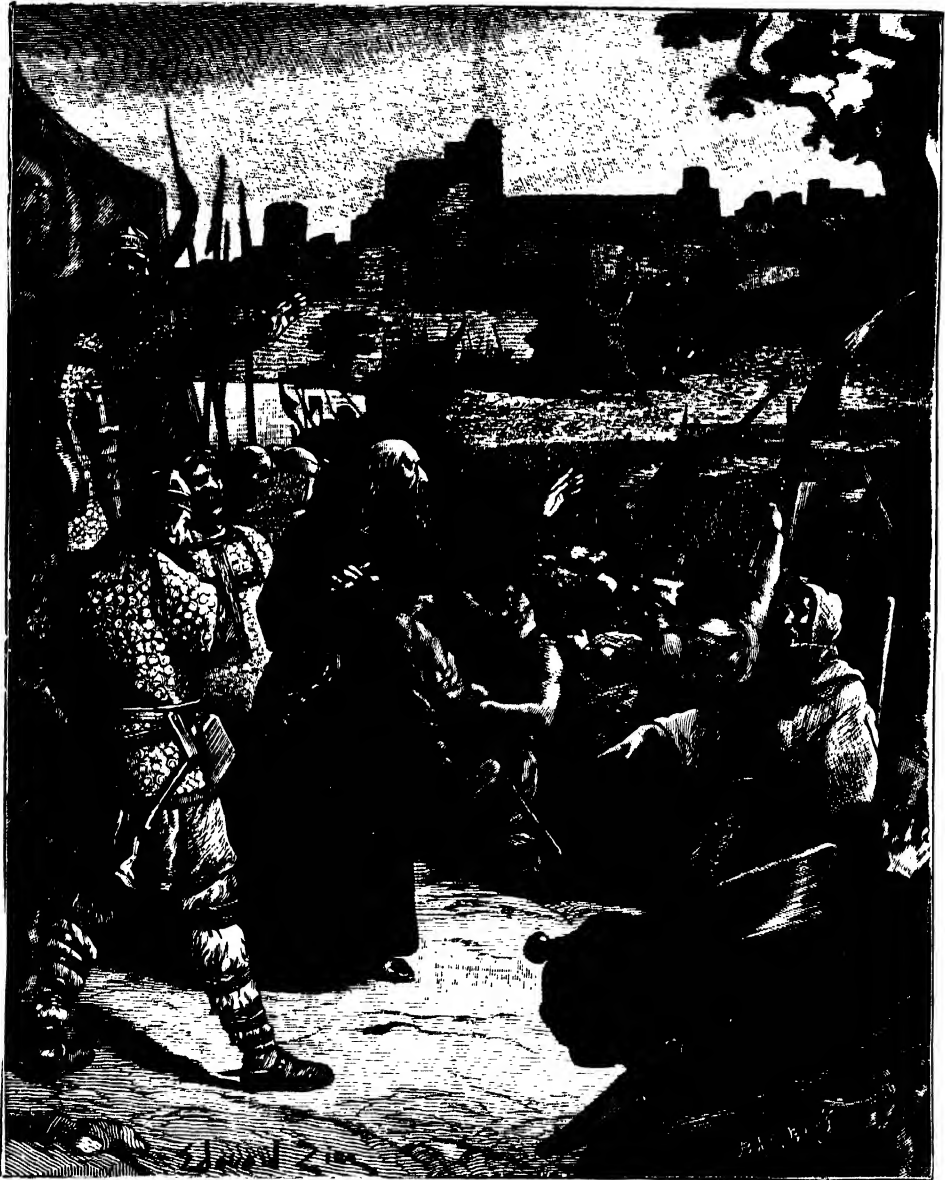
asceticism among others, and in many cases the combination of these defects, often led even their clear knowledge astray.

Probably the most suitable commander-in-chief of the Crusade would have been an experienced Churchman. This position devolved upon Bishop Adhemar of Puy as papal legate, after he had been the first to kneel before the Pope at Clermont and to sew the cross on his right shoulder. Adhemar does not, however, appear to have possessed those qualities of supreme leadership which would have enabled him to co-ordinate the very heterogeneous elements of the crusading army; moreover, fate did not permit him to see the goal of the pilgrimage to which his wise counsel, his knightly spirit, and his well-known piety often proved advantageous.



PETER THE HERMIT BEFORE POPE URBAN II. AT CLERMONT

The fanatical protagonist of the First Crusade presenting "letters dismissory" from the Patriarch of Jerusalem, along with the alleged message of the Saviour.



THE PEASANT CRUSADE: PETER THE HERMIT ADDRESSING THE PEOPLE

The zeal on behalf of the Crusade stirred up by the eloquence of Peter the Hermit affected every class. The misguided Peasant Crusade, disastrous in its issue, drained Western Europe of over 100,000 men, who set out on an adventure without understanding what it involved. In this picture Peter the Hermit is seen appealing in vain to the people who are bent on releasing their fellows who have been imprisoned for pillaging.

Of the secular nobles the best-equipped army was led by Raimond, Count of Toulouse and Viscount of Provence; this force advanced in the autumn of 1096 through Northern Italy, Dalmatia and Macedonia to Constantinople. The military success of the Crusade had been secured by the count's adhesion to the resolutions of Clermont, though this had apparently been prearranged. The

Southern French Crusaders in general, and this leader in particular, were characterised by a strange mixture of burning enthusiasm for all the mysteries of the faith, and of every mundane solicitude for their own profit and advantage. We have no knowledge of the reasons which may have induced the count to leave his magnificent possessions, presumably for ever, and to seek a new dominion abroad,

not even in the neighbourhood of the Holy Sepulchre. The next crusading prince of importance was Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lorraine, equal in power to Raimond, though subordinate in rank. With him went his elder brother Enstace, who subsequently returned to the county of Boulogne, which he inherited after the Crusade had begun, and his younger brother Baldwin, who, like Godfrey, was inspired by religious zeal and desire for action, and hoped to carve out a future for himself. A large army of knights, drawn from Lorraine and the German districts on the left bank of the Rhine, gathered under the banners of the duke, and in August marched through Upper Germany, where many other bold champions joined them, advancing south-eastward through Hungary.

The third main portion of the crusading army was formed by the North French, Norman, and Flemish contingents. Count Hugo of Vermandois, the brother of Philip I. of France, Duke Robert of Normandy, elder brother of William II. and Henry I. of England, and Count Stephen of Blois, brother-in-law of the same monarch, together with Count Robert of Flanders, were the leaders of this contingent, though men of less importance than Raimond and Godfrey; they marched through Italy to Apulia, and took ship thence with the intention of advancing through Greece.

They had been preceded upon this path by Count Bohemond I. of Tarentum, the eldest son of Robert Guiscard, who had intended to advance upon that line as a conqueror ten years previously; he, with his nephew Tancred, now led the Italian-Norman army. Between Christmas of 1096 and Easter of 1097 the larger part of the Crusaders arrived before Constantinople. The Emperor Alexius found himself in a difficult situation: the size of the crusading army far exceeded his expectations or desires, and for good or for evil he was obliged to use it in the interests of his empire.

The Emperor Alexius in a Difficulty In place of the auxiliary troops for which he had asked, he found one-half of Western Europe levied before him, and constituting a force capable of conducting an independent policy or of acting against his empire. Only a short time previously the Italian Normans had brought that empire to the verge of destruction. The

Lorrainers under Godfrey displayed an attitude of hostility upon the march, and when encamped before the capital; armed conflicts were frequent with them and with the other armies. The superior culture and the strict administrative bureaucracy of the East Roman state could never enter upon an equal alliance with these forces of barbarism, licence, and greed.

The Greek emperor adopted a cleverly devised expedient; he availed himself of the forms of western feudalism to turn the crusading movement to his own purpose. Possibly he was inspired by an extravagant imperialism which declined to surrender any antiquated claim or any conceivable hope in favour of his foreign allies; possibly he was merely anxious to bind the crusading princes so closely to his person and his empire as to prevent their adopting any dangerous counter policy.

Between these alternatives we can hardly decide: the fact remains that interminable negotiations were supported by cunning and gentle pressure of every kind, and speedily produced discord among the leaders of the Franks. The friction between the bold

Crusaders and the Spoils of Victory and far-seeing Bohemond and the pettilogging selfish greed of Raimond played into the emperor's hands, so that at Easter, 1097, Alexius obtained the oath of feudal allegiance from the majority of the Frankish soldiers, and from all of them, a short time later, after the conquest of Nicæa.

Various indications induce us to suppose that, notwithstanding the comprehensiveness of his claims, Alexius had made an agreement concerning the division of the booty with the leaders, whose insight was capable of weighing political consideration. Otherwise it is difficult to explain why the Crusaders, after they had conquered Nicæa for the Greeks and had cut their way at Dorylæum through the approaching Turkish army, should have allowed the wave of Seljuk invasion to close behind them, and should have made no attempt to establish themselves in Philomelium and Iconium. As the procedure followed in Cilicia and Armenia Minor was wholly different, we may perhaps assume that a frontier line roughly denoted by the Taurus Mountains had been drawn between the two spheres of interest, and that beyond this Alexius had contented himself with an imaginary feudal supremacy over such districts as

THE STORY OF THE FIRST CRUSADE

Antioch and Edessa, which but a short time before had belonged to the Greek Empire. It is, moreover, no mere coincidence that these cities of Byzantine origin became centres of Frankish supremacy. Had not Antioch presented itself to the mind of Bohemond as a worthy prize, the crusading army would have passed by this strongly fortified town, as it passed by Aleppo, Tripolis, and Damascus. It seems to have been the intention of Alexius,

upon this theory, to push forward the frontiers of East Rome to the base of the Taurus, and to permit the formation beyond that line of smaller Christian outposts, acting as buffer states between himself and the Mohammedan Empire, and bound to his own state by a loose tie of allegiance.

The most important dates of the expedition through Asia Minor may be again recalled. These were the capture of

Nicaea on June 19th, 1097, after a siege of six weeks, with the help and to the exclusive advantage of the Greeks, when a relieving army from the Emir Kilich Arslan, or Suleiman II. had been defeated: the victory at Dorylaeum on July 1st, which was gained by the timely arrival of the second division of the hard-pressed Normans; the march through the peninsula upon the high road which the enemy had surrendered, through Philomelium, Antiochia Minor, and Iconium, to Heraclea and to the foot of the Taurus.

At this point a strategical diversion took place: the Crusaders had learnt wisdom in the school of the Greeks, and had secured a sufficient insight into the political conditions of the countries through which they were to march. Even in the camp before Nicaea religious enthusiasm had given way to



TANCRED SAVED FROM DEATH BY BOHEMOND

One of the chiefs of the First Crusade, Tancred, a son of Otho the Good, fought at Nicaea, Antioch and Jerusalem, and was awarded the principalities of Tiberias and Edessa. In this picture by M. E. Zier, Bohemond is seen restraining Tancred by main force from going to meet death at the hands of the Saracens, who are pressing the Crusaders back.

prudent tactical considerations ; the Crusaders had learnt of the opposition between the Fatimid caliphate in Egypt and the orthodox caliph in Bagdad under Seljuk supremacy, and had not refused to open diplomatic relations with Cairo by the despatch of ambassadors. They were naturally still more inclined to secure the

The Home of Christian Armenians

help of the Christian Armenians, as being their co-religionists. These people, after the invasion of the Turks, had found new settlements in the Taurus, in Cappadocia, Cilicia, Northern Syria, and in the Euphrates district ; only a short time previously they had founded the principality of Armenia Minor, which promised well for the future. An embassy was therefore sent to the Armenians, upon whose goodwill depended the use of the road over which the great crusading army passed in a wide detour to the north, through Cæsarea, Komana, and Cocussus, along the Taurus, and across the mountain range.

The nearer road, through Cilicia, was followed only by small bands of lightly-equipped troops led by Tancred and Godfrey's brother, Baldwin, for the purpose of rousing the local Armenians and Greeks, and capturing the towns already in possession of the Seljuks. The attempt was entirely successful, with the exception that the Norman attempted to establish himself here, probably in view of Bohemond's intentions upon Antioch. Baldwin succeeded in preventing this attempt, though not entirely, as an appeal from the Armenian prince of Edessa summoned him eastwards. After a short meeting with the main army in Marash, the energetic and determined prince, who far surpassed his simpler brother in importance and diplomatic ability, proceeded to enter Mesopotamian territory ; there he speedily made himself so indispensable to the Greek Armenian population in the struggle

Founding of First Latin Principality

with the Seljuks that Thoros of Edessa submitted to his leadership, though probably not wholly of his own free will. This claim soon became an accomplished fact by reason of a revolution, which was probably not wholly unexpected by Baldwin, and ended with the murder of Thoros.

On March 9th, 1098, the first Latin principality was founded here as an advance outpost. For the main body of the crusading

army the most momentous period of the expedition in respect of exploits and sufferings had now begun. On October 20th, 1097, the army arrived before Antioch, and the siege lasted until the beginning of June, 1098. Only the extraordinary condition of the great Seljuk empire permitted the conquest of Antioch, or indeed the eventual success of the Crusade, of which the most material gain was the capture of this town.

In ages when communication is inadequate, or in lands where it is difficult, every extensive military monarchy is broken up into feudal principalities ; the state of Alp Arslan and Meleksah proved no exception to the rule, and the condition of Syrian affairs made itself felt at this point. At the same time, as so often in the course of the world's history, Egyptian and Mesopotamian influences met in that land which is bounded on the south by the Nile valley and on the north by the valley of the Euphrates. The Shiite caliphate of Cairo had secured partisans among the Seljuk princes of Northern Syria, and had used the Assassin sect of Lebanon for its

Palestine Lost to the Turks

further propaganda. Palestine, however, which every Egyptian prince regarded as part of his country, was wrested from Turkish despotism by the Fatimid Vizir Aladhdal shortly before the arrival of the crusading army.

Under these circumstances the Seljuk emirate of Syria was a prey to continual dissensions, and was constantly at variance with its own members and with the central government, while the continual changes of party grouping contributed to prevent for decades any uniform or enthusiastic co-operation against the forces of the West, even in the moment of deadliest peril. Help, indeed, was offered, but mutual abandonment was equally common, and, upon the whole, only feeble attempts were made to relieve the siege of Antioch, which were defeated with comparative ease by the Crusaders, though their army diminished at an appalling rate under the hardships and suffering of the siege.

The main body of the pilgrims dispersed more and more rapidly over the surrounding territory, in Cilician, Armenian, or Mohammedan dominions. In harbour towns such as Tripolis, which belonged to a Seljuk emir, the Crusaders enjoyed unimpeded powers of exit and entry, and were allowed to celebrate in public their

THE STORY OF THE FIRST CRUSADE

divine service while the struggle was raging before Antioch. Had it not been for this condition of Syria and the Turkish power the Crusade would probably have come to a premature end before Antioch.

A few days after the surrender of Antioch the Crusaders were blockaded in the town by a great relieving army of the Emir Kerbogha of Mosul, which the Seljuk sultan, Barkjarok, had at length sent to the help of his hard-pressed vassals. Even now, though possessed of the town, they were in a position of great difficulty. The Crusaders were forced to maintain the defence both against the besieging army in the plain and against the garrison of the lofty citadel, which they had been unable to capture at the same time as the town: this task proved beyond the powers of the besieged forces, though great heroism, chivalrous courage, and enthusiastic vigour were shown. The general exhaustion produced a feeling of despair, and desertions became more frequent.

Meanwhile a pious fraud was practised upon the starving masses, who had been raised to the highest pitch of credulity and were ready to accept any marvel. It was a deception highly effective at the moment, though afterwards employed for very impious purposes; this was the discovery of the "sacred lance" on June 14th, by which the courage of the Crusaders was revived. The sortie which they made in their supreme distress, when they had nothing more to lose, proved unexpectedly successful. The enemy was scattered, and Kerbogha speedily retreated, a triumph which the Crusaders ascribed partly to their own desperate bravery and partly to the miraculous powers of the sacred lance.

Antioch was—on June 28th, 1098—definitely in the hands of the Christians. The Crusade now came to a standstill for many months; the army was entirely exhausted, and the concentration of its scattered divisions became desirable. These were further diminished by plague; moreover, quarrels among the leaders and the masses now broke out with a violence which endangered all previous and future success. The pious fraud of the "holy lance," which was maintained by extremely doubtful methods against sceptics and mockers, led to a deep dissension between the Provençals, who were by nature enthusiastically credulous before such

reputed miracles, and the Normans, whose early religious enthusiasm rapidly disappeared before the growing secular temper of the Crusade. A more dangerous obstacle was the jealousy between the princes. Raimond found that the success of his efforts was continually thwarted by Bohemond, even during minor enterprises, in the near or distant neigh-

Rivalries Among the Christians bourhood of Antioch; he was unable to eject his cleverer and more fortunate rival from the newly won territory, to which he considered that he had a superior claim. In November he was forced to retire by a mutiny of his own troops at Maarra.

Now, however, the purely religious idea of the masses became paramount: they desired, not to conquer the world, but to pray at the liberated tomb of the Saviour. This desire, which was now enthusiastically revived, eventually carried the day. Count Raimond, who was the most influential leader, since Bohemond had remained behind in Antioch, attempted to detain the Crusading army for months before Arka, the citadel of Tripolis, in order to secure this emirate for himself. Once again his own men set fire to their tents and carried their leader southward, notwithstanding his helpless rage. In the case of the coast towns which they passed they were content to enforce mere neutrality upon the Seljuk emirs; it was impossible to restrain the dominant idea that now guided the army. On June 7th, 1099, they at length caught sight of Jerusalem, and beheld with reverential awe the desired goal of nearly three years' wandering. A siege of five weeks then took place, and in this hot and waterless country the pilgrims tasted all the sufferings of deprivation and also the glories of burning enthusiasm and triumphant joy; eventually, on July 15th, the Holy City was wrested from the hands of the infidels after days of fearful slaughter. The attempt of the

Capture of the Holy City ecclesiastical party to place the new acquisition under hierarchical government proved a failure; several of the most important leaders, even the ambitious and greedy Raimond, declined the crown of the new state, for reasons that are not very obvious, but are possibly connected with the claim of the Church party. Nine days later, Godfrey of Bouillon became the "protector of the Holy Sepulchre" as the vassal of the Church.



THE FUNERAL OF GODFREY OF BOUILLON, THE FIRST KING OF JERUSALEM

One of the leaders of the First Crusade, Godfrey of Bouillon took an active part in the siege of Jerusalem, and was elected its first king in the year 1099. His death, in 1100, is said to have been due to poison administered by an Arab.



THE GREAT ST. BERNARD FEEDING THE POOR

When the Second Crusade was in contemplation, St. Bernard came forward as the missionary and prophet of God to call the nation to the defence of the Holy Sepulchre. His burning eloquence and fiery zeal stirred all who came within sound of his voice, but, though he stood high in the forefront of the crusading movement, he was entirely without personal ambition, and was perfectly content to return as abbot to the monastery of Clairvaux, in Champagne.

From the painting by A. P. Cole

WESTERN
EUROPE IN
THE MIDDLE
AGES



WHAT THE
CRUSADES
DID FOR
EUROPE I.

THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM AND THE FAILURE OF THE SECOND CRUSADE

GODFREY justified his election and his title on August 12th, when he defeated the approaching army of the Vizir Aladhal at Ascalon with the Crusading army, which had fortunately not entirely disbanded. Unluckily, the factiousness of the princes prevented the capture of this strong harbour town; but the danger from Egypt, which the most far-seeing of the leaders had wished to meet by an expedition to Cairo before the siege of Jerusalem, had been obviated for the moment. The bands of pilgrims returned homewards across the sea, or repaired to the more inviting coasts of Northern Syria, and the state of Jerusalem could attempt to stand by its own resources.

This was no easy matter. In the first place, the country was hardly suitable for the foundation of an independent state; it was largely uninhabited and devastated through the struggles of the last years.

**Tancred as
"Prince of
Galilee"**

The Mohammedan population had been annihilated, or had fled, while the Christian inhabitants were few and poor. The remnant of the French chivalry that had been willing to support Duke Godfrey in the occupation of the country is estimated by a tradition, probably not exaggerated, at the number of two hundred pilgrims; that is to say, about two thousand men, when we allow for the due proportion of infantry. Tancred led forth nearly twice this number when he began an incessant guerrilla warfare for fame and plunder as the "Prince of Galilee." A year afterwards he was summoned as regent to Antioch in consequence of the misfortune by which Bohemond became a prisoner of the Turks. In this principality, however, the utmost efforts were necessary to make head against the infidels, who could threaten the government from the stronghold of Aleppo, and against the Greeks. The Emperor Alexius had broken the convention of 1097 as entirely as the Crusaders, and each side proceeded to

accuse the other of the first breach of faith. Hence, instead of the desired co-operation, a mutual hostility came to pass, which occupied the whole of the first century of the Crusades with but short intermissions. Struggles soon began between the Greeks and the occupants of Antioch.

**The Fate of
Raimond
of Toulouse**

first for the possession of the harbour of Laodicea, and afterwards for the most part in Cilicia, which remained a bone of contention between the two parties until it became the nucleus of the new kingdom of Armenia Minor; to these differences were added the old feud between the Provençals and the Normans. Raimond of Toulouse joined the Greek opponents of Bohemond and Tancred, but without success; he then perished in the course of an attempt to found an independent government in Tripolis, on February 28th, 1105.

It was not until July 12th, 1109, that his son Bertrand succeeded in capturing the town and then the county of Tripolis; this operation was conducted from the strong fortress which his father had built against the town, the "Pilgrim Castle" on the "Pilgrim Mount," known to the Mohammedans as Sandshil, from Raimond's title of Count St. Gilles. The new county, like Antioch and Edessa, was connected with Jerusalem by some loose and almost imaginary tie of subjection, but afterwards naturally gravitated more and more towards the north, and was eventually united to Antioch.

Thus, through the preoccupations of the other princes, Jerusalem was left entirely to itself, and Godfrey's whole energies were absorbed in resisting the hierarchical claims of the newly-founded patriarchate, and in some practically fruitless attempts to add a few harbour towns to his "empire," as harbours were indispensable to secure his connection with the West. Of any actual state or government there was as yet no question; certainly none of

**Jerusalem
Without
Government**

the foundation afterwards ascribed to Godfrey of that carefully organised constitution and judicature which is detailed in the "Assizes of Jerusalem." A year later "the protector of the Holy Sepulchre" died on July 18th, 1100, poisoned, according to rumour, by an Arab emir, and left behind him nothing but the beginning of a state. Godfrey stands out as a noble figure, the best type of knighthood; but the legends which have centred about his personality have exaggerated his statesmanship and exploits in the Holy Land.

The real founders of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, in the narrower sense of the word, are the two Lorraine princes, Baldwin I. (1100-1118) and Baldwin II. (1118-1131). Both had been princes of Edessa before beginning their rule in the Holy Land, and in this advanced outpost had received a special training in war with the infidels; both were energetic, clear-sighted, and unscrupulous characters, and, indeed, no others could secure any solid success amid the difficulties of the situation. Godfrey had conceded the claim of the patriarch to feudal supremacy, but this was entirely disregarded by his brother Baldwin I., who secured his coronation in the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, on Christmas Day, 1100; this was the birthday of the Frankish state. The capacity of Baldwin I. and of his nephew, who succeeded him in Edessa and afterwards in Jerusalem, discovered the exact ways and means for making this empty title a reality: at the same time the possibility of founding a colonial state of importance in Palestine was provided from abroad by the continued operation of those forces which we have already indicated as the motive powers of the Crusades.

The news of the great exploits and sufferings of the first Crusaders affected Western Europe in a degree which may be judged from the fact that the simple minds of contemporaries regarded the vast movement of this holy war as a miracle. News from the East was passed from city to city, from village to village, from town to town, by the road and from the pulpit, and was sung by minstrels. These reports secured the continuance both of the religious and of the military enthusiasm, and of that desire for adventure, with its strange mixture of piety and materialism,

which drove hundreds of thousands eastward in the year 1096. A steady communication between East and West now began, which lasted for nearly two hundred years, and attained a vigour unexampled before or since. During these two centuries the East has been compared with a stormy sea which never becomes entirely calm, even when the most violent winds are at rest. To regard the workings of the Crusades as entirely confined to the greater expeditions is to take an absolutely wrong view of this age and of its enterprises. There was an incessant coming and going by land and sea, a constant flow of pilgrims and colonists, which was speedily organised by the regular "passages" between the Mediterranean harbours of Europe and Syria which took place at Easter and midsummer.

Immediately after 1100, this movement was naturally only in its beginning; but even then those forces were fully operative which aimed at removing the Frankish dominion in Syria from the restricted sphere of religious interest and military adventure, and making that power an actual and permanent colonial state. The forces in question were precisely those which, from the very outset, had guided the last great expansion of the West in a south-easterly direction.

The military expansion of the Normans had reached its objective with the occupation of Antioch, and seems to have been exhausted by this effort. In the summer of 1103 Bohemond was released from imprisonment and re-entered his principality with great difficulty; he then, in January, 1105, proceeded westward to enlist reinforcements against Islam. His preaching of a secular crusade, which he carried into the depths of France, proved everywhere highly successful; in the autumn of 1107 he found himself at the head of a great fleet and army.

Some remnant of adventurous carelessness then confused the foresight of this most politic among the princes of the First Crusade, and induced him to renew that attempt upon the Greek Empire in which his father, Robert Guiscard, had failed—an attempt which throughout this century was the root of all evil for the Crusaders. Once again the enterprise failed at its very outset, and after a fruitless siege of Durazzo, Bohemond was obliged to conclude a

Death of Godfrey
How the Holy War was Regarded

THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM

humiliating peace in September, 1108. A few years later he died at home on March 7th, 1111, while making fresh preparations for the East. A year afterwards Tancred also retired from the scene; he had succeeded, notwithstanding the aberrations of chivalry, in maintaining and extending his Syrian dominion against the Seljuks and the Greeks.

The Norman power, as such, thus steadily disappears from this quarter. The kingdom of Antioch, indeed, remained in the hands of the immediate successors of its founder, though in the female line, from 1130, and was the only crusading state which thus preserved its continuity. Bohemond's dynasty in Antioch survived the downfall of the original principality after the Mohammedan triumphs of 1268, and kept possession of Tripolis for some decades, while a collateral branch secured the throne of Cyprus. But after 1136 Constance, the granddaughter of the first Bohemond, married Raimond of Poitou, the son of William of Aquitaine, the "first troubadour." French influence then became preponderant upon the Orontes,

French Influence on the Orontes

and thenceforward absorbed the crusading states after the disappearance of the Lorraine dynasty from Jerusalem. Many English, German, or Norse leaders entered the country with the great expeditions, or with annual reinforcements; representatives of all nations gathered in the harbours of Syria and the capital of the kingdom. But the main stream from the leading classes, and from the circles which held possessions over seas, belonged principally and increasingly to France. France stamped her character at an early date upon the Frankish states. That character they preserved, with one exception, which became of material importance both to the foundation and to the entire future of these states.

The participation of the Italian maritime cities was of paramount importance for the fortunes of the First Crusade. The sieges both of Antioch and Jerusalem received valuable support from the Genoese fleets; at the end of the summer of 1099 a large crusading army from Pisa reached the harbours of Laodicea, which were then held by the Greeks, and supported Bohemond's blockade, which came to nothing on account of the opposition of the other princes. This force afterwards rendered good service in the rebuilding of

Jerusalem and Jaffa, and in the latter place laid the foundation of an afterwards flourishing colony. It soon became obvious that the co-operation of the Italian commercial nations in the construction of vigorous states, and in their maintenance by the Crusaders, was indispensable. The opposition of Byzantine

Dissensions of Greeks & Crusaders

policy, and the growth of dissension between the Crusaders and the Greeks, closed the land route through Asia Minor; and the possession of harbours on the Syrian coast, though at first despised, became a vital condition to the Frankish states, for only so was it possible to secure connection with the West and to guarantee the arrival of troops and supplies.

The mercantile cities of Italy, however, conscious that their fleets were indispensable to the acquisition and maintenance of this valuable possession, steadily used them to support their own interests, the magnitude of which was much increased by the opening up of Syria and of its trade routes. They did not wait for the gratitude of the Frankish princes, but proceeded to formulate their demands. Before the conquest of the several towns, they secured important possessions and privileges as the price of their help. Thus here, as in the Greek kingdom, colonies of Italian citizens arose, which became the most important centres of eastern trade and also of Frankish dominion, though they stood outside the Frankish political system.

But the professional leaders of this system, the nobles and knights, speedily displayed their incapacity. Feudalism was as incompetent to cope with its constitutional tasks in the East as the Crusades which it led were inadequate for their object; the colonising spirit of the Italians, on the other hand, displayed a wholly different fixity of purpose, undisturbed by any religious mysticism, by any extravagant enthusiasm or vague desire for adventure.

Opportune Help of the Venetians

In the summer of 1100 the Venetians reached Palestine for the first time with a large fleet, and learnt from the lips of Godfrey that had it not been for their arrival he would have been forced to surrender all his conquests. They recognised that their opportunity had come; they offered their help as auxiliary troops from the festival of St. John to that of the Assumption; in return they were to be granted in every maritime or inland

town which the Crusaders possessed, or should hereafter acquire, a church, together with a considerable site for a market, while they were to be given a full third of any towns that they might now conquer in conjunction with the Franks. They further bargained that the town of Tripolis should be given entirely into their hands should it be conquered, in return for a small yearly tribute; in addition the Venetians were to enjoy freedom from taxation, and some other privileges, in all the towns of the kingdom. At that moment their successes were confined to the conquest of the small town of Haifa, at the foot of Mount Carmel, with the help of Tancred. The conditions offered to Godfrey remained, however, typical for the future.

A Genoese fleet helped Baldwin I., in May, 1101, to conquer Arsuf and Cæsarea, and carried away from the latter town, among other rich booty, the famous *Sacro Catino*, which was regarded as an emerald and reputed to be the vessel employed at the "Last Supper." It is now preserved in the cathedral of San Lorenzo at Genoa. In the imagination of religious poets in the Christian world this trophy became the *Sangraal* (*sanguis realis*).

In the same year a small Genoese expedition co-operated with Raimond in the capture of Tortosa; and on May 26th, 1104, a large fleet from Genoa, in conjunction with King Baldwin, secured the Christians in possession of the most important harbour on the Syrian coast, the town of Acre. Baldwin then made those extensive concessions which were engraved in golden letters upon a stone behind the high altar of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. They were analogous to those which Godfrey had granted to the Venetians. In Arsuf, Cæsarea and Acre the Genoese received quarters amounting to a third of each town, and lands on the

outskirts of the town to the same extent; they were also given quarters in Jerusalem and Jaffa, and the right to a third of any city which might hereafter be conquered with their help. To these privileges were added a third of the harbour dues of Acre, and complete immunity from taxation within the kingdom. The Genoese thus secured an almost dominant position in the kingdom of Jerusalem, and gained the most important share in the county

of Tripolis. On April 28th, 1104, they enabled Raimond to secure Gibellum Minus—Gibelet or Jubail, between Beyrout and Tripolis—as they had secured Tortosa in 1101; in 1109 they enabled his son Bertrand to enter Tripolis itself. Genoa was rewarded with a third of this town and with the whole of Gibelet.

In the previous year the men of Pisa had supported Tancred when Laodicea was finally conquered from the Greeks. Now the Genoese conquered Gibellum Majus for him, and enabled him thus to open connections by land between Antioch and Tripolis. The gap which divided Acre, the most northerly town of the kingdom, from Gibelet, the most southern settlement in the county of Tripolis, was bridged by the capture of Beyrout, on May 13th, 1110, and of Sidon. The Genoese co-operated in the attack upon Beyrout, and the Venetians probably joined the Norwegians before Sidon. Eventually a large Venetian fleet won a brilliant victory by sea over the Egyptians off Ascalon, during the absence of Baldwin II., who had been a Turkish prisoner from September 13th, 1122, and in July,

1124, helped to secure the capture of Tyre, the last remaining harbour unconquered in the north. Apart from the usual third of the towns which they conquered, the Venetians were then given in every town belonging to the king or his barons a whole street, a square, a church, a bath, and a bakehouse, entirely immune from any kind of taxation and implying no measure of dependence. In Jerusalem they demanded a quarter equivalent to the possession of the king in the capital; in Acre they were to be allowed, without interference on the part of the other inhabitants, to bake in their own ovens, grind in their own mill, use their own bath, and enjoy complete immunity from taxation, as in every other locality.

Concession and fulfilment were, however, two very different processes in the Middle Ages; and even if they possessed the power, the Frankish rulers certainly did not always entertain the inclination to hand over the promised privileges to the Italian traders. None the less, Genoa and Venice—Pisa soon fell behind, and Amalfi, Marseilles in the South of France, and other maritime cities, were but secondary powers from the outset—by means of the territory actually surrendered

**Venetians
Make Profit
by Crusading**

**Maritime
Triumphs of
Venice**

**The Genoese
Dominant in
Jerusalem**

THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM

and the privileges conceded, had founded a kind of colonial empire on the Syrian coast, which formed the nucleus and perhaps the connecting bond of the Frankish feudal states, which were by nature more inclined to disruption than to coherence.

From the outset the partial success of the First Crusade, the existence of the Frankish states and their military supremacy, had been secured only by the existence of that disruptive feudalism which broke the Seljuk power, as it tended to divide the Frankish. Whenever a capable leader appeared on the Turkish side, able to concentrate the Seljuk forces in one direction, if but for a moment, the Christians were reduced to great distress or extreme despair, owing to their

were further complicated by the constant necessity of opposition to Byzantine claims and attacks, the state of Jerusalem was able to attain a certain solidarity at an early date, for the reason that the acquisition of the coast line had withdrawn it from the immediate neighbourhood of the Seljuk foe, though the kings were constantly involved in the confusions of the North. The Egyptian danger, which became imminent upon several occasions during the first decades, was successfully repelled, and diminished as the Fatimid Empire entered upon the period of its decay. The neighbourhood of Ascalon was regarded as little more than a disturbing factor, and the conquest of this fortress was not undertaken until 1153: on



THE CRAC DES CHEVALIERS: A FAMOUS STRONGHOLD OF THE HOSPITALLERS

About the middle of the eleventh century there came into being the Order of the Knights Hospitallers with the object of aiding and protecting the Christian pilgrims who visited the Holy Sepulchre. The organisation eventually became of considerable importance, wielding great power and controlling various strongholds. The castle of the order, near Tripoli, shown in the illustration, was vacated by the Hospitallers in 1271, when it fell into the hands of the Sultan of Egypt.

want of any similar combination. They were devoted entirely to their individual interests, turning their weapons against one another, and not despising the help even of the enemies of their faith. The eternal geographical differences within the Syrian territory, the northern part of which is as naturally attracted to the Euphrates and Tigris as the southern to the Nile, proved more effective than any religious difference; the religious struggle as such often, and at a surprisingly early date, disappeared, to the scorn and anger of devoutly minded pilgrims, and gave way to the secular requirements of the individual states in every part of the country. In the midst of these aberrations, which

the other side, Damascus was rather a protection against the attacks from Mesopotamia than a serious menace, though struggles with the power of Damascus were frequent.

Under these circumstances Baldwin I. showed high statesmanship when he devoted his attention to securing his country against Egypt at a time when no serious tasks awaited him upon the coast line, and when Antioch and Edessa were not in need of his help. To his efforts was due the line of strong fortresses which protected the southern frontier, especially towards Ascalon, including Ibelin and the castles of Beit Jibrin, Beit Nuba, and Tell es-safiye, which were built at

the time of Fulk. In particular he it was who built Montreal (Mont Royal), the great desert fortress situated half way between the Dead and Red Seas. This fortress commanded the routes between Egypt, Arabia, and Damascus, and could thus protect communication between these countries in time of peace, or close it in time of war, as necessity might demand. At a later date this strong outpost was supported by the fortress of Kerak, at the east of the Dead Sea, and that of Wadi Musa further to the south. The far-sighted policy of Baldwin I. in this respect led him to make a bold expedition to the Red Sea in 1116, and eventually to Egypt itself in 1118; there, however, he was overcome by severe illness before he could attempt any further conquests. He died on the homeward march on April 2nd.

His successor was Baldwin II. of Edessa, who was at that moment in Jerusalem. It is not surprising that northern affairs chiefly occupied the attention of this ruler, as for nearly twenty years he had been closely connected with the destinies of Northern Syria. At that moment Antioch had been brought to the verge of destruction by a severe defeat which his knights suffered at the hands of the Emir of Mardin, Ilghazi, and in which the regent, Roger del Principato, fell on June 28th, 1119. Baldwin II., who undertook the regency, was able to hand over the principality undiminished to the young Bohemond II., notwithstanding numerous misfortunes, when the latter ruler received these dominions with the hand of Baldwin's second daughter Alice, in the middle of October, 1126.

Unfortunately the king did not always obtain that sympathetic co-operation which his services to the principality had merited. On one occasion his son-in-law omitted to support one of Baldwin's most hopeful attempts upon Aleppo. The governor of Antioch considered it advisable not to allow the king to become too successful against the enemies of the faith, and Aleppo remained unconquered like Damascus, against which Baldwin also directed vigorous attacks. In the former case he was forced to content himself with the acquisition of a large portion of the territory of Aleppo; and in the latter case with the surrender of Banias, the outpost

of the Damascenes on Mount Hermon at the source of the Jordan—a post that the Mohammedans had hitherto used as a base for incessant raids upon the north of Palestine and the coast towns, whence they had supported the resistance of Tyre, the conquest of which was not yet complete. Banias was recovered by the infidels in 1132, and again recaptured by the Christians in 1140. At that point was maintained, after 1139, the strong crusading fortress, Kalaat es-Subebe, until, in 1165, the position was finally and definitely seized by Nur ed-din.

Upon the whole the successes of Baldwin II. were somewhat modest, but the Frankish victories easily counteracted the pressure of the Mohammedans. As evidence of the Mohammedan attitude, we may quote the words of one of their chroniclers, who complains, with some exaggeration: "The star of Islam had sunk below the horizon, and the sun of its destinies was hidden behind the clouds. The banners of the infidels waved over the Mohammedan territories, and the victories of the unjust overpowered the faithful.

The empire of the Franks extended from Mardin in Mesopotamia to El-Arish on the Egyptian frontier. In the whole of Syria but few towns remained free from their rule. Even of these, Aleppo was tributary to them, and Damascus was forced to surrender its Christian slaves. In Mesopotamia their armies advanced to Amida and Nisibis, and the Mohammedans of Rakka and Harra found no protection against their cruelty."

During the reign of Baldwin II. arose those associations in which at a later date the spiritual and secular chivalry of the crusading principalities displayed its great brilliancy, but which later became almost states within the state, and one of the most material causes of the downfall of the Frankish Empire. These were the orders of knights. The order of Templars was founded about 1119 under Hugo of Payens, and was originally a simple fraternity connected with the hospital of St. John to protect pilgrims from robbers and highwaymen. The new foundation speedily lost its character as a military brotherhood and became an ecclesiastical order, the members of which pledged themselves to chastity, poverty, and obedience, and gave their oaths to the Patriarch of

Baldwin's Last Expedition

Why Aleppo Was Not Taken

THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM

Jerusalem to fight on behalf of the pilgrims in the holy cities. This conjunction of military service and spiritual exercises proved in complete harmony with the spirit of the times. In January, 1128, it secured the powerful support of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, at the Council of Troyes, and received from him a rule akin to that of the Benedictines; from this date its path was easy.

Extensive privileges gradually withdrew its members from the influence of the local clergy and its houses from the supremacy of the bishops; the order speedily acknowledged no superior but the Pope, and rose to great splendour. Members of the superior nobility applied for reception and brought their possessions with them; princes and lords outbid one another in rich grants of land and people. In a short time the order became one of the largest territorial powers even in the west, and an entirely independent power, on an equal footing with the Syrian petty states. The increase of its wealth gave it an importance equivalent to that of the rising mercantile cities of Italy; it

The Great Order of Templars

became a wholesale merchant and manufacturer, and even a kind of gigantic bank, as no small part of western monetary exchange passed through its hands. It can bear comparison with modern institutions of the kind; it even became the pioneer of new economic forms, which the Teutonic knights of later date afterwards imitated in their own interest.

The Templars derived their name from their first possession, given them by Baldwin II, a part of the king's palace upon the supposed site of the Temple, the so-called Mountain Mosque (Kubbet es-Sachra); the Knights of St. John derived their name from the saint to whom was dedicated a hospital, with a pilgrim's shelter and chapel, founded before the Crusades and in connection with the Amalfitan monastery of Santa Maria Latina, near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

The connection between the monastery and hospital was broken at the outset of the crusading period by the Provençal, Gerhard, who raised the hospital to high prosperity and wealth; his successor, Raimond du Puy, transformed the brotherhood into a strict monastic association and made the struggle against the infidels one of the tasks of the new order, in imitation of the Templars,

who, as we have observed, probably originated also in this spot. Thus the possibility was thrown open of a course of development, similar to that of the Templar order. The difference was that the Knights of St. John, the Hospitallers, were more strongly conscious than the Templars of their original objects, the

The Evil Model of the Templars care of the sick and poor; the latter, in consequence of their complete liberation from any ecclesiastical control other than that of the Pope, drifted into hostility against the authorities of the Church, and, perhaps, eventually became corrupted by Nihilist and Satanist errors, which they are supposed to have borrowed from their reputed Mohammedan model, the mysterious sect of the Assassins.

The rise of the two first knightly orders falls probably within the reign of King Fulk. He had been Count of Anjou, and through his son Geoffrey, the son-in-law of Henry I. of England and father of Henry II., became the ancestor of the Plantagenets: he had taken the eldest daughter of Baldwin II., Melisende, as his second wife in 1129, and had been designated as Baldwin's successor. Traditions vary as to his character; they represent him at one time as a powerful and well-meaning ruler, at another as a helpless weakling. The fact is that he maintained the empire at that height of power at which he had found it; the consolidation of its basis and the steady increase of its economic prosperity mark his reign as the zenith of Frankish development.

The growing disobedience of the vassals, which threatened to destroy the vitality of the kingdom, was vigorously crushed for the moment. The rebel Count Hugo of Joppa was humbled, Count Pons of Tripolis was reduced to impotence, the intrigues of the ambitious sister-in-law of the king, Alicia of Antioch, were thwarted; she had been anxious to secure

Damascus the Protector of Syria her own rule against the rights of her daughter, Constance, who was still a minor. Northern Syria was protected against the invasions of the Seljuks and Turkomans, and after one defeat had been suffered at the hands of the Amir of Mossul, Imad ed-din Zenki, on July 11th, 1137, it became possible to secure a firm alliance of the crusading states with Damascus (1133-1140), which protected Syria for the moment from any serious

menace from Mesopotamia. The unchanging geographical conditions had almost precisely reproduced that situation which existed almost two thousand years earlier, when the petty states of Jerusalem and Samaria were in similar relations with the East. On the side of Egypt a line of fortresses was built which cut off any advance from Ascalon, and in the Moabite territory Kerak was erected—not to be confused with the Hospitallers' castle, near Tripolis, called Crac des Chevaliers—which, like Montreal, commanded the routes between Egypt and Syria.

When Trade and Commerce Flourished

Trade and commerce, promoted by the coast settlements of the Italians, now reached their highest prosperity. This development filled the country with the wealth and luxury of a southern colony, and brought the days of greatest brilliancy to the chivalrous splendour of the courts of Jerusalem and Antioch. This was the golden age of the knightly orders, as yet entirely free from any ominous symptoms of demoralisation. The weaknesses inherent in the feudal organisation of the kingdom were less obvious under the first strong rulers. The retention of important privileges affecting military, financial, and legal affairs in the hands of the great vassals, the opposition and separatism of the knightly orders, had not yet become so dangerously pronounced as at a later date. The actual administration of the feudal constitution and its law by no means corresponded with the ideal picture which had been traced in the Assizes of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

This picture probably dates from the time of Fulk, though its final form belongs to nearly a century later, and it is to be regarded as the programme of the feudal system in opposition to the monarchy, and in particular to the claims of Frederic II. The feudal system had hardly been carried during the times of royal power to so

The Height of Feudal Prosperity

dangerous and logical a stage of development. So much, at any rate, is certain, that the idea of the feudal system, which in itself and with reference to the conditions of previous centuries was a great constitutional achievement, attained to its most perfect form in the kingdom of Jerusalem, and to this extent realised the highest possible point of its prosperity; hereafter we shall have to consider why this particular course of development

necessarily entailed the most complete downfall. The prosperity and well-being of the crusading states certainly received the strongest impetus from the flourishing condition of trade and local culture, which was due to the Italian colonists.

The merchants of the west had now secured a footing in Asia in the midst of a kindred nationality and under the most favourable conditions of life, protected by their own privileges and concessions, in settlements under their own magistrates, police, judicial system, and Church. Any chance visitor to these harbours for commercial purposes could find support, information, and counsel from his countrymen and from the colonial officials; indeed the office of consul originated in this quarter.

There was no necessity to travel into the interior, for the Syrian coast could provide the products of almost the entire eastern world. Mercantile communication with the Persian Gulf—by which relations had always been maintained with India and China across the Indian Ocean—and with Nearer Asia and China, by the land route through Persia, Bucharest, Samarkand, Ferghana, and Turkestan, converged upon Bagdad; hence the caravan

Bagdad as a Trading Centre

routes led to the Euphrates, and to Rakka, at which point also the commercial routes from Mossul and Diarbeka reached the river by way of Nisib, Samosata, Edessa, and Harran. From Rakka a northern commercial route passed through Aleppo to the coast at Antioch and Laodicea, and a southern route advanced to Damascus by way of Hamath and Hims, at which point it joined the great roads from Arabia and Egypt. In this way Damascus has become the starting-point of the Syrian Haj, the chief pilgrim caravan to Mecca, and the meeting-point of mercantile routes in Asia Minor. The city received the products of India and China from two directions and the products of Western Asia from the north, with those of Egypt from the south.

To this influx of wares from every part of the world were added the native industries. These were silk-weaving, especially of gold brocade, which had reached high perfection, and the forging of weapons, which had become no less famous than the silk industry. This great centre of Mohammedan trade and commerce now formed the hinterland of the

THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM

Syrian coast. The not inconsiderable marts of Hamath and Hims sent their wares down to the sea to the harbours of Tortosa and Tripolis; Antioch and Laodicea were in connection with Bagdad, Mossul, and the Far East, by way of Aleppo and Rakka, but Damascus was but a few days' journey from the great commercial centres of Beyrout, Tyre, Sidon, and Acre. In the intervening territory Tiberias, with Haifa as its export harbour, had become an important commercial centre because it lay upon the road from Egypt to Damascus, which traversed the country diagonally: Acre, however, upon the coast,

incense, indigo, Brazil wood, and pearls were on sale. The wholesale traders of the East themselves, the merchants of Mossul, for instance, seem constantly to have brought their wares to these harbours.

Even at that date the seaports displayed that same mixture of Oriental populations which persists at the present day. The inhabitants of Tripolis, for instance, were Latins, Greeks, Armenians, Maronites, Nestorians, Jews, and Saracens. To their carrying trade was added a considerable Syrian trade in the products of the Syrian soil and industry. The fertility of the soil had not yet been destroyed by



RECONSTRUCTION OF A STRONGLY FORTIFIED CASTLE OF THE HOSPITALLERS IN SYRIA

possessed the best and widest harbour in Syria, and gradually collected the export trade of the whole East within its walls, as the customs tariffs, which have been preserved, record. From these documents we can see that in Acre were collected rhubarb from East Asia, musk from Thibet, pepper, cinnamon, nutmeg—in short, all the spices of India which were so eagerly coveted during those centuries. Thither also came aloë wood from Assam, camphor from the Sunda Islands, Indian and East African ivory, incense and dates from Arabia, and many other products. In Beyrout documents tell us that pepper,

Turkish misgovernment, and the most careful cultivation prevailed in the warm stretches of coast country.

International exchange of an extent and richness hitherto unknown to western civilisation became the source of unprecedented and unexpected wealth. During the early period of the kingdom, a contemporary chronicler, the chaplain of Baldwin I., who had accompanied him upon the First Crusade, writes as follows: "From day to day we are followed by our relations and parents, who without real willingness abandoned all their former possessions. For those who there were

poor were here made rich by God ; those who had but little money now possess countless wealth, and he who had never had a village, here receives a town from God's hand."

The acquisition of masterless land and property was easy ; and when to this was added the profits of trade and manufactures, every condition of brilliant colonial prosperity was present. Splendour and immorality, the usual consequences of luxury, were fostered by the southern climate, and speedily became apparent. At the moment, indeed, these darker pictures were hidden by the brighter side ; the splendour and brilliancy of western chivalry was conjoined with colonial prosperity and found here the classical soil of its growth, notwithstanding infusions of foreign blood. The incessant struggle against the infidels was an anxiety never entirely overpowered by the inclination to pursue material interests through commercial intercourse ; it was an anxiety which produced the most complete military skill on the part of the knights, which made them perfect in the works of war and peace, and the determining element in the social and intellectual culture of the Middle Ages. The European chivalry of the crusading centuries never denied that it had originated on the plains of Syria. France was its mother country, and gradually became the great centre of the crusading movement, whence it derived its claim to lead civilisation. Through France it passed to the other countries of the West, especially to Germany. As its prosperity belongs to the East, so also does its degeneration, the outcome of contact with the excrescences of a colonial civilisation which was destined to clear the ground for other economic, constitutional, and social forms.

The prosperity, however, of the crusading states—the possibility of their maintaining a firm front against

Foundations of the Latin Kingdom Islam—was doomed to end whenever the Seljuk power should succeed in concentrating itself. Lack of cohesion among the Turks left the Christians in comparative security ; but their own lack of cohesion could not but bring disaster in the face of united effort. Feudalism and effective cohesion were incompatible ; and, practically speaking, the Latin kingdom was ultra-feudal.

Moreover, it did not rest on the support of an organised Europe, but only on the casual impulse which drove kings, nobles, or knights individually to take the Cross. A wave of crusading sentiment might carry vast armies to the East. In the case of the First Crusade, only the magnitude of the wave had enabled the Crusaders to achieve their object. There was no other wave of the same magnitude, and in the intervals of subsidence the support given to the Eastern Christians was desultory.

While Fulk of Anjou was king of Jerusalem (1131–1144), Imad ed-din Zenki of Mosul was concentrating the Syrian Turkish power in his own hands. The Latins were at odds with the Greek Empire. In 1144 Zenki captured Edessa, and the conquest was confirmed in 1146 by his son and successor, Nur ed-din. The energy of the Pope, Eugenius III., and of Bernard of Clairvaux set in motion the Second Crusade, at the head of which Louis VII. of France and the German Conrad were induced to place themselves. But there was no combination. The German expedition was virtually ruined before the French arrived.

Collapse of the Second Crusade The Latin kingdom did not wish to bring down upon itself the whole force of the Seljuks, and its leaders deliberately misled their western ally into inevitable failure. The Second Crusade collapsed. Within the Latin kingdom political disintegration and personal demoralisation under the influence of Oriental conditions progressed together during the reign of Baldwin III., who was succeeded in 1162 by his brother, Amalric.

The dissensions of the Fatimid rulers of Egypt caused one faction first to call in the aid of Nur ed-din's general, Shirku, and then to quarrel with him and invite the aid of the Latin kingdom. The details of the contest need not detain us here. Military operations of varying success, coupled with a fast-and-loose diplomatic policy, ended in the ignominious withdrawal of Amalric, and the establishment of Shirku as Egyptian vizir. In 1169 he was followed by his nephew, Ayub Salah ed-din Yusuf, known as Saladin, who, having made himself master of Egypt, was enabled, by the death of Nur ed-din, to establish himself also as the lord of that potentate's dominions in 1183.

WESTERN
EUROPE IN
THE MIDDLE
AGES



WHAT THE
CRUSADES
DID FOR
EUROPE IV

SALADIN AND THE CRUSADES THE STRUGGLES FOR THE HOLY SEPULCHRE

THE kingdom of Jerusalem was now thrown into dynastic confusion by the early death of King Amalric, who died on July 11th, 1174, at the age of thirty-eight, and almost at the same moment as Nur ed-din. The change to life in a sub-tropical climate had not only weakened the moral resistance of the Europeans to the temptations of colonial culture, but had also produced physical degeneration. It is a remarkable fact that of the children born to the Frankish nobles in Palestine hardly one reached maturity; the descendants of the Lorraine-Angevin dynasty all died in early youth. During the thirteenth century this fate precluded that dynastic consolidation which might have brought real leaders to the front.

The want of such leaders was especially disastrous during the decade immediately preceding the fall of Jerusalem. Amalric's heir, his son by Agnes of Edessa—he married his second wife, Maria Comnena, in 1167—was Baldwin IV., a man of high capacity, but smitten with leprosy. He gained many successes, including a victory over the great Saladin, at Tell-jezer, on November 25th, 1177. But the increase of his malady, and the constant quarrels of the barons concerning the regency and the succession, counter-balanced any loss inflicted upon this powerful foe. Of the candidates for the regency, an advisable choice seemed to be Count Raimond of Tripolis, a distinguished, though possibly over-cautious, character. He was opposed by Count Guy of Lusignan, who had married Sibylla in the spring of 1180. She was the widowed sister of the king, having lost her husband in 1177.

After the death of Baldwin IV., in 1185, Sibylla's little son, Baldwin V., died at the beginning of 1186. In the resulting outbreak of intrigue the incompetent Guy of Lusignan succeeded in securing the crown against the admirable regent Raimond. In the spring of 1187 Saladin advanced

upon the country with the united forces of Egypt and Syria. His invasion was facilitated by the continuance of dissension between Raimond and Guy. Though the Franks were able to take the field against him with 20,000 men, the chivalry of the kingdom, after displaying its old bravery, was overwhelmed by the devastating blows of Saladin on July 3rd and 4th, 1187, in the battle of Hattin, to the west of Tiberias, a fierce conflict which continued for two days. Saladin was magnanimous enough to liberate, in June, 1188, King Guy and the other barons who had fallen into his hands, but in the meantime he had secured his mastery of the country. After Tiberias, he reduced Acre, Jaffa, Caesarea, and Sidon in July, with a number of fortresses and castles in the interior.

In August he captured Beyrout; in September, Ascalon, Gaza, and the towns between these places and the Holy City; finally Jerusalem itself fell, after a fortnight's siege, notwithstanding the lamentations and prayers of the monks, priests, and nuns, who carried the Holy Cross in procession round the walls. Part of the inhabitants secured their freedom and a sale-conduct to the unconquered harbours at the price of a high poll-tax.

Meanwhile, Mohammedanism celebrated its re-establishment in Jerusalem with great splendour. Only after some weeks did Saladin leave the city to resume in August the siege of Tyre, which had previously failed. Here he again encountered a heroic defence by Conrad of Montferrat, the second of those brothers who had reached the Holy Land immediately after the battle of Hattin. After months of fruitless endeavour, Saladin was forced to retire on January 1st, 1188. An attack upon Tripolis in June proved equally unsuccessful. He succeeded, however, in capturing Arka, Tortosa, Gibelet, Laodicea, and a number of

**Siege and
Fall of
Jerusalem**

**Where
Saladin
Failed**

fortresses in Northern Syria, and reduced Antioch to severe straits. At the end of October, Kerak succumbed to repeated assaults. The Templar fortress of Safed was captured on January 5th, 1189. Montreal shortly afterwards, and Belfort (Shakif Arnun) on April 11th, 1190. Antioch, Tripolis, Tyre, and the Johannite fortress of Margat were the only positions remaining in the hands of the Christians.

Only Western help could now save the

Frankish rule from annihilation. The failure of the Second Crusade had considerably damped the general enthusiasm on behalf of the Holy Sepulchre. Military reinforcements to Palestine were, comparatively speaking, most scanty during the generation after 1150. The embassies of Amalric and Baldwin IV., informing the western rulers of the needs of the Syrian states, were honourably received, but returned with no tangible results, for the hostilities prevailing between the empire and the papacy, and between France and England, prevented any general co-operation. Now, however, the dis-

astrous news from the East aroused the deepest grief and the fiercest indignation in Europe, and public enthusiasm rose even to a higher pitch than at the time of the First Crusade. The heart of Pope Urban III. was broken by the news of the fall of Jerusalem, and he died on October 20th, 1187. His successor, Gregory VIII., at once made peace with the empire; and upon his death, on December 17th, Clement III.

zealously continued the efforts of Gregory to secure the co-operation of the western powers in a new Crusade. Circular letters were issued to every prince, and instructions for fasting and prayer to all the clergy, while the people were exhorted to purity and simplicity of life. Indulgences and the postponement of creditors' claims were offered to all who might take the cross; all who remained at home, high and low, became liable to the "Saladin tithe."



SALADIN, THE GREAT ENEMY OF THE CRUSADES
The rapid rise to power of this great sultan, was largely responsible for the Third Crusade being undertaken. With fierce determination he opposed the crusading forces, but five years of stubborn conflict exhausted him, and he showed a readiness to make concessions. A three years' truce was agreed to, Jerusalem remaining with the infidels.
From the drawing by Gustave Doré

Thus amid passionate excitement Latin Christendom took up arms almost as one man. Once again the fire of enthusiastic devotion, scorning suffering or death, glowed in the hearts of the chosen; once again the unusual privileges granted to Crusaders were regarded by the larger numbers of worldly wise participants as an excellent opportunity to withdraw with honour from troubles at home, and to gain fame, wealth, and an everlasting recompense abroad. If ever a Crusade afforded prospects of complete success, it was surely this which was planned in 1188,

for it was joined in rapid succession by Philip II. Augustus of France, by his opponent, Henry II. of England, by Henry's rebellious son Richard upon his father's death on July 6th, 1189, and finally by the most powerful of western monarchs, the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, whose resolution was taken at the famous "Diet of Christ" at Mainz, on the Sunday called "Lætare Jerusalem"—March 27th, 1188.

SALADIN AND THE CRUSADES

Once again one of the greatest military and religious enterprises known to history, born amid tumultuous zeal and burning enthusiasm, died away within a few years, and the united western armament was eventually shattered by miserable brawls with friend and foe, utterly unworthy of the movement, though it must be said that the causes of failure to some extent lay deeper than in unfortunate events and the antagonism of the leaders. In particular a calamity, which could not have been anticipated, brought to a miserable end the German Crusade, one of the best and

most capable expeditions which mediæval Germany ever sent forth. The numbers of the army were estimated at one hundred thousand men, including some fifty thousand knights. These figures were doubtless subject to the usual exaggeration, as it is expressly stated that the army was smaller than the German levy of 1147, for the reason that unsuitable participants were excluded by a census (three silver marks), and none but well-equipped and experienced warriors, knights, and trained squires were admitted. This proud host was under the command of the most experienced and successful general of the age, the admiration of East and West, the powerful emperor. Upon the approach of his army, Saladin himself razed the walls of several fortresses in Palestine, that they

might not be used as bases by the Germans; and an Arab Christian afterwards wrote: "Had not the gracious providence of God brought death upon the emperor at the moment when he was about to invade Syria, it would have been said of Syria and Egypt in later days that here the Mohammedans once ruled!"

The German army followed the route of Godfrey of Bouillon, and surmounted such difficulties as they encountered with greater ease than any preceding expedition. Hungary and its king, Bela III., were overawed by the reputation of the



ENGLAND'S CRUSADING KING, RICHARD CŒUR DE LION

Filled with zeal for the recovery of Jerusalem from the infidels, Richard I., King of England, sailed for the East in December, 1190, and fought heroically against the Christians' enemies. He was present at the capture of Acre, his military skill and prowess contributing largely to the fall of that stronghold, and at Arsaf he overthrew the Saracens. He failed, however, to reach Jerusalem, and eventually concluded a three years' truce with Saladin.

emperor; Servia and Wallachia offered homage and hospitality. In the Greek Empire the path was more difficult; the dynasty of the Comneni had come to an end in 1185, and the old state of disruption had returned. Beyond the Balkans the German army met with doubtful friendship, which soon became treacherous opposition. Eventually, however, the army succeeded in forcing a passage through Asia Minor and the Seljuk territory, an exploit performed by

upon the completion of a day's march. The aged emperor was carried from the waves of the mountain stream still living; for a whole day the doctors strove to save his life, but in vain. He died on June 10th, 1190, and with him died the spirit of the German Crusade. Contemporary chroniclers represent the crusading army as falling to pieces by a process of disintegration upon the death of Barbarossa. It is certain that after reaching Antioch a number of the Crusaders embarked upon



ISAAC, "EMPEROR OF CYPRUS," BEGGING FOR THE RELEASE OF HIS DAUGHTER

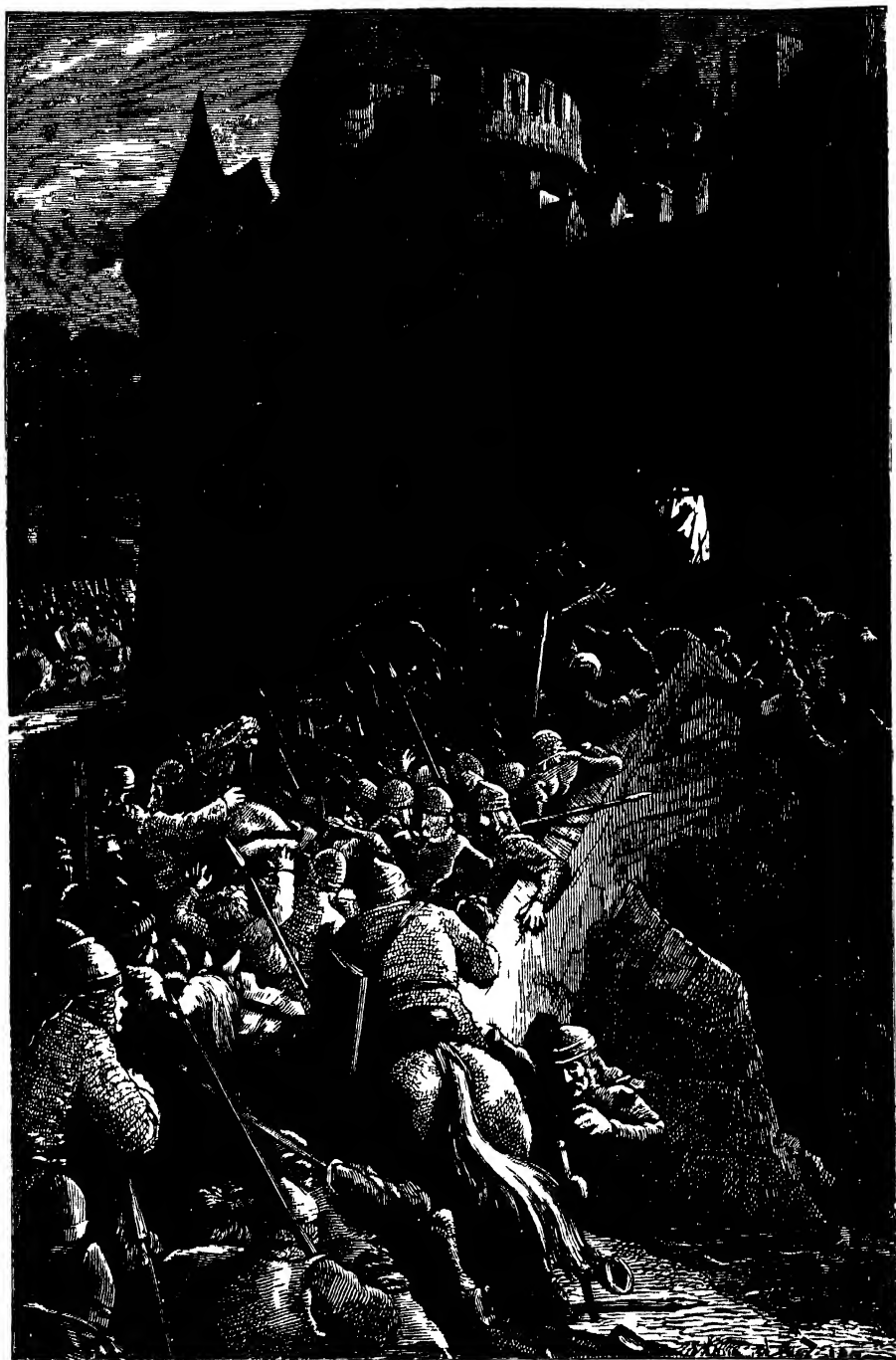
An interesting episode in the Crusade of Richard Cœur de Lion is here illustrated. Wrecked on the coast of Cyprus in a storm, some of the king's followers were plundered and cast into prison by the natives, and Richard at once took measures to punish Isaac, who styled himself "Emperor of Cyprus." He captured the "Emperor's" daughter, who was greatly beloved by her father, and this soon had the effect of reducing Isaac to humble submission.

no Frankish troops since the march of the Crusaders about a century earlier, in 1097.

At length, after unspeakable sufferings, the Crusaders were rewarded by the sight of the Cilician plains, the foreground of Syria; then the crowning misfortune came upon the army and the Crusade in general in Kalykadnos (Safes). Reports differ as to whether Frederic was cut off in crossing or riding through a river to shorten a difficult mountain path, or while bathing

their homeward voyage at the harbour of Korykos, that many bands separated from the main body and were destroyed by the Saracens in the district of Aleppo, and that thousands were swept away by a pestilence at Antioch. The majority of the German Crusaders probably returned home from Northern Syria.

At Tripolis, their leader, Duke Frederic, notwithstanding the competent guidance of Conrad of Montferrat, no longer felt



THE CRUSADERS FEUDS FIGHT BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH AT GIZOR

The Crusade planned in 1188 began under the brightest auspices and it seemed as if success would at last reward the enterprise of the Christian forces. But internal dissensions soon extinguished the enthusiasm. Differences arose between the followers of Philip II Augustus of France and those of his opponent, Henry II of England, and in the illustration we see the representatives of the two nations in open warfare. Inside the Castle of Gisors the French fortified themselves, and the English made a determined effort to capture the stronghold. A terrible struggle took place on the bridge, many of the English, who were eventually driven back, being precipitated into the river beneath.

himself strong enough to force the passes between the sea and the mountains on the road to Tyre; he preferred to make the passage by sea, a mode of transport which necessarily limited the number of troops conveyed. Eventually, after a lengthy stay in Tyre, Duke Frederic is said to have reached Acre on October 7th

The End of the German Crusade with no more than a thousand men. Acre, which saw the end of the German Crusade, became the centre of those struggles in which the other western nations took part during the Third Crusade, apart from the assistance rendered to King Sancho of Portugal against the Arabs in 1189 by numerous Crusaders from the coasts of the North Sea and from the Lower Rhine. We have already related that with the capital towns of North Syria, Tyre alone remained in the hands of the Franks, and had survived two sieges by Saladin, owing to the energy of Conrad of Montferrat, who had arrived from the west at the time of the battle of Hattin.

The famous siege of Acre began at the end of August, 1189, in the course of which the whole remaining strength of Christian Syria and of the West was concentrated about this town. At the moment when the besiegers began operations Saladin appeared with a relieving force, and a titanic struggle began upon two fronts, in the course of which the chivalry of the Christian army displayed powers of heroism and endurance worthy of the great memories of the First Crusade. The assailants were continually harassed both by the garrison and by the relieving army; their position depended entirely upon the maintenance of their communications with the sea, and marvellous bravery and tenacity were evinced in the accomplishment of this difficult task. For nearly two years Acre was surrounded by the iron circles of the Christian besiegers and their Saracen assailants. Not until the spring of 1191

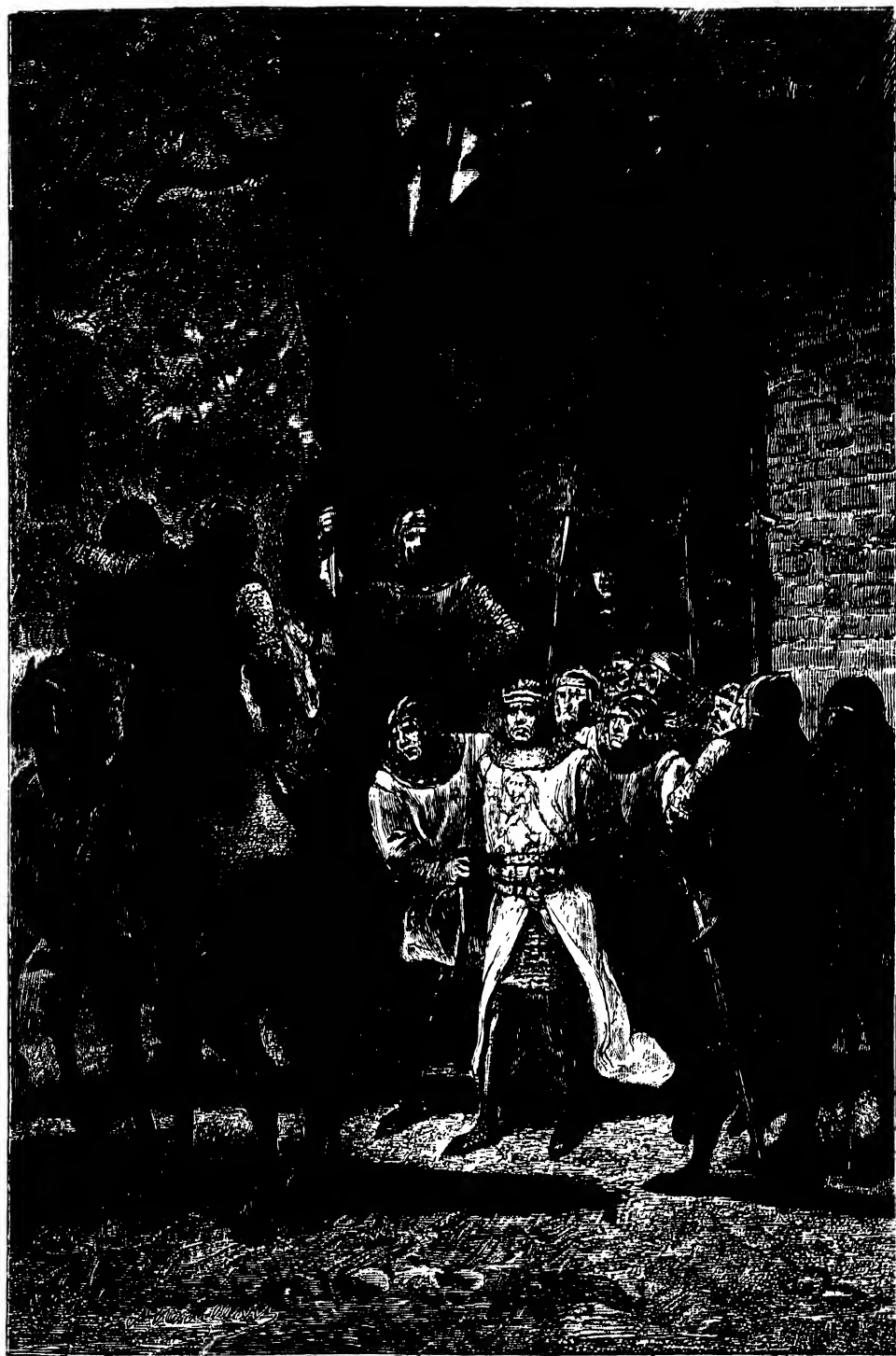
Titanic Struggle at Acre did Philip II. Augustus of France arrive, followed by Richard I. of England in the summer. These Christian reinforcements secured the surrender of the fortress and the retreat of Saladin on July 12th.

These monarchs should have arrived at a much earlier date, seeing that their expeditions had been arranged and begun as a common enterprise. But the unstable and refractory temperament of Richard "Lionheart" had caused bloody quarrels

in Sicily during October and December, 1190, first with the native population and then with the French knights, and had ended in serious friction between the leaders themselves. Richard had, in consequence, repudiated his betrothal to Alice, a sister of the King of France, and a further cause of dissension and deep mistrust thus separated the two kings and nations who were already upon bad terms. Six precious months were wasted. At length, upon March 30th, 1191, the King of France started; Richard delayed twelve days longer, and was then driven by stress of weather to the island of Cyprus, which fell into his hands from those of the usurper, the "Emperor" Isaac, of the house of the Comneni, by a remarkable conjunction of events. This chance conquest of Cyprus was almost the only permanent achievement of the Third Crusade. After the final loss of Syria, the island became a valuable outpost of western civilisation, and its close commercial relations with the eastern world secured its prosperity until the Ottoman conquest of 1571. Acre was captured, in

Cyprus Captured by Richard spite of angry dissensions between the Christian leaders. Immediately afterwards, Philip found an excuse for returning to France. The fate of Jerusalem was thus left in Richard's hands; and under conditions which imperatively demanded statesmanship, he displayed nothing more than a reckless bravery and an audacious daring, with tales of which Mohammedan mothers used to terrify their children in later years.

He further tarnished his knighthood by his indiscretion in tearing the banner of Duke Leopold of Austria from a tower of Acre, and by his cold-blooded massacre of 3,000 of the bold defenders, for the reason that their appointed ransom did not arrive at the time arranged—August 20th. A year was expended in purposeless marching and countermarching; and though many successes were secured, including the capture of Casarea, Jaffa and Ascalon, these towns were soon lost once more. No vigorous attempt could be made upon Jerusalem, though this was the main object of the expedition, and though the army reached the immediate neighbourhood of the Holy City. Negotiations with Saladin were constantly begun and as constantly broken off. Richard's chivalrous imagination extended so far as



THE CAPTURE OF RICHARD CŒUR DE LION WHILE RETURNING FROM THE CRUSADE
Returning from his unsuccessful attempt to wrest Jerusalem from the hands of the infidel, England's warrior king, Richard I., was made prisoner by Leopold, Duke of Austria, in 1192. The Emperor Henry VI., to whom Richard was handed over, kept him in confinement for about two years, and he was liberated only on the payment of a large ransom.

to confer knighthood upon Saladin's nephew, afterwards the Sultan Al-Kamil. The wild project was even discussed at the end of 1191 of a marriage between Saladin's brother Aladil and Richard's sister Joanna.

Saladin was exhausted by five years of fierce conflict; he showed a readiness to make concessions, and would probably have gone so far as to sacrifice Jerusalem. But the Arab chroniclers emphasise the difficulty of conducting negotiations with Richard: "Whenever an agreement was arranged with the King of England, he immediately annulled it: he continually made changes in the terms of a convention or raised difficulties in the way: if he gave his word, he took it back again, and was ever the first to break the secrecy which he had required." The end of all this purposeless struggle was a three years' armistice, which began on September 2nd; it secured the Christians in possession of the seaboard from Jaffa to Tyre, and gave them some fortresses in the interior. Jerusalem, however, was left in the hands of the infidels, and Christians were allowed to visit the Holy Sepulchre only in small companies and unarmed; since 1187 the Sepulchre had been guarded by Syrian priests, and Christian prisoners had performed their tasks around it under the lash of their tormentors.

The kingdom was named "Jerusalem" as though in mockery; and before returning home Richard of England was obliged, at the urgent wish of the barons, to grant the crown to Conrad of Montferrat, who was shortly afterwards—in April, 1192—murdered by assassins. Conrad's widow, Isabella, was ever ready for a fresh marriage, and her inheritance now passed with her hand to Count Henry of Champagne, a nephew of the King of England. Richard had invested his favourite, Guy, with the kingdom of Cyprus on April 5th, 1192; the Templars, to whom the island had been originally entrusted, had been expelled by a revolt.

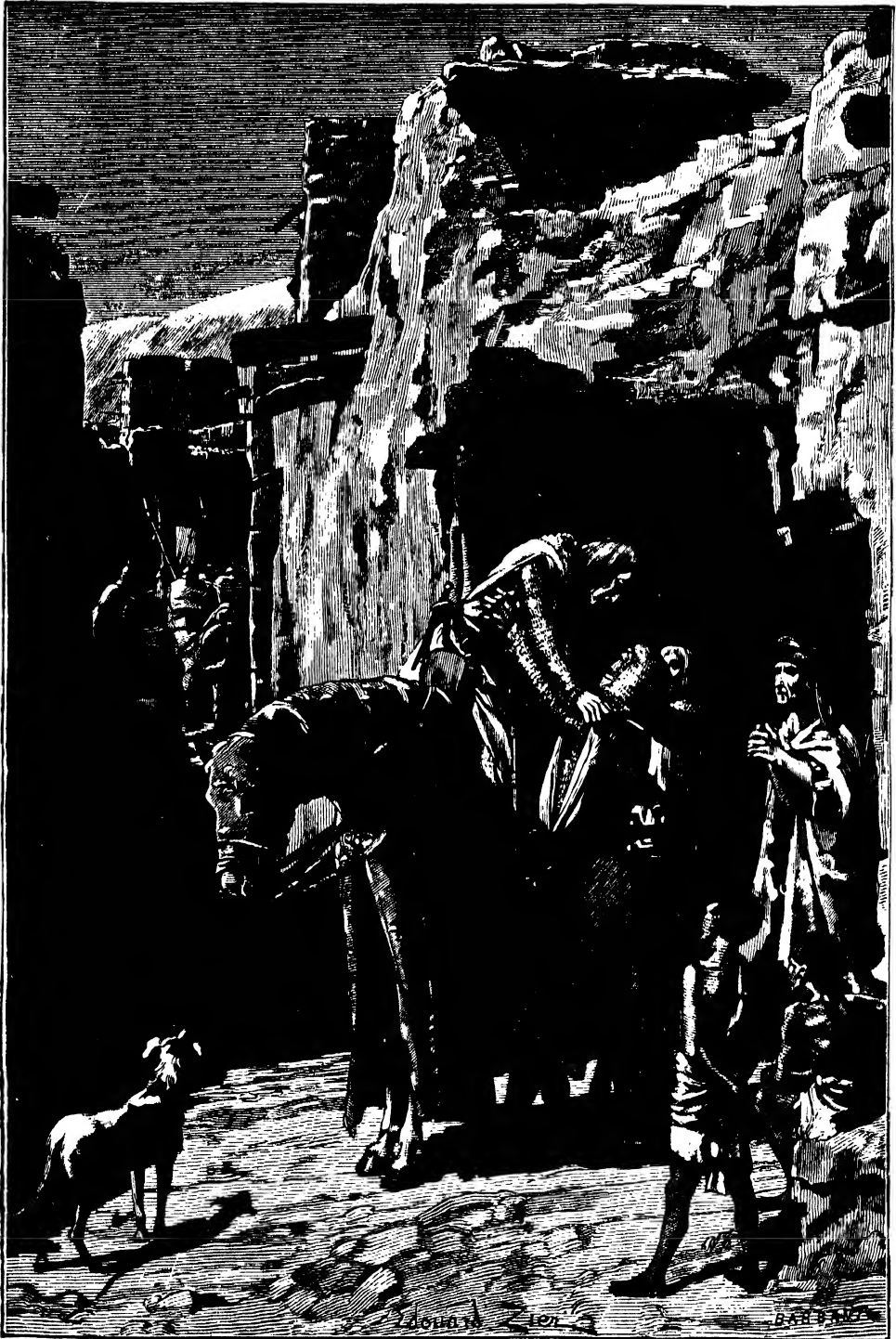
Thus began the Cypriot dynasty of Lusignan, which eventually renewed its claim upon Jerusalem, and in which that kingdom was ultimately merged. The great effort had failed. Europe had finally demonstrated its incapacity for corporate action. A so-called kingdom of Jerusalem survived, but its king did not reign

in the Holy City. From the Latin state itself religious fervour had permanently departed; but another century was to elapse before the men of the West ceased to be stirred by the crusading spirit. After that it became a vague dream, which never materialised itself.

But during the hundred years following the Third Crusade a number of expeditions were undertaken, inasmuch that historians are not agreed as to which of them are entitled to the dignity of enumeration among the Crusades proper. One was organised by the German Emperor, Henry VI., before the twelfth century closed; but he died without personally taking part in it, and it ended in disaster. The vigour and resolution of the great Pope Innocent III. brought together a great armament for the Fifth Crusade, when the new century began; greed and Venetian diplomacy provided excuses for turning it into an attack on the Byzantine Empire instead of on the Turk, and its outcome was the temporary establishment of a Latin Empire at Constantinople. Other successful efforts followed, and at length, in 1228, the Emperor Frederic II.

Crusades That Failed undertook the long-promised Sixth Crusade. Without a battle, he forced upon the Turks a treaty which surrendered Palestine once more to him as king of Jerusalem; but he was obliged to crown himself with his own hands, because no ecclesiastic would perform the function on behalf of the excommunicate emperor, who returned to Europe to carry on his contest with the papacy. Jerusalem remained in Christian hands for only a brief period.

In 1249, Saint Louis led a Crusade, on the hypothesis that the gate of Palestine was in Egypt. Damietta was taken, but dissension and lack of discipline wrought the usual ruin. The Crusaders were trapped and overwhelmed; Louis himself was taken prisoner, and was released only on the payment of a heavy ransom. Once more, in 1270, Louis led a Crusade, but died when the expedition had landed on the African coast. For a time the task was carried on by Prince Edward of England; but his father's death and his own accession to the English throne as Edward I. demanded his return to his kingdom, with nothing accomplished beyond the capture of Nazareth. So ended the last serious attempt to recover the Holy Land for Christendom.



ST. LOUIS, KING OF FRANCE, SEEKING REFUGE FROM THE SARACENS

Falling under the fascinating spell of the great crusading movement, Louis IX. of France, better known as St. Louis, headed a Crusade in 1249, making for Palestine by way of Egypt. Trapped and overwhelmed by the enemy, the King of France fell into the hands of the Saracens, who demanded a heavy ransom for his release. Undaunted, however, by his ill success on this occasion, he led another Crusade in 1270, but died when the expedition had landed on the African coast

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THE PASSING OF THE CRUSADES AND THEIR LEGACY TO THE MILITARY ORDERS

THE strife on the part of the Christians which had enfeebled their final powers of resistance had assumed enormous proportions in the last centuries. At Acre itself, in the year 1257, war broke out between the Genoese and Venetians,

The Heavy Revenge of the Genoese

in which also the Pisans and the ever-hostile Templars and Hospitallers were involved, first on the side of the Genoese and then on the side of the Venetians. For two years regular battles were fought about Acre and Tyre, which cost the lives of twenty thousand men, occasioned losses of ships and property, and devastated the town of Acre so that it was almost annihilated. This was the beginning of the war between the two naval powers which lasted about one hundred and twenty-five years. In the first period the Genoese avenged themselves for being driven out of Acre by expelling, in their turn, the Venetians and Latins from Constantinople, while later they almost entirely destroyed the power of their weaker opponents, the Pisans.

Under such conditions affairs in the Holy Land were trending to a catastrophe. It seemed at first possible to ward off destruction by the help of unexpected allies. Since the beginning of the century, when the Mongols under Genghis Khan had made inroads into Western Asia, the Christians had cast a hopeful look towards them as a result of the naturally hostile attitude which they had adopted against Islam. The Crusaders had already fallen under the influence of the mysterious legend

Mongols Favour the Christians

of the Christian Prester John, who was to appear with an army from the far west to help the Crusaders. In time rumours of the friendly feelings entertained by the Mongols for the Christians grew in force. Like his brother and overlord Mangu, Hulagu, a grandson of Genghis Khan, who conquered Bagdad and destroyed the Abbasid caliphate, was entirely

on the side of the Christians. His favourite wife was a Christian, and she was able to procure every advantage for her religion. Her son Abaka received the Holy Communion with the Christians several times, and also again a few days before his death. His brother and successor, Tagudar Ogul, had been baptised as a child, a profession of faith which he afterwards most emphatically disavowed, for immediately on his succession to power he went over to Islam under the name of Ahmed-Sultan.

The policy of the Ilkhans, which was friendly to the Christians, was again adopted by his nephew Argun, the eldest son of Abaka, who dethroned Ahmed after a short rule. From the days of the first Council of Lyons, 1245, until late in the fourteenth century their courts were open to ambassadors of the Popes and of the western princes, particularly to Franciscan friars,

Baptisms at the Council of Lyons

while Argun, for his part, sent ambassadors to Rome and France. Thus the hopes that the Mongols would interfere in favour of the Syrian Christians against the power of Islam were justified, and the last council, held at Lyons in 1274, which considered the affair of the Holy Land, was under the influence of the ambassadors of Abaka, who were present, and by their own request received baptism.

Unfortunately, however, this favourable attitude of the Ilkhans to Christianity subsided with the approaching decline of the empire. A defender of Islam appeared in the Sultan Rukn ed-din Bibars I. of Egypt, who resembled Saladin in his statesmanship and powers of organisation, and continued the religious war with, if possible, greater audacity and valour, certainly with more cunning, perfidy, and cruelty. He resisted with such constant success the inroads of the Mongols in Syria, by which they had already conquered Aleppo and Damascus, and pressed forward to Gaza, that the last hopes of the



THE KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN DEFENDING RHODES AGAINST THE TURKS

Though the days of the Crusades had passed away, the spirit of that great movement remained, and showed itself in the Brothers of St. John of the Hospital. On the south-west shores of Asia Minor they created, after 1306, a state of their own, of which the centre was Rhodes. That stronghold was subject to Ottoman attacks, and successfully resisted a great siege by the Turks from May till June, 1480; the knights surrendered only in 1522.

Christians vanished. In the respites granted to him by the Mongols, Bibars proceeded with deliberate plans and aims. He led eight campaigns (1261-1274) against the Christians, during which Caesarea and Arsuf in 1265, Safed in 1266, Jaffa and Bellort in 1268, and soon afterwards Antioch, fell into his hands, and were terribly devastated. In 1271, after he had conquered a number of strong castles belonging to the military orders, among them the celebrated Castle Kurd belonging to the Knights of the Order of St. John, the remainder of the Frankish possessions fell like ripe fruit into the lap of his third successor, Saif ed-din Kalaun. For some time previously the Christians, having fully realised the impending destruction, had

begun their retrogression to the west and Cyprus. Before setting out, they were hastily selling their goods or bequeathing them to the military orders, and rescuing documents and title deeds. On May 23rd, 1285, the castle of Margat, which belonged to the Hospitallers, and on April 26th, 1289, Tripolis, which had been weakened by civil strife, were both taken by the Egyptian who called himself Malik el-Mansur. Now only Acre, Athlith, Beirut, Haifa, Sidon, Tortosa, and Tyre remained to the Christians, when in April, 1291, Kalaun's son, Malik el-Aschraf Salah ed-din Khalil, advanced to Acre with a powerful army. Once more marvellous deeds of bravery were achieved under the influence of the old crusading spirit, till on May 18th an assault of

extreme force led the infidels to their goal. Only a portion of the defenders escaped by sea; the majority of the inhabitants perished by the sword.

The last heroic resistance of the Templars in their castle was ended, ten days after the conquest of the town, by the undermining of the walls, which in their fall engulfed Christians and Mussulmans alike. That was the end. The last Christian possessions were either forsaken during the succeeding weeks by the inhabitants or given up after a short blockade. Thus the entire work of the Crusades was annihilated.

Even with the complete loss of Syria the crusading spirit by no means entirely disappeared. As it lived in the hearts of the pious, so it occupied the thoughts of politicians, aroused the lust of adventure in the knights, and inspired the phantasy of the poets. The fourteenth century witnessed many a hopeful aspiration to organise armed Crusades, and still more ambitious plans, among which the hope of an alliance with the Mongols, even if their conversion to Christianity was no longer possible, played an important part, while the enemy who had first to be conquered—namely, the Ottoman Turks—came more and more into prominence. But as their advance towards Europe diverted the struggle between West and East into another direction and compelled the West to fall back on a hardly maintained defensive position, so the spirit in which in the fourteenth century Crusades could be considered and planned was essentially transformed.

The papacy, which, immediately before and after the year 1291, under the unwelcome influence of the embassies from the East, had devised and set on foot vainly a fruitless effort to avert the fate of the kingdom which it had created, soon after realised that it had for ever lost the leading position which it had held when it had called into life and conducted the

wars of the Cross. The œcumenical policy of the Church gives place to the development of national stability and territorial demarcation. While the First Crusade was distinguished by the effacement of natural differences and the unifying influence exercised on men's minds by the thought of the ruling Church, the later Crusades became more and more the enterprises of individual nations. Moreover in the fourteenth century a Crusade could no longer be regarded as an aim in itself, but rather as a means of effecting national and political designs and of expressing the adventurous spirit of in-

dividual classes belonging to the several nations, among which, early and late, the French nobility took a leading part. From its ranks were still drawn the outposts of western civilisation, the Frankish potentates in Greece, the lords of the Cypriote kingdom, and also the noblest members of the military orders; only Genoa and Venice maintained an interest equally strong, even if essentially different in character, in the relations of the West with Islam.

Thus all the plans which had been contrived for future Crusades in succession by Popes, by a Roman emperor, by able men of affairs such as the noble Venetian Marino Sanudo, or by deep thinkers such as the Frenchman Pierre Dubois.

served in execution only the purpose of advancing the interests of the Venetian Republic or of the French knighthood. They do not belong to the history of the Crusades in its proper sense if one looks deeper than the name.

Much more does the history of Frankish Cyprus deserve to be treated as a sequel to the Crusades. Its kings, sprung from the house of Lusignan—though after 1267 only in the female line, while on the male side they belonged to the Antioch-Tripolitan princely race of Bohemond, and in reality therefore to the house of



CATARINA, QUEEN OF CYPRUS

This picture of Catarina Cornaro, Queen of Cyprus, is reproduced from the painting by Titian. She was the wife of the last King of Cyprus, James II., and abdicated her kingdom in favour of the Republic of Venice.

THE PASSING OF THE CRUSADES

Poitou—had, on account of their manifold claims to the inheritance by marriage, worn the crown of Jerusalem or held the regency in Palestine during the greater part of the thirteenth century. When crown and country were ultimately lost, many valuables which lay hidden in the land were brought over to Cyprus. Even before this the island, by constant intercourse with the West and with the Frankish colonies, had been richly sown with the seeds of culture, which now, when Cyprus had become practically the frontier of Catholic Christianity, yielded an abundant harvest.

Commercial towns, like the settlements of the military orders, found in Cyprus a new home. Famagusta became a second Acre. There, thanks to a vigorous inter-

the destruction of the Syrian empire, made its influence felt here also. Genoa took possession of Famagusta in 1373, and her monopoly of the commerce of this great harbour crippled the industrial strength of the island, while the strife which resulted, continuing almost a century, was fatal to the political power of Cyprus. Her last king, James II. (1460-1473), by his marriage with Catarina Cornaro sought the protection of the Venetian Republic. Under its rule the power of Cyprus revived until August 1st, 1571, when, after an eleven months' siege, it fell into the hands of the Ottoman like the whole inheritance of the Crusades.

The fate of Armenia was accomplished much earlier. In the second century of the Crusades the small Cilician state had



VENICE DOING HOMAGE TO CATARINA CORNARO, QUEEN OF CYPRUS

After the painting by Makart in the National Gallery of Berlin

course carried on through the Syrian Christians, the papal prohibition of commerce, issued after the fall of Acre in the west but by no means inviolably kept, remained ineffectual, and the riches of the soil, increased by considerable agricultural industry and by an almost tropical climate, resulted in a very high level of cultivation, which almost exceeded that of the Syrians. Powerful rulers such as Hugo IV. (1324-1359) who helped the Hospitallers to win Smyrna, and Peter I. (1359-1369), who summoned an actual Crusade and from his own resources could provide means for a temporary conquest of Alexandria in 1365, maintained the small state at the height of its power. Decay approached first when the quarrel of the great maritime republics, which had already caused

become, like Cyprus, a kind of offshoot of the crusading movement, although it preserved its national individuality and the proud traditions of its arms and religion.

After the fall of Acre the harbour of Lajazzo—now Ajias, opposite Alexandrette—became for a long time equal to Famagusta as a centre of exchange between the East and the West, chiefly because intercourse with the Orient was unresisted there, and the province of the Môngols on the frontiers of Western Asia touched the shores of the Mediterranean at this spot, so that Lajazzo became the western entrance of an empire which extended over a greater part of the world. Meantime the enmity of the Ilkhans, who at first had been allies of the Ottomans, and especially of the

Mamelukes, quickly annihilated the military power of this small state which had originally been so great. As early as 1347 Lajazzo, which had already been plundered and laid waste more than once, fell a prey to the Egyptians, and the rest of the empire succumbed finally to an attack of the Mamelukes. The last ruler of a collateral branch of the Cyprian Lusignans, Leo VI., who had escaped from captivity in Cairo, lived till 1393 in Paris as a prince without a country, having assumed the extraordinary title King of Madrid.

It was reserved for the orders of knighthood to carry on the traditions of the Crusades up to the threshold of modern times; or, rather, if one disregards the numerous imitations of the three great orders, especially in the west, this honour was reserved to the only one of them which was able to continue its existence as a kind of civil organisation. By reason of their rich possessions in Syria the orders assumed supreme civil authority, especially the Order of St. John, which already exercised such rights in an almost unlimited measure on its chief castle, Margot, in North Syria. The activity of the Teutonic Order—whose chief castle was Montfort, near Acre—on Syrian ground had always been much more moderate; however, long before the loss of the Holy Land events had occurred which separated the fate of the order from that of Palestine, but made it appear the true heir of the crusading spirit and of the culture developed by the crusading movement.

On the other hand, the Order of Templars did not long survive the loss of Syria. Its capital was fixed till August 14th, 1291, at "The Pilgrim Castle," Athlith, south of Haifa; and at Limasol, on the island of Cyprus, for two decades after the fall of Acre. From here the order made several attacks on the infidels. But its central stronghold lay in the west; here its

Power and Wealth of the Templars members, 20,000 in number, living in the 10,000 "Manors" of the order, led the existence of an all-powerful nobility, exceedingly wealthy in estates and treasures, but hated by clergy and laity alike on account of their arrogance and encroachments. With the disappearance of greater projects in the East their zeal for power made itself of necessity felt in the west. A state in embryo, like France, which was advancing towards greater

consolidation and more modern organisation, and which included the chief possessions of the orders, was constrained to feel their mere existence as a thorn in its own flesh, and made strenuous efforts to extirpate this "imperium in imperio."

The annual revenues of the orders, if calculated according to present value, would amount to fifty million francs, while the French crown demesnes at that time did not bring in more than two million. Philip IV. availed himself of the feebleness of Pope Clement V. and the widespread belief in the heresy of the Templars, which was strengthened by their lame defence in the course of the papal lawsuit which was carried on from 1307 to 1314 with all the devices and horrors of the Inquisition, and the abolition of the order was proclaimed on March 22nd, 1312. The burning of the Grand Master, James de Molay, at Paris formed the end. The lands belonging to the order in France and in some other states which followed Philip's example fell for the most part to the crown. The Hospitallers took possession of the remaining part of the property of the Templars, and to them also

The Sole Heirs of the Crusades was transferred everything which had escaped the funeral-pile, the prison, or the cloister. Thus the "Brothers of St. John of the Hospital" remained sole heirs of the Crusades. Although they resembled the Templars in luxury and selfishness, and had by their constant and often bloody strife assisted in the downfall of the Syrian state, yet they showed at the beginning of the fourteenth century such great martial zeal against the Mamelukes, Seljuks and Ottomans that they escaped the danger of succumbing to the fate of the Templars. On the south-west shores of Asia Minor, principally on the islands off the coast, they created, after 1306, a state of their own, of which the centre, after 1310, was Rhodes. Here, like the Frankish-Italian provinces, they formed on the soil of ancient Hellas and the Cyclades a strong outpost of Christendom against the ever-threatening Ottoman force. They outlived the fall of Constantinople in 1453: victoriously resisted the celebrated siege of Rhodes by the Turks from May till June, 1480, and surrendered to them only on December 21st, 1522. After this, in 1527, they emigrated to Malta, whence they continued the fight against the infidels, in a less extensive way, for centuries.

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WHY THE CRUSADES FAILED EUROPE'S GREAT DEBT TO THE HOLY WARS

THE task of the Crusades remains unaccomplished to the present day; any modern attempt would from similar reasons be as ineffectual. The plan of the united countries of Europe, which Pierre Dubois, a bold innovator and clever thinker, whose flight of ideas was far ahead of the political line of thought of his time, called into existence for the deliverance of Jerusalem did not come any nearer realisation than those of former times; and although it would be easy at the present time to take the birthplace of Christianity from the hands of the Turks, the mutual jealousy of the western states would make it difficult to establish a vigorous state there.

Men have puzzled and striven over the reasons why the Crusades failed, without earnestly considering if their aim could be achieved at the present time. But the difficulties with which a modern Christian state of Jerusalem would find itself

Crusaders' Strifes and Difficulties

confronted were present to a greater degree during those centuries. Men confine themselves to superficialities when they place the moral responsibility for the downfall of Christian Syria upon the strife between papacy and empire, between Greeks and Latins, Normans and Provençals, French and English, between the individual crusading states, Templars and Hospitallers, Genoese, and Venetians, or when they impute the whole blame to the selfishness and immorality of the Franks, and to their cynicism and lack of discipline. All these were facts which accompanied or resulted from the Crusades, and which could not be separated from the plan or accomplishment of the enterprise, just like the secularisation of the Holy Wars and their issues.

It is just as superficial to argue that on account of the tremendous number of men sacrificed in the Crusades no permanent occupation of Syria from the West could take place. The solution of the problem is rather to be sought in the rivalry between

the lofty religious ideals and enthusiasm of the West and the trivial interests of the Syrian miniature states. Just as the ardent religious emotions of the Crusaders themselves were often transformed in the Syrian harbours to worldly ambitions and sordid

The Grave of Crusading Enthusiasm

desires, so the crusading fever was ultimately extinguished among the dwellers in Palestine, to whom, as they enjoyed the wealth and luxury of a colonial culture, it seemed futile to undermine the foundation of this culture by continual strife and bloodshed with their nearest neighbours.

How thoroughly Frankish and Moslem ideas were fused in Syria is shown even in the twelfth-century records of the Arabs, whose higher culture quickened their insight for such things—*e.g.*, the instructive memoirs of the Emir of Schaisar, Usama ibn-Mumkidh. In the thirteenth century also we find further proof in the works of such Christian writers as James de Vitry, William of Tripolis, Ricoldo da Monte Croce, and several others, who make more direct allusions to the relations with Islam. In daily life, however, these relations are more distinctly marked than in literary productions, which are always somewhat restricted to the official view of things. That might be said to be true of the narrow sphere in which people lived. Moreover, the hope, which was embodied in the great idea of the Crusades, of expanding the narrow boundaries and developing a fuller, freer life had vanished within a few decades, perhaps with the appearance of Genghis; and two genera-

Islam's Growing Power

tions after Bohemond and Godfrey restrictions were still further increased through the growing military and political consolidation of Islam.

Thus the warlike spirit, which had always been highly valued and cherished, together with chivalry and knighthood, were fettered in their powers of action, and even if these had become free they could not

have succeeded here, where combination and unity were all-important, owing to the tendency of the mediæval world towards dismemberment. While at home the feudal system had arisen naturally from the existing social and economic conditions, it was established abroad on a soil totally unsuited to it with such an exactness and completeness that it weakened the central power as soon as the first strong impulses of the movement had somewhat relaxed. Thanks, not to the exertions of the West, but to the weakness of the East, this moribund condition lasted a whole century. For lasting services either in war or to the state, it showed itself unfit, and the efforts of the West to help its more and more endangered outposts came to naught.

From the Second Crusade onwards—the first expedition had achieved some results, although not proportionate to the effort expended—all the Holy Wars were nothing but great tragi-comedies, played on the stage of universal history. But the noblest emotions of the soul of the mediæval age, the utmost exertions of its energy and of its heroism, the radiant glories of chivalry, and the bright religious enthusiasm were nothing but brilliant fireworks, useless for the desired end. The time was not yet ripe for the solution of such problems.

But here is the essential point : that age was indeed capable of great aims and of inspired feelings, of heroic deeds also, if feelings and aims were enough to achieve these. And the equality of the masses, the uniformity of conditions, the want of individuality, made the expression of such feelings and aims on the part of the people as a whole more original, more impressive, more irresistible, than would be the case to-day. But what was wanting, and necessarily wanting to those times, was the well-thought-out combination and direction of the whole civilised world on a single aim. That the Middle

What the Crusades Lacked Ages were a period of small states has been said in another connection; the forces of those centuries were confined and restricted. Where not arising out of the needs and sensibilities of the time, but transmitted as tradition from a richer and more all-embracing culture, higher ideas did indeed survive and act as guides to the aim of a world religion and a world monarchy; but apart from those offices which served as

the bearers and preservers of such traditions—the papacy and the empire—there was wanting every effective inducement, if not for the comprehension, at least for the accomplishment of such great general tasks.

The Crusades exemplify the unfailing characteristic of mediæval Europe; there were no combined political or military enterprises which were planned on a large scale, or which produced any lasting results. Such results were, as it were, only in passing, in the achievements of lucky adventurers, won half by good fortune. The seizure of Italian territory by the Normans and their conquest of England form an example. On the other hand, the German emperors, even under favourable circumstances and by the expenditure of great forces, were as little able to cope with Italy as with the internal problems of their own nation. The fate of the Crusades was that of the imperial expeditions to Rome; the plan on which they were based belonged to the recognised horizon of the *Orbis Romanus*, of the universal state, while, on the other hand, the means

Failure of the Crusades Explained on which they depended for success belonged to a very much narrower conception.

The reason for the failure of the Crusades is expressed in these words. A project, which pre-supposed the idea of a world state, and which could be carried out only by an absolute military monarchy, men wished to accomplish by means of an organisation which had dismembered the state and diminished its powers; they wished to lay hold of the political, social, and economic forces of the East, which rested on the foundations of an ancient civilisation by means of the Feudal system, which had its roots in much more simple economic and social conditions.

That the First Crusade, almost alone of all, had any success, although a pitiable one, in view of the enormous external demonstration of power with which Europe began it, was simply owing to the fact that the predominant military power of the East, at that time the Seljuk monarchy, had been, like the West, disintegrated by feudalism. That was perfectly recognised on the Moslem side; when Imad ed-din Zenki began again to combine the forces of Islam, and with this aim immediately created a kind of standing army, he forbade his

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soldiers to acquire landed possessions; that is, he put a bar to the decay of military monarchy in great and small fiefs. Thus the powerful kingdom of the Atabegs was created, and only its re-dismemberment under Saladin's successors, the Ayubites, gave to the moderate momentary success of the Third Crusade an influence which lasted for another century. When an irresistible opponent to the Christians of Syria arose in the Mameluke state, then their end had indeed come. Unity was arrayed against disintegration, the state against the nobility. The work of the first Crusades was shattered through this contrast of the opposing outer forces, just as through the contrast of opposing cultures political and moral decay set in. That which remained over from the ferment of this period was the sole, but still a most important, contribution of the Crusades to the welfare of mankind.

In the domain of everyday and domestic life lie the most important points of contact of the two spheres of civilisation, hitherto sharply divided, which by means of the Crusades have had a beneficial influence on the West. But here it is necessary to make a limitation. The diffusion of Moslem, above all of Arabic, culture in European life has been produced by contact in other spheres than that of the Syrian coast-line, and has been there able to work more quietly, but more continuously, and therefore perhaps more permanently.

The role of mediation on the part of the Byzantine Empire has been already indicated, but quite apart from this, the Norman kingdom of Lower Italy—established on a Saracen basis, with the state of Frederic II. immediately succeeding it on the one hand, the Iberian Peninsula, with its interpretation of Arabic and Christian Roman ideas, extending over nearly 800 years, on the other—had even before the Crusades produced a mixed civilisation, which was continued to a certain extent for some time after their decay. Whether the Arabic civilising influence perceptible in the West came in any individual instance through Spain, Italy, Byzantium, or Syria, it is extremely difficult to prove, and in the review of the Oriental sources of our mediæval civilisation special care is therefore required on this very point of evidence of origin. In doubtful cases the Crusades have the pre-

sumption in their favour, because the points of contact were everywhere else very limited, and in any extension beyond these bounds could show but a limited effect—while the "Orient" of the Crusades for practically two centuries had exercised an almost unbounded influence over the West. Within these limitations,

Arabic Words in Modern Languages the European languages themselves show, by the unusual abundance of Oriental loan-words, what a mass of culture the West has received in these centuries from the Mohammedans. Only to mention a few, the words cotton, muslin, damask, baldachin (canopy), sofa, mattress, alcove, carafe (decanter), bazaar, barracks, magazine, arsenal, admiral, amulet, elixir, douane (customs), tariff, zechin, are cases of such Arabic loan-words. In the Romance languages they are particularly conspicuous.

To give another illustration, the Crusades have brought over to the West a knowledge of the Eastern animal world, and still more of many cultivated plants. The cultivation of the sugar cane, together with its name, and that of syrup, became known to the majority of Crusaders only on Syrian soil. And from the same source come the sesame lily, the carob tree (*Johannis brotbaum*), and saffron. Pistachio nuts and lemons still bear their Arabic names. Apricots were for a long time called "Plums of Damascus"; damsons are Damascenes; the little shallot onion is really the "ascalonette," the onion of Ascalon. And in the watermelon (*Citrullus vulgaris*; also called "Arbuse"), used to-day in Europe as an article of common food, came to Europe, if not from Syria, at all events through the Crusades; the Arabic name "pastèque" has reached France, the Greek name "anguria" is used in Italy.

Of plants which are of industrial importance, cotton, the name of which is in French "coton," in German

The West's Debt to the East "kattun," has an Arabic origin. It first came into more extensive use in Europe through

Syrian commerce, and brought with it the Arabic invention of cotton paper, in place of the less convenient parchment. Of other clothing materials, atlas (satin) and samite (velvet) bear at least Byzantine names, brought over with the objects themselves at the time of the Crusades. We learned then for the first time to

value and imitate the arts of carpet-weaving and embroidery. A knowledge of dyes and of dyeing materials came mostly from the East. Crimson and lilac are Arabic terms, as also azure and other shades of colour used in the escutcheons of the Crusaders. Very extensive were the changes in costume and clothing, the result of trade intercourse, and the necessity of adaptation to other climatic conditions. To confine oneself to philology, camelot, kaftan, burnous, even the old Bavarian "joppe," are Arabic words and objects.

The East as Teacher of the West

Besides many a new weapon and warlike ornament (target, chainmail, bow) we have also to thank the more luxurious East for the name and use of the slipper (pantoffel, pantoufle). From the East and Byzantium came, during the age of the Crusades, elegant fashions for ladies, objects for toilet use, and means for beautifying, such as rouge. Glass mirrors, instead of polished metal plates, were first known and valued in the East, and the use of vapour baths was first introduced from there. Such a striking innovation as the revived fashion of wearing the beard is the result of contact with the bearded sons of Mahomet. It was principally the sphere of luxury in which the closer intercourse with the East, and the increasing participation in its wealth, had permanent effect. A complete change in domestic and social life passed over the nobility and clergy, to be taken up soon afterwards by the most successful members of the new moneyed class—the citizens of the town.

Mention must also be made of the technical and industrial inventions which the youthful civilisation of Europe derived from old Asia, of the already mentioned changes in weapons of attack and defence, and with them of tactics, and of the enormous acquisitions to architecture, of plainer ecclesiastical buildings and more ambitious civil monuments. If we pass from such greater changes, which do not merely mark turning-points in the history of art, to the trivial and

Effects of Eastern Luxury

external, we shall hardly recognise customs which are everywhere in use to-day, such as the lighting of houses to express public joy, as borrowed from the Saracens, which they undoubtedly are. Ecclesiastical life itself bears witness to such enrichment from the East; the common use of the rose wreath in the thirteenth and

fifteenth centuries originates in an Oriental custom. Oriental myths found their way into literature, as in the "Squieres Tale" of Chaucer.

The two crusading centuries coincide with the period in which the papacy, although often violently opposed, still, judged by the claims of the Gregorian system, in the main victorious, stands at the head of the western world. The Church of Rome as leader of the Holy Wars had at this time reached the summit of her power and of her universal supremacy, and while she subjected the minds of men to herself, she exercised at the same time an influence in temporal matters never seen before or since; the levying of the Crusade tithes is a very palpable proof of this influence.

Meanwhile, we have already seen, in our first review of the impressions made by the Crusaders on the West, why a secularist reaction of necessity immediately followed the overstraining of the Church's share in the Crusade idea. That lay primarily in the inner nature of things, in the necessity of moving purely worldly forces

for the attainment of a sacred aim. The rest—also already estimated—was the result of closer contact with Islam and

its confessors. In the twelfth century this contact had already been sufficiently close, as long as the forces on both sides were equally balanced. In the thirteenth century there resulted from it the permanent influence of a superior culture which had demonstrated its efficiency by political success.

It finally came to this, that a missionary like Ricoldo da Monte Croce held up the Mohammedans to his own fellow-Christians as models worthy of imitation with respect to moral seriousness and austerity of manners, religious faith, zeal for knowledge, sociability with strangers, and harmony among themselves; and so there remained but little of the zeal for warfare which was characteristic of the preaching of the crusading period.

Moreover, the accompanying alienation from a system which has made every spiritual emotion subject to the ecclesiastical conception, produced out of the gloomy fanaticism of the ascetic the spirit of a healthy secularism, which re-awakened or re-created chivalry, homage to women, joy of life, and love of song. Quite in the

WHY THE CRUSADES FAILED

midst of a movement which the Church had created out of the spirit of religious repression, renunciation of the world, and the exercise of penance, there were forced on the minds of the Crusaders, through the mere extension of their intellectual horizon, the hitherto unsuspected greatness, wealth, and beauty of the wide world.

Half-way in this development from the self-tormenting renunciation of the world to the most decided acceptance of it there stands the spirit of chivalry born of the union of inspired ecstasy with the new secularism, a peculiar blending of fanatical devotion, of enthusiastic bravery, and of passionate love—all features which can be traced directly to the influences and impressions of the Crusades—to their ecclesiastical guiding ideas, as well as to their Virgin worship, a blending of enthusiasm and refined sensuousness, to the love of battle with its growing worldly impulses, and, not least, to the vision of a strange world of wonders.

On the soil of the Crusades chivalry became the formative influence of the later centuries of the Middle Ages. It

Fruits of Crusading Chivalry

created a whole system of social regulations, of courtly customs, and of refined culture, in the centre of which stand, alongside the tournament, the love of romancing, and a hitherto unknown graceful homage to women. Not by chance is the first troubadour, Count William of Poitou, also the first Crusader poet who is known by name to us; the age has dawned when the theme of chivalric love rules the poetry of Provence as well as that of Germany, and, like the "Minnelied," the popular and court epic shows at every step traces of the East. But in this new social edifice which the Crusades erected as the consummation of mediæval culture there came forth unmistakably the special tendency of this period of perfection and transition to destroy its own creations. With unexpected rapidity the beautiful world of tournaments and love and song sank into decay.

It would lead us too far to examine in detail the causes of its decay; there can, however, be no doubt of this, that the keen morning air, descending from the fields of action of the Crusades, blew so cuttingly on the dreamland of the Middle Ages, with its chivalric ideas, that it faded away and vanished for ever. New and far more permanent conditions

of life in the Western world were created by the economic movement of the Crusades, which in its course elevated the hitherto lower ranks of labour, trade and commerce—in short, the middle class. When Europe entered on the Crusades, she stood for the greater part still in the agricultural stage, in that of

An Age of Limited Culture

the so-called natural economy, with its separate self-sufficing social units, devoting themselves to the production of all the necessities of life, without desire for interchange with other communities. In this primitive condition, which does not recognise labour and trade as distinct callings, and which had hardly need of commerce, the possession of land was the only source of power; its favoured possessors, the nobility and clergy, were the only cultured classes, and feudalism was the most suitable, if not the only possible form of government. This form of government was indeed brought from Syria, but the state which had been erected there on quite other foundations of a richer culture had also necessarily to fall to ruin. So much the more did the economic forms which we meet with on this old field of civilisation take root and thrive. Remains of the old financial system had been everywhere preserved in the West together with the original forms of barbaric culture, and the transition from the lower to the higher economic stage would have been also completed in the course of inner European development.

In Italy, the country most nearly affected, which had, even before the Crusades proper, experienced the blessing of international intercourse, this new spirit was first awakened, nourished from those springs which flowed towards it through the activity of the Syrian ports; Venice and Genoa, into whose lands Eastern trade, after driving back much Italian, French, and Spanish competition, gradually

Dawn of Golden Days

gathered itself, were the first to feel it, and soon became its pioneers across the as yet inhospitable Alpine passes, into the land of the Germanic barbarians. Then dawned the golden days of Augsburg, Nürnberg, Bourges, and Lübeck; the golden age of Upper German trade presupposes the changed routes of the Crusade period, just as Crusaders showed the way to Flemish and Hanseatic navigation.

CLEMENS KLEIN



THE PORT OF BYZANTIUM IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

From the original drawing by W. E. Wigfull



(THE TRADE of THE MIDDLE AGES)

COMMERCIAL RIVALRY IN THE LEVANT THE EFFECT OF THE CRUSADES ON COMMERCE

SINCE the beginnings of authentic history, since the times of the Phoenicians, Hellenes, Carthaginians and Italians, the Mediterranean Sea has been the scene of intercourse between races and of commercial activity more important and far-reaching in their effects than—at least in ancient times—have been witnessed by any other portion of the earth. Finally, the Romans united all the countries of the Mediterranean coast under their dominion; and when the economic and political downfall of the western empire took place, together with the development of a new Europe as a result of the migration of nations, the eastern empire still remained firm, maintaining both its dependencies and its civilisation, and renounced neither its

Where the Mohammedans Conquered

commercial nor, theoretically, its political supremacy over the whole Mediterranean region. During the seventh century Mohammedanism forced its victorious way to the Mediterranean, and within a surprisingly short time gained dominion over the half of its coasts.

Thus three great spheres of civilisation came into contact on the shores of the sea which washes three continents: the Western Christian, or Latin, the Eastern Christian, or Byzantine, and the Mohammedan. Consequently a struggle for political and economic supremacy between the three great spheres of civilisation followed as a historical necessity. The victory was won by the Western Europeans, who of all competitors had the poorest outlook at the beginning of the contest. Before the Arabian conquests—that is

to say, during the first half of the seventh century—the trade of the Mediterranean region still continued in the hands of the Eastern Romans. The Balkan peninsula as far north as the Danube, Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, the northern coast

The Great Centres of Commerce

of Africa to Mauretania, parts of Italy, and, until the year 631, a large portion of Spain, were all under the dominion of the Byzantine Empire. Trade, both foreign and domestic, was carried on by Greeks, Syrians, and Jews. Constantinople and Alexandria were the two great centres of commerce, although the cities of Syria, Asia Minor, Thessalonica, and Carthage continued to maintain a commercial activity that had been carried on from the earliest times.

Merchandise from India and China was brought to Byzantium via the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and various overland routes that passed through the interior of Asia. Byzantium was thus a centre of the carrying trade between east and west, the possession of which has ever been a token of control of the world's traffic. Another branch of Byzantine commerce was the domestic industry of silk-weaving. The Byzantine gold coinage, the gold "solidus" of Constantine—worth about twelve shillings and sixpence, in later times called the "byzantine," or bezant—became almost a universal standard of value; even Byzantine silver currency was accepted by foreign merchants so long as it maintained its face value. The commercial supremacy of the Eastern Romans passed away with the Arab conquests. Egypt and Syria,

commercially the most active of all the Byzantine provinces, were the first to fall into the power of the caliphate; the coast lands of Northern Africa followed somewhat later—Carthage, rebuilt by the Romans, being again destroyed, and Tunis taking its place—and the more important islands of the Eastern Medi-

terranean. In the year 827 the Saracens occupied Sicily and Southern Italy, and this also was at the cost of the Roman Empire. It is true that the attacks of the Arabs upon Constantinople were met by a stout resistance on the part of the Byzantines; the capital and the continued control of the Mediterranean trade were rescued by the use of Greek fire; but the empire, hard pressed by Slavs and Bulgarians, and at the same time constantly diminishing in extent in Europe as well as in Asia, lost its position as the leading power of the world during this period of uninterrupted affliction and embarrassment.

The caliphate, however, which first had to carry on devastating wars against united Europe in arms and later became organised as a power, did not gain the supremacy which Byzantium lost, for the new European nations gradually absorbed eastern wealth and power. Since the ninth century there had been an increasing number of foreign commercial depots in Constantinople and settlements of merchants, attracted or kept by the trade of the Golden Horn. As the Byzantines no longer journeyed to foreign lands the foreigners came to them. The active trade of Constantinople became a passive one; its entire life was derived from foreigners.

There was even a Mohammedan immigration to Byzantium, where finally a mosque was built for them; here, as in Alexandria and in Antioch, the spirit of trade was more powerful than religious differences. The Red Sea having lost its importance

for the Indian trade, to which the choking up of the old canal of Rameses may have in part contributed, the most important commercial route from India to the west was by the Persian Gulf and overland through the domains of the caliphate; even the Central Asian commercial routes passed through Mohammedan territory before they reached their goal at the Caspian and Black Seas. Since Constantinople was now the centre for traffic

in the spices and other merchandise of South-eastern Asia, the peoples of Western Europe were compelled to journey thither, for they did not care to dispense with these products, and at that time trade with the Levant could be more conveniently carried on through Constantinople than by any other route.

Thus a period of maritime and commercial expansion dawned for the peoples of Europe when Byzantium lost its former spirit of enterprise under the pressure of unfavourable circumstances. The tendency of this earliest commercial development of the young nations of Western Europe was towards the east—the same direction as that taken by the colonising expeditions of the Teutonic race from the time of the Carolingian dynasty.

The first cities to enter into trade with the Eastern Roman seaports were the Italian towns which at least nominally recognised the sovereignty of the Byzantine emperor. Indeed, almost all communities that were neither under the rule of the Lombards nor of the Saracens stood in a like relation of partial dependence to the Eastern Roman Empire.

When Pisa Besides Bari, Brindisi, Taranto,
Rose Salerno, Naples, and Gaeta,
in Power Amalfi and Venice belonged especially to this class. Amalfi, which at least as early as the tenth century maintained relations with the Mohammedan countries of the East, with Egypt and Syria, imported Greek wares, and was even able to maintain its economic position after its conquest in 1073 by the Normans under Robert Guiscard, the sworn enemy of the Byzantines. Its fall as a commercial power was brought about by the rivalry of Pisa, which in 1135-1137 attacked and conquered it.

More fortunate than Amalfi, Venice soon rose to the position of mistress of Mediterranean commerce. The city on the lagoons also recognised the suzerainty of the Eastern emperor, and consequently obtained for her citizens the right to settle in Constantinople. In spite of religious differences, ever since the ninth century Venice also had been engaged in active trade with the cities of Egypt and Syria. The prosperity of Venice was due primarily to her favourable geographical situation, and this advantage remained to her so long as the Mediterranean continued to be the centre of the world's commerce. The Venice of the Middle Ages

COMMERCIAL RIVALRY IN THE LEVANT

controlled an exceptionally extensive sphere of distribution. Situated at the northern end of the Adriatic Sea, the city was within a short journey of the Alpine passes; the rich plain of the Po lay behind it, the western coast of the Balkan peninsula and the approaches to the lands of the Save and the Danube before it. The two political parties of the city, the Byzantine and the Italian, represented two complementary commercial interests—the importation of commodities from the

the Venetians also, and they had defeated Robert Guiscard at Durazzo in Albania; the Emperor Alexius I. (Comnenus) granted them the right of commerce, duty free, with the whole of the eastern empire in 1082. In former days the Venetians had been compelled to pay two solidi on the entrance of every ship into port, and fifteen on its departure. From this time forth their position in regard to commercial trading with the East was the more enviable one of the “most-favoured nation.”



PERSIAN AMBASSADORS BEFORE THE DOGE AND THE COUNCIL OF VENICE

The Venice of the Middle Ages rose to the proud position of mistress of Mediterranean commerce and controlled an extensive sphere of distribution. Both the eastern and the western empires courted her favour, and in the above illustration we see Persian ambassadors and merchants discussing matters of business with the Doge and the Council.

From the painting by Cialini Veronese

East and the exportation of merchandise into the various neighbouring regions of consumption. Moreover, both the eastern and the western empire courted the favour of Venice, which adroitly balanced between them; and thus at an early age the Venetians obtained the right of unrestricted trade with both.

When the Byzantines lost Southern Italy to the Normans they showered favours upon Venice, nominally subject but practically independent, in order to win her alliance. In fact, the constant grasping for territory of the Normans threatened

By the time when Venice gained this predominance at the Golden Horn, Pisa and Genoa had reached a commanding position in the western end of the Mediterranean; inasmuch as the decline of the caliphate at Bagdad had caused a general weakening of Islam, the seaports of Western Italy had been able not only to clear Sardinia of the Saracens, but also to extend their power over several strongholds on the northern coast of Africa. Just as the Venetians in Greece, the citizens of Pisa obtained freedom from all customs duties in the empire of the Zeirites. In the

meanwhile, the Norman conquest of Southern Italy and Sicily had begun. The Pisans and Genoese also took part in this struggle, for it was clearly to their interest that the way to the East should be rendered open and secure. As Wilhelm Heyd says in his history of Levantine commerce, "The maritime traffic between Spain, Southern France, and Western Italy on the one hand, the Levant and Northern Africa on the other, equally affected Sicily midway between . . . where the letters patent of the Norman kings promised a cordial reception to merchants, and consuls of their own nation, or, at least, fellow-countrymen settled there, gave them every assistance." Thus Pisans and Genoese journeyed to Egypt and Syria even before the time of the Crusades, and also convoyed pilgrims to the Holy Land, which had become very difficult of access ever since the rise of the Seljuk dynasty.

The Crusades led to a complete transformation in the commercial relations with the Levant. Of the tremendous, and for the most part wasted, power expended by the nations of Western Europe in order to become and to remain masters of the Holy Land, at least a certain portion profited the maritime provinces, whose centre of gravity had for centuries been inclined toward the east. After the establishment of the first crusading states, the kingdom of Jerusalem, with its dependent principalities of Edessa, Antioch, and Tripolis (1097-1100), a new field of activity was opened up to Italians, Provençals, and Catalonians. Above all, an opportunity was offered them for crossing the boundaries of Asia, under the protection of western laws and institutions.

There was also the possibility of winning new privileges, for the Franks or Latins required a constant traffic with the East, and, therefore, could not dispense with the services of the navigators of Southern Europe, whom they employed in transporting not only merchandise but men. Soon they acquired the possession of entire streets and quarters in the cities of the Crusaders, and also of land, upon which the Syrian peasants were compelled to labour as serfs. These Southern Europeans were also free from taxes—indeed, they often obtained for themselves a portion of the duties collected. The local authorities were not appointed by the king, but

by the mother city. Trade was not difficult, for the coveted luxuries and spices of the tropics were transported by the Arabs to the western extremity of Asia viâ the old commercial routes, without the assistance of Europeans. Nor would it have been advisable for Christian merchants to set foot on the desert trails or the pilgrim roads of Mohammedan Asia. The dangers of traffic by sea between South-western Europe and the Levant were lessened by the use of convoys, which twice a year brought cargoes of European merchandise of metal and wood, arms and cloth, returning with a freight of silk, glass, cotton, sugar, and spices from the East.

When the kingdom of Jerusalem fell, in 1187, to rise again nominally in 1229, the Western Europeans lost their Syrian possessions, together with all the feudal rights appertaining to them. However, a few seaports remained in their hands until the end of the thirteenth century, and more than this was not needed by the Frankish merchants in order to maintain their commercial connections. Even after the evacuation of Acre, in 1291, and of

Tyre and Sidon in 1295, direct traffic between Europe and Syria was not entirely suspended. In the meanwhile, Western Europe was amply compensated elsewhere for what had been lost in Syria. After the arrival of the first army of Crusaders in Constantinople, in 1096, the policy of the Greeks had become unfavourable to the western nations. In fact, the sword of destruction was suspended over the Greek Empire. Each Crusade that passed through its territory threatened its existence, and the Normans of Southern Italy were still busied with their old schemes of conquest.

In order to divide their enemies, the Byzantines continued to shower privileges upon the Italians, granting to all the same favoured position that up to this time had been enjoyed by the Venetians alone. However, this action of the Eastern Roman Government was not at all in harmony with the spirit of hostility to foreigners shown by the populace. They had just cause of complaint against the Latins, and especially against the Venetians, who had robbed them not only of their foreign trade, but of a considerable part of their domestic traffic, who paid no customs duties, and who showed plainly enough the pride of mastery felt by a rising, active race towards

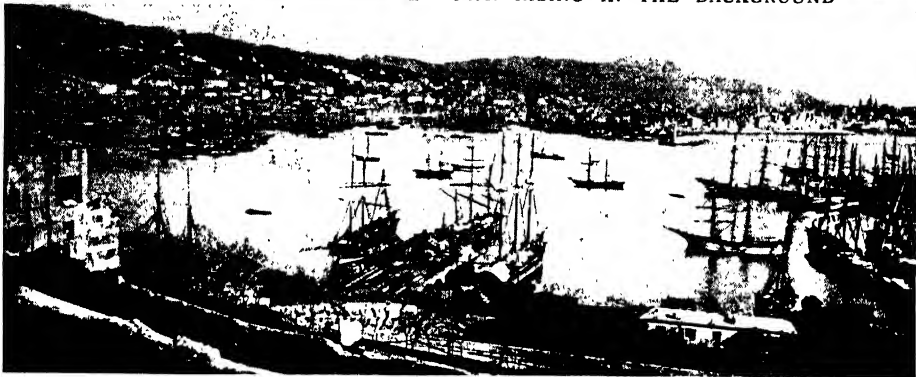
Effect of the Crusades on Commerce

The Greek Empire in Danger

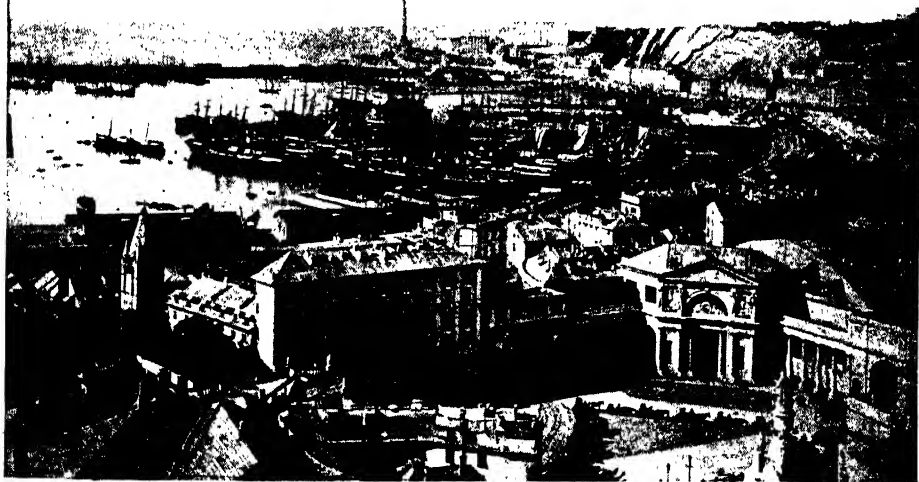
The Good Fortune of Europeans



GENOA HARBOUR. WITH THE TOWN RISING IN THE BACKGROUND



VIEW OF THE HARBOUR, SHOWING THE SPLENDID ANCHORAGE FOR VESSELS



GENERAL VIEW OF THE TOWN AND PORT, WITH THE RAILWAY STATION

VIEWS OF THE GREAT COMMERCIAL PORT OF GENOA

a decaying people that would not attribute the results of its inactivity to itself but to the influence of the foreigners. The reaction against the ascendancy of the hated intruders made itself felt in a treacherous manner. In 1171 the Greek emperor, Manuel I., was compelled by the pressure of public opinion to issue a secret order in accordance with which all the Venetians in the empire were imprisoned, and their possessions seized. Venice answered this demonstration of hostility by entering into an alliance with the Normans, with the result that the Byzantines immediately endeavoured to make peace again.

Soon, however, a still heavier blow was dealt, this time not only to the Venetians but to all the Latins. It was an act of national revenge similar to that once executed by the oppressed Asiatics upon the Romans in the days of Mithradates the Great. In consequence of a mandate issued by the Emperor Andronicus I. in 1182, all the Latins in the empire were suddenly attacked and either massacred or sold as slaves. Nothing could now save the Byzantines from the vengeance of Western Europe, although, after the overthrow of Andronicus, the Emperor Isaac Angelus indemnified the Pisans and Venetians so far as was possible, and restored to them their former rights and privileges. None of the weak Byzantine governments were in a position to offer any surety that atrocities such as those of 1171 and 1182 would not be repeated. However, common action against the Greeks was prevented by the rivalry of the Italian maritime states; single cities were powerless to deal out any effectual punishment to the great and still financially powerful eastern empire.

When, owing to the sudden death of the brilliant Hohenstauffen emperor, Henry VI., in 1197, the danger that had long threatened the Eastern Roman Empire from Southern Italy was averted, the Venetians, and they alone, had an opportunity both for revenge and for the attainment of future security. Doge Enrico Dandolo, powerfully aided by fortune, succeeded in directing the Fourth Crusade, in 1202, against Constantinople. Almost the entire Byzantine Empire fell a prey to

the victorious Latins, and Count Baldwin of Flanders and Hainault ascended the throne of the "Latin Empire," which existed from 1204 to 1261. At the division of the Greek Empire three-eighths fell to the share of the Venetians, an amount equal to that granted to the new emperor. They retained possession of their share even after the fall of the "Latin Empire." The land consisted of strips of coast and islands, widely separated from one another, it is true, but capable of yielding great profit. Now for the first time the Venetians established themselves in the lands about the Black Sea and absorbed them all into their economic sphere of influence. The mediæval expansion of the Western Europeans over the Levant attained to its greatest extent when the Greek Empire was re-established with the assistance of the Genoese in 1261. The rivalry between



MARCO POLO

He was only fifteen when he set out from Venice to walk to China with his father and uncle; he grew up at the court of Kublai Khan, and rose to honour and wealth.

the Ligurian and Adriatic capitals led to a healthy competition which was by no means detrimental to the policy of self-preservation pursued by the Byzantines.

During the second half of the thirteenth century the Genoese penetrated farther into Asia than any Western European merchants before them. A region of colonies such as had existed in Hellenic times arose about the Black Sea, of which the chief towns were Kaffa, or Feodosia, and

Tana, or Azov. From this district the Black-Sea-China commercial highway extended through Turkestan and Dzoungaria to the Pacific coast. Missionaries and merchants brought to the West fabulous stories of the wonders of Nature and the civilisation of the Farthest East. As a rule, however, these tales had no effect except upon western imagination; fully another century and a half were to pass before imagination became transformed into action, and the apparently fruitless undertakings of casual adventurers were to awaken once more in the glorious discoveries of the Age of Conquest.

The journeys of Marco Polo (1271—1295), who may be taken as a representative Asiatic explorer of the time, would not have been practicable had it not been for the existence of one of the greatest kingdoms of conquest known to history—the

COMMERCIAL RIVALRY IN THE LEVANT

Mongolian Empire, founded by Genghis Khan in the first half of the thirteenth century, about 1220. During the years 1240—1242 hordes of Mongolians encroached on the borders of the Western European sphere of civilisation, and for two centuries a large portion of Russia was ruled by Asiatic conquerors. Although during early times the East had repeatedly advanced against the West, such attacks had always had their origin in the power of expansion of races related to the Mediterranean peoples, Semites or Eastern Aryans. But with the advance of the Huns a period of repeated inroads of Mongolian races—Avars, Bulgarians, Magyars, Seljuks, and Ottomans—began, which threatened and indeed narrowed the territories of the stationary Indo-Germanic peoples quite as much as the great Arabic Berber invasions of the eighth and ninth centuries had done to the southern or Mediterranean region.

When, in 1368, the native Ming dynasty again closed China—which had just been freed from the Mongols—to western migration, the Ottoman Turks had already crossed the Hellespont and taken possession of Gallipolis in 1357. This was the turning-point in the history of Southern European dominion and commerce in the Levant. Each square mile of ground conquered and occupied by the Turks was from all points of view irrevocably lost to the Christian nations of the West. However, Constantinople and the Black Sea region still remained to them. The Mongolians again advanced, destroyed the army of the Turks, and thus procured a respite of half a century for the Eastern Roman Empire. After the second Mongol storm had abated, in 1405, the Turks returned, reconquered the Balkan countries, and finally turned their arms against Constantinople. The fall of this city in 1453 marks not only the end of the Byzantine Empire, but also that of Western European dominion in the Levant. The Genoese abandoned their colonies on the Black Sea in 1475. After this date Italian merchants were still to be seen in the Turkish Levant, but they became more and more isolated and unprotected and possessed of fewer rights. The Ottoman Turk locked up the Bosphorus and put the key into his pocket.

After the fall of the eastern empire the Venetians still possessed considerable remains of the plunder they had secured at

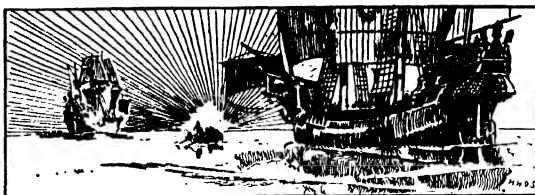
the time of the Crusade of 1204. Many years were yet to pass before the Turkish sultans succeeded in wresting from them all their islands and strips of coast; even after the Morea was taken from Venice at the Peace of Passarowitz in 1718 she still retained the Ionian Islands and the Dalmatian-Istrian coast.

After the Crusades, Alexandria had once more become the chief centre of Indo-European commerce; Cairo also, with its dense population and bazaars, offered many inducements to European merchants. However much they had to suffer from the fanatical hatred of the Mohammedans for foreigners, as well as from the thieving government of pashas, their gains in trade acted as balm to all the ill-usage they received. They defied the papal prohibition to furnish munitions of war to the unbelievers, and soothed their consciences by the purchase of indulgences. But even before the Turks came to Egypt another event of note in the world's history had already begun to cast its shadow over the commerce of the Levant. This was the discovery by the Portuguese of an ocean route to the East Indies in 1498. The spice trade of Venice decreased with ominous rapidity; indeed, it had never been anything better than traffic at second or third hand. Lisbon now received merchandise directly from the places of production and became the first spice market of Europe.

At about the same time that the Portuguese depleted the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, Damascus, Alexandria, and Cairo fell into the hands of the Ottoman sultan (1517–1518)—a concurrence of events that ruined the commerce of Egypt, and greatly injured Mediterranean trade in general. The Mediterranean became more and more a rather dangerous cul de sac, with a considerable coasting trade, it is true, but one that lacked continental importance; in fact, the former

centre of the maritime commerce of the world became transformed into a permanent theatre of war, where Mohammedan East and Christian West were constantly fighting their battles. Just as it had been during the heyday of mismanagement by the Roman Republic, the Mediterranean now became once more a scene of uninterrupted piracy; nor did this state of affairs cease until the conquest of Algiers by the French in 1830.

WESTERN
EUROPE IN
THE MIDDLE
AGES



THE
COMMERCE
OF THE
NATIONS II

BEGINNINGS OF WESTERN COMMERCE AND ENGLAND'S FOREIGN TRADE RELATIONS

THE inland seas of Northern Europe are separated from the Mediterranean by the entire width of the continent, gradually diminishing in extent toward the West. Just as in the pre-Christian period, so in the following thirteen centuries communication and traffic were carried on between the northern and southern coasts of Europe chiefly by means of overland routes. The way by sea around Spain—dreaded alike by Phœnicians, Greeks, and Romans—was still avoided. Not until the year 1317 did Venetian and Genoese mariners begin to make regular voyages to the coasts of England and Holland, and even then they occasioned no injury to the traffic of the overland routes.

Already at that time a sharply defined intermediate zone of commerce and communication had come into existence, consisting of the central countries of Western Europe at a distance from the Mediterranean: Upper Germany, the Rhenish provinces, what is now Belgium (Flanders and Brabant), and North-eastern France. These central regions, with their large resources, their dense populations, already divided on an orderly social system, and their far-reaching lines of communication, held the commerce of Europe fast to its old continental routes and stations.

If the commercial position of Italy was founded upon the idea of world commerce—that is to say, the importation of the natural products of the tropics—into lands of a more temperate zone, her supreme position in the European markets was also due to her own subtropical products, and even more so to her industrial activity, which rested upon Byzantine-Oriental foundations. To a still greater extent the economic importance and prosperity of the central countries of Europe depended on manufacture

and exchange rather than on the production of raw materials. On the other hand, the region surrounding the inland seas of Northern Europe was of the greatest importance to the trade in natural products obtained from all countries whose rivers flowed into the North Sea and the Baltic.

Moreover, by reason of its inferior culture, this region formed a natural area of consumption for wares manufactured by the more developed peoples of the south, and for the luxuries of other zones which passed through so many hands on their journey to the north. Such countries, rich in natural resources but poor in civilisation, require a commercial, in fact, a general economic guardianship until they have attained their economic majority. Geographical situation and an advanced state of development in municipal affairs caused the Low

German Traders No Heroes Germans of Germany proper and of the colonial regions to the east of the Elbe to take upon their shoulders the economic guardianship of the Germanic, Letto-Slavic, or Finnic, races of the north and east of Europe as an unavoidable historical necessity. The fact that these isolated, loosely united city communities, left by the emperor and the empire to their own devices, and torn by the feuds of the nobility, were able to undertake such a task was due to the influence of the German Hansa. Nevertheless, the story of the Hanseatic League seldom furnishes us with a cause for indulging in that enthusiasm which, according to Goethe, is the best thing we get from history.

Certain bourgeois romanticists with republican tendencies have not only enveloped the Hansa in a deceptive lustre, but have applied to it terms that, like the set phrases of epics, have been repeated over and over again in works intended to popularise history. Some of these regularly recurrent expressions, such as

BEGINNINGS OF WESTERN COMMERCE

“grand” and “noble,” are, perhaps, the least applicable that could be found in the whole language, if the general policy and activity of the Hansa are to be characterised by them.

The connected history of the northern seas, and, in part, that of the lands whose shores are washed by their waters, begins with the expeditions of the Vikings, about 750-1050. It is well known that the Scandinavian freebooters were also discoverers, colonisers, and founders of empires. Their uncontrollable activity and their dread of the feudal service, which the rising monarchy sought to impose upon them, led them to venture into seas unknown to the average mariner of the Middle Ages. They occupied the Faroe Islands and Iceland, discovered and colonised Greenland, where their settlements remained until the beginning of the fifteenth century, and finally sailed along the eastern coast of North America as far south as Florida, without, however, establishing any permanent settlements. In the northern home of the Vikings, practically unknown to Europe until modern

Where the Vikings Sailed to times, Old Icelandic, the language of the Eddas, developed from the primitive Norse tongue.

The Old Norwegian spread from Norway over the Faroes, Hebrides, Orkney and Shetland Islands and the North of Scotland, extending as far as the Isle of Man and Ireland, where it was preserved until the fourteenth century, and on the Orkney and Shetland Islands even as late as the close of the eighteenth century.

The Danish, on the other hand, which had been introduced into Eastern and Southern England during the ninth century, had already disappeared in the eleventh; and the native speech of the Normans who settled on the Lower Seine had been replaced entirely by French about the year 1000. In like manner, Old Swedish, introduced into Russia at the end of the ninth century, continued its existence there only until the beginning of the eleventh. That the Scandinavians, relatively few in number, should, together with their language and customs, be absorbed into the more powerful and highly civilised stationary populations of the wide areas of northern colonisation, was of itself a proof that reinforcements were ceasing to arrive from the mother country, and that the migration of the Northmen was gradually coming to an end.

In the economically undeveloped countries from which the Normans had once emigrated, or in which they had settled, commercial representatives of distant nations of higher culture discovered a sphere of trade the possession of which could not be disputed, at least with any prospect of success, by the native inhabitants.

The Germans as Leaders of Commerce The regions into which the Vikings had penetrated and the thinly populated lands of the Scandinavians were destined for centuries to commercial subjection. This condition applied to Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Russia, and to a certain extent to the British Isles. That the Low Germans were to swing the staff of Mercury as a sceptre over the North of Europe was a matter that during the critical period—that is, in the eleventh century, at the end of the Viking Age—still hung in the balance. The deciding factors through which mercantile leadership was assured to Germany first made their appearance in the twelfth century; during the eleventh the only point in favour of the Germans was the fact that no other European nation was as yet sufficiently mature to undertake the position of leader in the northern sphere of commerce.

England was the first northern country of Europe with which the Germans entered into an over-sea mercantile relationship. A statute of the reign of Ethelred the Unready enumerated the taxes paid by German merchants in return for the privilege of participating in the London market. Documentary evidence of the existence of an association of Cologne merchants in London has come down to us from the twelfth century. King Henry II. took these traders under his protection, nor did it matter in what part of the country they settled; in other documents their wine trade is spoken of on the same footing with the French, and their London house is mentioned.

Cologne Merchants in London return to England by way of Cologne after his imprisonment, granted freedom from customs and taxes, as well as

the privilege of trading in English markets, to the Cologne merchants. Whether other Rhenish and Westphalian towns shared the rights of the Cologne Hansa, and to what extent, is not known to a certainty. At all events the merchants of Cologne, in later times, when a joint association of German tradesmen had been formed in

England, had their peculiar rights and privileges confirmed by the English kings ; the special aims and endeavours of Cologne made their appearance again and again, even after it had become a member of the common German Hansa.

The policy of the Plantagenet kings was favourable to foreign merchants. Inasmuch as the one point of view from which rulers of the Middle Ages looked upon commerce was that of their own profit, it was quite natural that the English Henrys and Edwards should make use of foreign traders as objects of taxation and sources of revenue ; and during the fourteenth century alien merchants were useful to the kings as money-lenders.

The English barons and large landed proprietors, who were the only possessors of power in addition to the then practically unlimited monarchy, also showed a decided preference for foreign as opposed to native merchants. If the policy of the English towns, in which, as on the Continent, the government was in the hands of mercantile corporations of the guild type, had for its aim the exclusion of foreigners, indispensable as they were to both import and export trade, from domestic commerce, or, in other words, to prevent the loss of their monopoly of the inland trade in England, the English nobility were of the opinion that the domestic middleman paid them too little for the products of their estates and charged them too much for foreign luxuries. In order, therefore, that they might sell dearer and buy cheaper without the intervention of the middleman, the landed proprietors favoured the granting of full commercial rights to foreigners within the kingdom.

The granting of privileges to groups of foreign merchants—usually called by the names of their native cities—became more and more frequent during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries ; and of these privileges the most valued was permission to trade in all parts of the kingdom with whomsoever one desired. Even before

**London's
League of
Merchants**

commercial relationships had been established between England and the north-east of Germany, the foreign merchant in England was already possessed of rights and privileges that in the course of time had come to be looked upon as indisputable. The Cologne Hansa, with its limited or local character, was during the thirteenth

century outstripped by a commercial association that later became of great importance to the Germans as a model ; this was the London Hansa of Flemish and Northern French towns. These were the same cities that had also appeared as a chartered association at the fairs of Champagne and Brie, the greatest markets existing at the time ; there was, in fact, no difference whatever between the London Hansa and the " Hansa of the Seventeen Cities " known to the French fairs. The London League was by no means a mere association of Flemish merchants who traded in England ; that is, it was no guild, or Hansa, in the limited sense of the term, but a union of cities whose merchants carried on trade in foreign countries.

The cities of Flanders and Northern France were dependent chiefly upon the manufacture and sale of cloth. For many years—since the tenth and eleventh centuries—they had obtained a large portion of their raw material from England, whose green valleys were eminently suitable for the raising of livestock, and sheep in particular, and whose damp climate brought the wool to an unusual degree of fineness. Wool had long been the chief article of export from England, and was certainly of far greater importance to the Flemings than the British copper, lead, and tin sought by the ancients and possessing an interest also for the German metal industries. The manufactured wool was exported by the Flemish-French towns back to England and elsewhere in the shape of finely dyed and finished cloth ; England could produce little more than rough homespun during the Middle Ages, nor did she attain complete independence in this branch of manufacture until the sixteenth century, under the Tudors. Common interests of such importance soon caused the cities of France and Flanders engaged in the wool and cloth trade to set aside their rivalries and to form an association for mutual protection.

However, this association pursued other objects characteristic of its purely mercantile and undemocratic nature. In accordance with mutual agreements, the true producers of the cloth, the craftsmen, were excluded from the right of purchasing wool as well as from that of selling the finished product ; thus the merchants were to retain all the profit, not only from the

**England's
Chief
Export**

BEGINNINGS OF WESTERN COMMERCE

domestic but also from the foreign industries. The capitalists naturally looked with contempt upon the man who lived by the labour of his dye-stained hands. Only such men as had ceased to ply their trade as craftsmen for the space of a year and a day were eligible to the position of magistrate in their native villages, and later to the right of purchasing a membership in the Hansa. The purchase-money amounted to thirty shillings and threepence; on the other hand, the son of a member of the league had to pay but five shillings and threepence. The Flemish Hansa in London, which flourished during the thirteenth century, was not so much injured in after years by the German Hansa, modelled after it, as by the English Staple Guild and the Company of Merchant Adventurers that sought to make the trade in cloth and wool national and to wrest it from the hands of the foreigners.

Another type of mercantile association, which as early as the twelfth century had begun to extend its influence over the central and northern nations of the continent, developed in the South of Europe.

**Germany's
Exclusion From
Commerce**

Ever since the time of the Crusades the stream of Indian, Levantine, and Italian commodities that flowed from South to North had been growing wider and wider. Before the time of the Crusades a byway of the Oriental trade had passed through Russia to the Baltic Sea, and extended west as far as England. Moreover, during these earlier times products of foreign zones also reached the North from Southern France. Germany was then practically untouched by the routes of the world's commerce, for this was the period of a quadrangle of routes—unfortunate for Germany—the Mediterranean, French, Baltic-North Sea, and Russian. Germany suffered severely because of her unfavourable situation in respect to the routes of the world's commerce until well into the twelfth century.

There can be no doubt that it is right to ascribe the economic backwardness of Germany, her long continuance as a country of agriculture and raw products, and her late transition to modern trade conditions to the fact that she was so long excluded from a share in the world's commerce. But during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a rapid change set in. The products of the south that had been accumulating in the Italian markets sought

the shortest and least dangerous route to the markets of Central and Northern Europe, and found it in the overland route through Germany. Once more there was an accumulation of goods in the Flemish towns and at the French fairs, and not till then was there an unrestricted and general distribution. Like the

**Where the
Italians
Led Europe** ancient world, the world of the Middle Ages paid the balance of its account with the merchants of the tropics in gold. It was due to the ingenuity of the Italians that this balance diminished in ratio to the total of exchange until in the fifteenth century the produce of European, and after the sixteenth century that of American, mines rendered the flowing of precious metals into the tropics, whence there was no return, almost imperceptible. In their transactions with eastern countries, with the Byzantine Empire and the Mohammedan states, all of which had either an unsatisfactory gold standard or a double standard of gold and silver, the Italians, Provençals, and Catalonians rapidly developed their methods of trade and their knowledge of financial affairs far in advance of the rest of Europe.

Thus, when the Italians journeyed to the North, bearing with them the products of the South, they carried a superior commercial system wherever they went—at first as a personal possession, a secret of trade, for the exercise of which the northern peoples were not yet sufficiently mature. As early as the twelfth century two forms of mercantile association had developed in Italy: the "Commenda," the original form of the later "silent company," as well as of all forms of commission trade, and the "open company"; to these the stock company, which arose from the various shipping societies and associations of state creditors, was added in the fourteenth century.

**Trade Customs
of the
Middle Ages** Such companies were established not only in Italy but also in foreign lands, where some of the largest houses were already represented by factors or agents; in general, however, during the Middle Ages the personal presence of the merchant himself was required.

The Italians established their consulates in Northern Europe as they had in the East; they occupied their own quarters and met together at certain fixed places

in the foreign city, just as on the Rialto, or in the *loggias* of their own guild halls. The beginnings of the modern stock exchange may be perceived in these assemblies, in which business concerning money and bills of exchange was usually transacted.

It is certain that the Italians, or Lombards as they were generally called, would have been able to remain in foreign countries undisturbed and without being exposed to the hatred of the various native populations had they not ventured into the doubtful region of money-lending and taking interest. This was the boundary line that separated Christian from non-Christian, the barrier set by an age of natural economy, thoughtful of the defence of the weak and of the consuming masses against the advancing age of money, capitalism, and international trade. So strong was the instinct of self-preservation in the social organism based on natural economy that religion itself was called upon for protection; the Church sought to enforce its prohibition against taking interest on loans of money by threatening the severest penalties. Still, at the time when the Southern Europeans came to the North, lending money at interest, or, as it was indifferently called, usury, was already in full operation. Forbidden to the Christians, it became a field for the commercial activities of the Jews, who were also active in mercantile pursuits.

In fact, at the very time that the commerce of Southern Europe was in the act of expanding over the central and north-western portions of the continent, the financial dominion of the Jews was beginning to break down under the burden of a detestation which had arisen not only from religious but also from economic motives. Thus the Lombards came forward in place of

The Jews Oppressed in England the Jews. With their superior capital they succeeded almost immediately in controlling the money markets of countries poor in gold; but they were unable to resist the temptation of succeeding and even outdoing the Jews in the profitable business of money-lending. For the latter a painful period began, during which the nobles protected them from extremities and even furthered their trade, in order to render them

the more fit for a systematic extortion on the part of the state, and for various other plunderings exercised at times of special need, until they were finally driven away and banned for all time. The Jews were especially unfortunate in England, where they were forced to submit to all manner of indignities from the power which was supposed to protect them during the reigns of the early Plantagenet kings; their final expulsion followed in 1290 under Edward I.

But long before this, Christian usurers also had become objects of hatred to the English people; the Cahorsins, notorious throughout the whole of Europe, by whom not only natives of Cahors, but also Southern Europeans in general, are to be understood, finally gave their name to usurers of all nationalities. As W. J. Ashley says in his "English Economic History and Theory," the Cahorsini first came to England in the year 1235 as "papal merchants"—that is to say, as individuals ready to offer a helping hand in the collection of papal revenues, and also to assist in sending them to

A Royal Edict that Failed Rome. For this reason it was difficult to attack the Cahorsins; nevertheless, they, and particularly the Siennese—a proof of the wide application of the term even at that early time—were exiled from England by King Henry III. in 1240. However, the edict proved futile; they remained in the country, acquired property, and successfully pursued a business identical with that of the Jewish usurers.

Not until the foundation of the great Lombard houses in the fourteenth century—by the name Lombards, Italians in general, and particularly Florentines, are to be understood—were the earlier Cahorsin usurers driven into the background. The new banking-houses of the Pardi, Peruzzi, Frescobaldi, etc., when Edward III. was no longer able to fulfil his obligations in 1339, made to the crown the loan which was destined to have such an influence on their own fortunes, as well as on those of their native city on the Arno.

In addition to merchants from Cologne, France, Flanders, Italy, Spain, and Scandinavia, the "Easterlings," from the German coasts of the Baltic, also came to England during the first decades of the thirteenth century. If the word "sterling" is derived from Easterling, it follows that the latter term must have been introduced

BEGINNINGS OF WESTERN COMMERCE

into the English language at a still earlier period. The monetary significance of the term stands in close connection with the memorable reform in the currency that took place during the reign of Henry II.

That the English sovereigns of early times possessed great power is shown by the fact that England alone of all the nations of Western Europe had a uniformly regulated coinage during the Middle Ages. While in other countries the right to stamp coins was shared by various spiritual or temporal lords and cities, in England the crown was able to guard its exclusive privilege of issuing currency. A systematic coinage facilitated both domestic and foreign trade, even if it was to the disadvantage of the money-changers, whom the foreigners needed to change the money they brought with them into English coin, since foreign money was excluded from the kingdom. On the other hand, it was forbidden to carry English money out of the country, and thus English merchants about to go abroad were required to exchange it for foreign before sailing. Under Henry II., about 1180, the English

Money Standard in England standard returned to the full-weight Carolingian pound; the silver penny, the single current coin, was struck, not according to the previously accepted West Frankish or French standard of lighter weight (*livre Tournois*), but according to the heavier East Frankish or German standard, which had been retained in Germany since the time of Charlemagne: 240 pence to the pound, the penny having the weight of 32 grains of wheat (22½ grains). Compared to the standard penny, pound, mark and shilling were mere units of reckoning until the time of the Tudors. This heavy penny of East Frankish standard was called the "sterling penny."

But at the end of the twelfth century the Easterlings themselves, the inhabitants of the German colonial lands which had developed on the shores of the Baltic, began to come to England. They must have risen to power within a very few years, for the old-established and privileged Cologne Hansa, the "Guild hall," opposed them with such violence that the burghers of Lübeck appealed for help to the Emperor Frederic II., who reprimanded the Cologne association, giving them to understand that the new arrivals had the same right to be in England

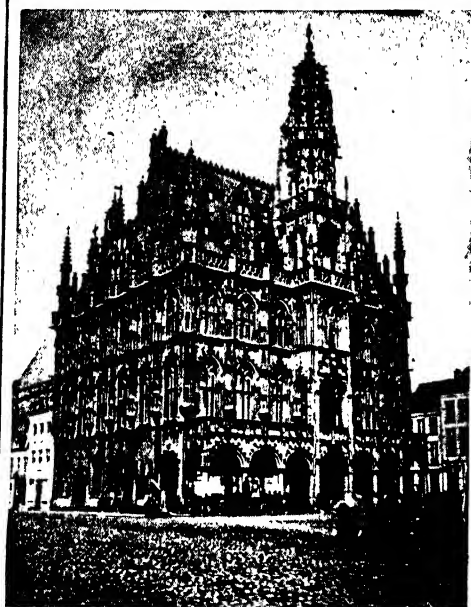
as they had themselves. The Plantagenets soon began to grant privileges not only to single German cities, such as Cologne or Brunswick, but incidentally to all merchants subject to the "Emperor of Alemannia and the Duke of Saxony." Foreign nations gradually became more and

England's Concessions to Foreigners more familiar with the conception—important enough for them—of the "associated German merchants," which summed up a large number of rights and served as a basis for common interests.

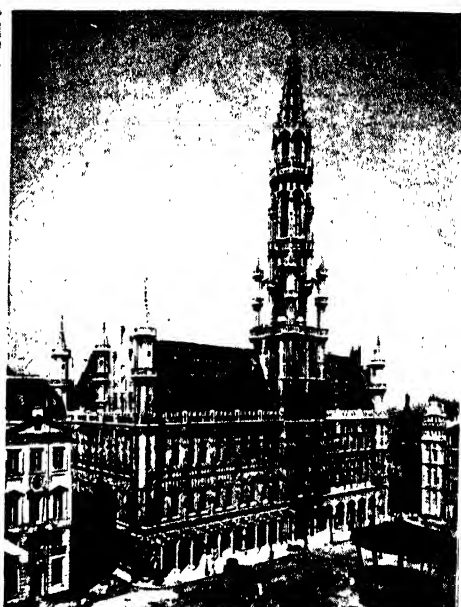
In the meanwhile commercial relations ships were opened between the cities of the North Sea, Bremen, Emden, Hamburg, Lübeck, etc., and England. On paying certain taxes the merchants of Hamburg acquired in 1206 the right to form a special Hansa, and in the following year the merchants of Lübeck received the same privilege, inasmuch as the closer alliance which had joined together Lübeck and Hamburg on account of their home interests also made them allies in foreign countries; and further, owing to the fact that Cologne had become weakened by domestic disturbances, and consequently was no longer able to offer opposition to the common German policy of the Baltic capitals, the three leagues were incorporated into one league and the three depots into one depot in 1282.

From this time forth the meeting-place of German merchants in London and England in general was the "Steelyard" on the Thames, a collection of storehouses and offices which the successors of the Hansa, known even in modern times as the Hanse towns, did not abandon until 1853. The Steelyard was surrounded by high walls, in which the heavy gates were kept carefully locked for fear of attacks. The side facing the Thames was open; a flight of steps led down to the river; a wharf with a crane aided in the unloading of goods that

Where the Germans Met in London were brought directly to the depot on sea-going vessels. Magazines, cellars, offices, and dwelling-houses lay within the peaceful cloister-like enclosure; a monastic discipline ruled as well among temporary visitors as among the officials, who were bound to remain at their posts unmarried for ten years. It was only in the great hall, the common dining-room, and in the "Rhenish wine-house" that signs of a more joyful life were to be seen.



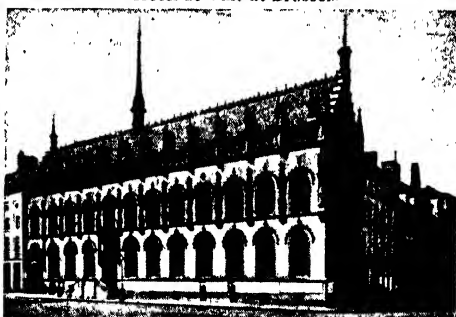
Hotel de Ville at Oudenarde



Hotel de Ville at Brussels



The "Cloth Hall" at Ypres



Hotel de Ville at Courtrai



Hotel de Ville at Bruges



Louvain Hotel de Ville

MEDIAEVAL GUILD HOUSES AS MODERN TOWN HALLS

WESTERN
EUROPE IN
THE MIDDLE
AGES



THE
COMMERCE
OF THE
NATIONS III

THE COMMERCE OF THE NORTH AND ACTIVITIES OF THE GERMAN TRADERS

THE organisation of associated communities of merchants made more progress in the east than in the west. From the twelfth century German warriors, priests, and merchants had been steadily advancing in the Slavonic and Finnic countries, semi-civilised and difficult of access, where, far more than in well-regulated England, they were thrown back upon self-protection or such aids as treaties and agreements might bring. Climate, race, and religion in these lands were new and strange to them, but their energy and daring made way against all hindrances.

The most celebrated settlement of these German pioneers of trade was that of Wisby, the capital of the Swedish island of Gotland. Mainly, this settlement was of Westphalian origin, and to this day the ruins of Wisby attest the influence of the Westphalian style of architecture. Looking from the steep cliffs, one sees the old city enclosed by its great wall facing

**Wisby in
the Middle
Ages**

the sea, while ruins of the forty-eight towers and eighteen churches, and the lofty old Marien Kirche rising high above the surrounding houses, and St. Nicholas's with its rose-windows and its lighthouse-gable, show us what Wisby in the Middle Ages must have been—a miniature presentment of Europe organised on the bases of religion, trade, and war.

The population of Wisby was composed of Swedes and Germans. Here, unlike elsewhere, the Germans had no separate civic establishment, no depot, no guild-hall, no Steelyard. But difference of race and creed made an impassable barrier between them and the native Gotlanders. They had to maintain themselves by active and ceaseless vigilance, for the Gotlanders were no mean commercial rivals. Long before the Germans came to Wisby these daring seamen had coasted into every creek and cranny of the Baltic, had opened up internal trade with Russia, had visited German markets, and had made Wisby the emporium through which

Novgorod and Kiev traded with Lübeck and Cologne. Now, with Germans settled in Wisby this trade grew rapidly in volume and importance, and at the close of the twelfth century the Baltic route had practically superseded the uncertain and perilous

**Russians'
Dislike
of the Sea**

communication by land over restless and unsettled Poland. Many things contributed to the success of German colonisation on the Baltic islands. Both Germans and Gotlanders were fearless mariners. Then as now the Russians of pure Slavonic descent disliked the sea. And although Viking adventurers had founded a Russian dynasty, the rulers, so far from leading their new subjects into maritime activity, were rapidly absorbed into Russian ways of life. Feeble attempts were made now and then to create a Russian sea trade. But they all failed. By the end of the twelfth century itinerant German and Gotlandic merchants made their way direct to Novgorod from Wisby, and in many Russian towns settlements of Germans and Gotlanders founded markets, built churches, and established merchant courts.

Great Novgorod was known to the Germans as Naugarden and to the Gotlanders as Holmgard. As Lübeck was to Germany, so was this strange mart to Russia. With its vast suburbs it was a republic rather than a city. It was the common meeting ground for all who journeyed by the great waterways which opened up internal Russia to commerce. The German colony clustered round St. Peter's Church, the native merchants met at the Church of St. John the Baptist. At

**When Great
Novgorod
Flourished**

the head of this incongruous community stood elective princes, subject, however, to the control of the Vetsche, or popular body, in all affairs of moment. The great fairs were flocked to from all sides. The city was the emporium of East and West. Every winter and every summer the crowd of foreign traders filled the streets, and from the babel of tongues

a rude jargon of business was evolved. In Greek orthodox countries all Western Europeans were called "Latins," and Latin churches and buildings, not only in Novgorod but also in Riga, Vitebsk, and Smolensk, show that along all the great rivers and their watersheds merchants from Lübeck and Wisby had made their way.

Russia's Trade Monopoly

The German and Gotland merchants who established themselves east of the Baltic region did not obtain free rights of settlement as in England, for the Russian merchants, organised into associations, and assured of the support of the native population, which was hostile to foreigners, never lost their grasp of the monopoly of domestic trade. The native retail dealers, and even the Prince of Novgorod himself, were compelled to avail themselves of the services of Russian middlemen in their transactions with foreign merchants. Only the Church traded directly with the foreigners.

Nowhere else did the Germans encounter such a difficult task from the very beginning as in Novgorod. The constant dangers to which they were exposed demanded of them the closest of union and the strictest of discipline. The oldest list of the house-rules of the German yard, the often enlarged and altered Novgorod "Skra," was drawn up in the fourteenth century. At first the superintendents of the St. Peter's depot, the two "aldermen," were elected from the winter or summer voyagers to Novgorod, irrespective of the city from which they came.

The profits of the depot were sent to the St. Peter's chest of St. Mary's Church in Wisby, and in all doubtful points of law appeal was made to the council of Germans in Gotland. During the course of the thirteenth century the city of Lübeck won a signal victory over her rival in acquiring the management of the Novgorod depot. From this time forth the

Lübeck's Days of Prosperity

posts of aldermen were alternately held by merchants of Lübeck and Wisby. The officials elected were responsible to their mother cities only, although the chief aldermen had power over life and death. The profits of the association were sent to Lübeck, and the high court of the league at this city, the authority of which was supreme over the entire Baltic colonial region, became the final court of appeal for the Novgorod depot also.

Lübeck did not succeed in accomplishing her designs without opposition, nor did she henceforth remain undisturbed in her supreme position; Riga, the ambitious head of the cities of Livonia, also strove to obtain the leading place.

During the thirteenth century the relations between the German merchants and the Russians repeatedly became so strained that the cities of Germany were compelled to exercise the sharpest coercive measure at their disposal, the interdiction of trade—that is to say, the suspension of all business with the penalised country. This took place, for example, in 1268—1269. Inasmuch as the Russians finally yielded to the demands of the Germans, the voyages to Novgorod were resumed in 1270. Lübeck first obtained the leadership, to which it now laid claim in all regions, in the eastern sphere of German commercial activity. After the embargo on trade with Russia was renewed, in 1278, Lübeck contracted an alliance with the Germans of Gotland and the merchants of Riga against all countries that were in a position to injure the traffic from the Trade to Novgorod, one of the numerous

Germans in Sweden

leagues formed by cities of various regions, and dissolved and renewed at intervals, until in the fourteenth century they assumed a more settled character. In general, even in later times the lesser alliances were more important and effectual than the great league of all cities engaged in the German northern trade, called by preference the Hansatic League, and always more theoretical than real.

Lübeck and Baltic North Germany did not long remain content with their successes in Wisby and Novgorod alone. In the thirteenth century relations with the Scandinavian kingdoms had become of the greatest importance.

Commercial development progressed far more smoothly in Sweden than in other countries. Some time after the Germans had first set foot in Gotland and Oeland they settled in Sweden itself, and obtained for themselves in the new cities, just then beginning to develop, a position of complete equality with the native population. Stockholm, the new capital, founded in the twelfth century, was decidedly German in character. German merchants supplied the Swedes with luxuries from the south, worked the mines of Atvida and Falun on their own account, and bought

THE COMMERCE OF THE NORTH

up the iron of the forest smithies. By the end of the thirteenth century they possessed important privileges, such as exemption from taxes, rights of settlement, protection against the rights of wreckage and against piracy. But the land was poor, and trade was consequently very slight. Relations with Denmark, which never

Commercial Ambitions of Lübeck

ceased its endeavours to obtain dominion over the Baltic, were of far greater importance, although more subject to disturbances. Denmark's claim to commercial power was supported chiefly by her geographical situation and extension. Inasmuch as the Danes were in possession of the provinces of Schonen and Hålland, in Southern Sweden, they dominated the waterways leading from the North Sea to the Baltic. They were able to open and close the straits to the dwellers on the North Sea who desired to exclude Lübeck and the other Baltic ports from the North Sea, and in like manner they could either bar or unlock the Sound and the Great Belt to the Easterlings. Hence it became one of the earliest endeavours of Lübeck—an endeavour never abandoned and never achieved, except for a few brief intervals—to obtain possession of the straits in order to keep the western races out of the Baltic, and the Gotlanders, and, if possible, the merchants of all German-Baltic seaports, out of the North Sea. Lübeck desired to monopolise the entire trade between the two seas, to be the one centre of all commerce carried on between the east and west of Northern Europe.

Since the straits between the North Sea and the Baltic were not seldom impassable, Lübeck fell back on her favourable geographical location, and rendered the moderately long overland road through Holstein accessible; in fact, a considerable portion of the trade between East and West passed over this commercial route. In consequence of the construction of the

The Danish Kings Favour the Germans

Stecknitz Canal in the fourteenth century, an uninterrupted waterway, quite large enough to accommodate the moderate-sized vessels used in the Middle Ages, stood at the disposal of commerce.

In the course of the thirteenth century the Danish kings granted, at first to single cities, and later to merchants from all parts of the German Empire, exemption from wreckage rights, tolls, and taxes. Thus the idea that members of German

commercial associations were to be looked upon as privileged individuals became firmly rooted in that country also. Although trade in Denmark itself was of but little importance, the right to settle in Schonen, a Danish dependency in Southern Sweden, was of the very greatest value to the merchant. The southern coast of Sweden was the centre of the herring fishery carried on by Lübeck and its Baltic neighbours, as well as by Bremen, Hamburg, and the seaports of the Low Countries. Smoked or salt fish formed the chief article of the inland trade of these cities. Moreover, the Baltic herring was a valuable commodity even in foreign markets in those days of strict ecclesiastical fasting regulations. The great fishing settlements were situated in the neighbourhood of Skanör and Falsterbo, then flourishing trading places, although now almost unknown. Gustav Freytag has described the life at the fishing towns as follows:

There, on the shore between the castles of Skanör and Falsterbo the Germans had marked off the land over which their rights extended, and where the banners of their cities waved, from Danish territory by a moated rampart and palisade. Each city or company had its own station, or "vitte," measured out to it in rods on the valuable ground, and each station was in turn surrounded by poles bearing the coat of arms of its owners. Within each vitte stood the stone houses in which the herrings were smoked and salted, the piles of wooden casks, and the huts for fishermen and labourers; and each was governed according to the law of its own city, administered by a merchant of standing, appointed annually. The superintendence of the whole was in the hands of the Prefect of Lübeck, except that capital cases were reserved to the representative of the King of Denmark. All details were regulated according to a certain standard, the size of the casks, the length of the fish; the quality of the wares was under the supervision of inspectors. The shore was deserted for the greater part of the year; only the armed watchmen and their dogs were then to be seen. But during the fishing season, between St. James's Day and Martinmas, the fleets of the North Sea and Baltic companies came like endless flocks of swans; the strand echoed with the bustle of busy workmen; thousands of fishing-boats lay with their nets in the sea day and night, and for the night haul torches blazed along the entire coast. On the shore, rope-makers and coopers laboured, and the merchant stored away his goods in the wooden huts. There, between mountains of fish, in the midst of salt and smoke, the most costly wares of the Continent—silks and wines of the South, cloth of the Low Countries, and spices of the Orient—were sold as at a great fair. The hastily freighted vessels made three trips each season to the mainland and back; at the beginning of each October the shores were again deserted.

In Norway, the classic home of the Vikings, the stormy impulses of bygone centuries were gradually disappearing at the time of the development of the German Hansa. Foreigners—Englishmen, Frisians, and Low Germans—brought to Norway, as poor in population as in products, the petty wares for which its inhabitants could afford to pay. The fisheries also enticed foreigners into Norwegian waters. The fish trade, especially traffic in dried codfish, was concentrated in Bergen.

Germans, chiefly merchants of Lübeck and Hamburg, acquired at first only the most general privileges—freedom from wreckage law, unimpeded trade with both natives and foreigners, rights of residence and settlement, equality with the domestic population in the courts. Although the beginnings of the settlement of German merchants in Bergen took place as early as the thirteenth century, the Norwegian trade did not reach the zenith of its development until the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The point at which the sharply defined and limited trade of the North of Europe, especially that of the Low Germans, came

The Great Market Town of Bruges

into contact with the world's commerce was at Bruges, the great international market that had arisen in the very focus of the Central European sphere of communication. Here were stored the valuable products of Western and Southern European industry, as well as the merchandise of the Levant. Bruges, like Ghent and Ypres—and, in fact, almost all the towns of Flanders, Brabant, and Northern France—was a manufacturing city, the chief industries being the various branches of cloth-making.

The population of this industrial region was so dense that in Flanders and Brabant (Old Belgium) it had been found necessary to import foodstuffs ever since the thirteenth century. The institution of guilds was in full sway. Even to-day the guild and cloth-halls with their towering belfries bear witness to the prosperity and organisation of the Low Country burghers. In the thirteenth century the industrial guilds struggled for representation in the magistrates' courts and city governments. The patrician merchants, the "Poortus," united with the French out of hatred for the industrial classes; Flanders finally became a portion of the Burgundian provinces of the kingdom of the Valois. The trade of foreign merchants in

Bruges was frequently seriously disturbed by conflicts of the different social classes of the city, and by feuds with both domestic and foreign rulers.

Bruges was indebted to the relative proximity of the sea for its commercial prosperity. It was connected with Sluys as well as with Damme by waterways. The harbour of Sluys was shallow and choked with sandbars; on the other hand, the Zwin, an arm of the sea extending inland and navigable as far as Bruges, was widened in order to form the future basin of the harbour of Damme. Vast dykes, built from 1180 on, protected Bruges from the floods of which we hear frequent mention in the history of the Netherlands of the Middle Ages. The bulk of the merchandise sent to Bruges by sea had always to be reloaded on smaller vessels before it reached its destination.

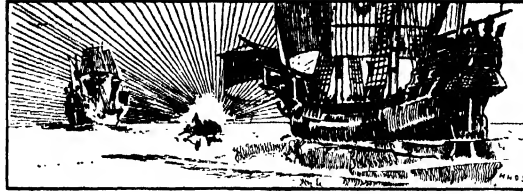
Until later than the thirteenth century, products of the Levant were transported overland from the Rhine or from the French markets. It is true that occasionally Italian vessels made their way to Flanders, but not until the year 1317 was there any regular traffic between Italy and the Low Countries by sea. From time immemorial ships of Western France, Spain, and Portugal, laden with wine, had landed at the Flemish coasts. Traffic with the German cities of the Rhine was also of unknown antiquity, certainly of earlier date than the appearance of Upper German merchants and Low German sealers in Flanders. The Easterlings finally came during the thirteenth century, and were granted the same privileges as other foreigners, but no special rights. Margaret of Flanders conferred the usual privileges of trade in 1252 upon "all merchants of the Roman Empire who visit Gotland"; and thereafter, in Bruges also, the Easterlings occupied a position of complete equality with their West German predecessors.

Nevertheless, the claims of the associated German merchants were disregarded and resented in Bruges, and it became necessary for them to retaliate in 1280, temporarily removing their magazines from Bruges to Ardenburg—a means of coercion frequently employed in later days. In 1283 the Germans returned to Bruges, and wrested rights upon rights with unrelenting persistence until they became a practically privileged class.

Bruges' Debt to the Sea

German Methods of Coercion

WESTERN
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THE
COMMERCE
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RISE OF THE HANSEATIC LEAGUE TRADE TRIUMPHS OF THE UNITED CITIES

AS we have already seen, at the end of the thirteenth century German commercial depots, in which not only the nearest German cities, but often towns situated a long distance off, had a share, were established in all the nations of Northern Europe. In all countries the

Merchants and Their Privileges

merchants of single cities first received rights and privileges, until, finally, the total of these special rights was transferred to the great companies of German traders. The necessity for preserving their privileges, and also for settling all disputes among themselves without invoking the aid of foreign powers, led to a closer union of the merchants whose homes were in the "Empire of the Alemanni," but who lived abroad temporarily, and to the formation of self-governing associations, which remained fixed, in contrast to the constant changes that took place among their members. All these companies, yards, and offices retained their independence in respect to the mother city as long as they were able. They had the power of refusing entrance to whom they chose; there was yet no union of all the towns engaged in foreign trade.

In spite of this, however, in the thirteenth century common interests developed between the mercantile settlements in foreign lands and the cities from which they came. Indeed, the privileges were never granted by foreign rulers to individual merchants, but to the mercantile inhabitants or corporations of their native cities. Moreover, appeal was made to the courts at home on all difficult points

Where the Trader had Security

of law, and it was not seldom that the mother cities, whose co-operation was indispensable, especially in laying embargoes on trade and in bringing about temporary removals of depots, were called upon for assistance. However displeasing it may have been to the self-governing unions of merchants in foreign lands, the fact was

that the true security of the trader lay in the hands of his native city, which, therefore, acquired the superintendence of all foreign depots. The common interests by which the cities of the mother country and the depots were bound together finally united all the towns of Germany that were engaged in trade in the north and had common commercial privileges to defend.

Before the end of the thirteenth century leagues of German cities whose merchants were engaged in foreign trade had been formed. The history of this century was characterised by a strong tendency towards federation. The decay of imperial power under the later Hohenstaufens compelled many cities threatened by warlike nobles to join together for the protection of their political rights and economic interests. The majority of the leagues were limited in area or time,

A Check to Denmark's Advance

although easily renewed whenever necessary. Since the fall of Henry the Lion there had been no ruler in North Germany capable of offering opposition to a foreign enemy. The empire left the North to its fate when Waldemar the Great extended his power over the Baltic and the new colonial regions. This advance of Denmark was checked by a league of which Lübeck also was a member; the battle of Bornhöved secured room for development to the German Baltic regions for many years.

During the following years of peace the towns and principalities of Northern Germany rapidly increased in strength; the "Dominium maris Baltici" and supremacy in Northern European commerce was transferred to the Germans. Now began the long list of leagues and compacts entered into by cities bound together by common interests, and whole groups of communities closely united by common interests were established. As early as 1241 Lübeck and Hamburg had entered



WAR ON THE HANSEATIC LEAGUE: A SCENE IN THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN WALDEMAR IV., KING OF DENMARK, AND THE ALLIED TOWNS
From the painting by C. G. Hedqvist

RISE OF THE HANSEATIC LEAGUE

into a treaty, pledging each other to protect the entrance to the Elbe and other rivers from pirates. As allies, they waged war in 1259 and cleared the coasts of the sea-robbers. Other cities had at times made similar alliances. But each city went its way, and often at critical moments would adopt a policy different from that of its allies. This was sometimes due to compulsion; for all the towns were not free cities of the empire, but were under some reigning house, and at best were only semi-independent. The Pomeranian towns were under the dukes, Rostock belonged to the house of Schwerin, Hamburg to the counts of Holstein, and so with many others.

Then there were the great ecclesiastical cities governed by bishops or archbishops. No general bond was possible in such circumstances. The cities were involved in the wars and quarrels of their rulers. They struggled for a position of direct relation to the empire, and in time under this constitutional demand they won many privileges and immunities, but until the Treaty of Westphalia their place in the imperial economy was ill-defined and uncertain. Many city groups were formed for common undertakings. There were groups of Westphalian cities, of Zuyder Zee cities, of Pomeranian, Prussian, and Saxon cities, of cities which were bishoprics and of cities which were mere markets; but all these groups were separate and self-dependent, in no way forming parts of a common league.

After the great Cologne Union of 1367 a general league seemed for a time possible. Aspirations for such a league were felt everywhere. The cities, separated as they had been by rivalries and feuds, saw that commercial interests pointed to common action in many ways. The security of the seas, the settlement of disputes, the protection of traders in foreign lands, were all matters of common concern. But no serious attempt to give shape and body to these purposes was made by any city except Lübeck. Again and again Lübeck had invited the other cities to form a real league. Her own interests coincided with the general interests of all. And from the Cologne Union onwards Lübeck laboured incessantly, to bring about this desired result. By strict terms of compact in Hanseatic arrangements, by convoking general

assemblies, by inscribing names of members in a common roll, by statutes, ordinances, and bylaws, she gradually attained this ideal; but in spite of the glamour that can be exercised by a name or a conception, even by a dream, there was no Hanseatic assembly that can be proved to have been attended by all the cities, no resolution by which all the towns usually considered Hanseatic were bound, no membership roll in accordance with which regular contributions flowed in from all sides, no universally recognised statute, no common policy of defence, and no war in which all the members were engaged.

In short, the so-called Hanseatic League was a union of cities, similar in every respect to the union of German states called the Holy Roman Empire. The same tendency to the grand style was shown not only in the artistic, but also in the political and economic, models of this age. The misconception into which the majority of modern historians have fallen arises from the fact that they all attempt to measure the mediæval Hansa, which was completely in harmony with the spirit of its age, according to the standard of modern ideas of confederations. They imagine that the old towns took the field at the suggestion of Lübeck quite as unanimously as the various divisions of the army of the confederate German states advanced against the French in 1870.

Lübeck was no Athens, and the Hansa was not a Delian League. An attempt to introduce the Greek idea of hegemony and alliance in war into a description of Hanseatic affairs would result in a mere caricature. Had Lübeck been as powerful as Athens of the fifth century B.C., perhaps then she would have been able to enforce the coercive measures without which it is impossible to create a community of political individuals.

However, the coercive powers of the Hansa never attained to complete development, and the league fell because of their inadequacy. Nevertheless, the cities of the league were by no means unwarlike. All were constantly obliged to defend themselves against foreign princes and their own feudal superiors, against pillage by land and piracy by sea, against their sister cities; and the spirit of war was continually

Misconception of Modern Historians

The Great Cologne Union

Why the League Fell

aroused by internal dissensions. For all that, they were always weak from a military point of view ; and the only reason why it was possible for them to accomplish anything of a warlike nature was because at that time things were not much better with the forces of their ruling houses, even the large kingdoms. Since

Lübeck's Inability to Lead Lübeck possessed little more than the average of military power and ability, it is quite evident that an energetic leadership, such as once had been exercised by Athens, Sparta, or Rome, was out of the question for her. Lübeck as a free imperial city was superior to her confederates only from a diplomatic point of view, for the reason that she was not exposed to the hampering paternal interference of a reigning prince. This circumstance heightened the reputation of the city on the Trave even in foreign lands.

The Hansa cannot be likened to a Hellenic League, not merely because of the weakness of the leading power, but by reason of the dependence of the individual cities of the union. The Greek federations were alliances of cities which were independent states ; the city leagues of the Middle Ages, especially the Hansa, were associations of towns, all subject to an emperor, and, with but few exceptions, to an immediate lord as well ; thus they were never in a position to act independently except when the power of the ruling prince had been overthrown.

The Prussian towns, for example, were in the iron grasp of the Teutonic Knights for a century and a half, and had no opportunity for self-dependent action until the fall of the order as a power. Membership in the Hansa was of no benefit either to a town or to its confederates, in case the policy and interests of a feudal superior imposed upon it a definite and unalterable attitude in regard to political affairs. When asked what were the character-

Features of the Hanse Towns istic features by which a Hanse town was to be recognised, we cannot well name more than the one given by Dietrich Schaefer—participation in the rights of German merchants in foreign countries. If one were to enumerate all the cities that at least some time during their histories have been looked upon as members of the Hansa—in later times, when a permanent membership roll was required, it was found expedient to draw up lists—

the result would be the respectable total of ninety. The geographical region over which the various members of the league were scattered was also very extensive. The northern boundary is formed by the North Sea and the Baltic, although Gotland, Oeland, and Kalmar were also included. The continental southern boundary extended from Dinan, through Andernach, Göttingen, and Halle, and curved downward into the regions of the Oder and Vistula to Breslau and Cracow. The farthest point to the West was marked by the towns of Zealand ; to the East, by Reval and Narva.

Although the territorial groups of cities held their convocations with or without inviting neighbour groups, Lübeck endeavoured to convert the assemblies of the Lusatian towns into meetings of all the confederated cities taking part in foreign trade, and to transform these Hanscatic conventions, or "Hansetage," into periodically recurrent administrative and legislative bodies of the league. Many such conventions were held, not only in Lübeck, but in other cities. Lübeck issued the

How the Hansa Applied the Boycott invitations, presided over the sittings of delegates, and preserved the minutes as well as the other records

of the federation. In very few cases, however, were all the invitations accepted ; and very few assemblies were attended by a sufficient number of delegates to deserve the name of Hansetage. Full attendance was impossible, owing to the fluctuating character of the federation ; in short, the meetings of the league were in every respect counterparts to the imperial diets of the Middle Ages.

The only means at the disposal of the Hansa for the purpose of coercing refractory members was the boycott, or "Verhansung"—the suspension, nay, the prevention, of all traffic with the city in question, the seizure of its ships, cargoes, and other possessions, and the exclusion of its inhabitants from the common rights enjoyed by all merchants of the league in foreign countries ; in other words, non-admission to the depots and offices of the association from Bruges to Novgorod. It was a very uncertain means of coercion, and, moreover, one that cut both ways. The coercive measures adopted against foreign powers—suspension of commerce, removal of markets, and war—were also of the nature of a two-edged sword. It is

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no wonder that the sober merchants of the Middle Ages infinitely preferred the most interminable negotiations to action, which as a rule led to nothing but their own damage. The Hanseatic politicians always displayed remarkable dexterity and tenacity in their negotiations. Woe to the opponent when the Hansa possessed any written evidence against him! With a document in their hands, and with all their chartered rights behind them, they wearied their enemies into submission. The Hanseatic envoys were indebted for not the least part of their diplomatic successes to the advantage which results from a narrow line of thought, and persistency in always returning to the point of departure.

That the Hanse leagues made such headway during the fourteenth century, and that any practical results were attained, was due entirely to their enemies. They were drawn into the affairs of the Scandinavian kingdoms against their will, and war alone assisted them to the degree of unity of which they were capable. It may be said to their credit that they possessed at least a little heroism

Tradesmen in the School of War

as an offset to their bourgeois narrow-mindedness. So long as a merchant was compelled to breathe the sea air and face the dangers of long voyages, he could not grow altogether blind and stupid in the semi-darkness of retail shops and herring magazines. Robbers and pirates forced him to be constantly on his guard, and the hostile inhabitants of foreign cities caused him to spring to arms whenever their ill-will against the privileged strangers burst into flame—an event which the unscrupulous and overbearing conduct of the Hanseatics made by no means rare. In short, the mediæval tradesman had not much holiday from the school of war.

The halt in the development of Denmark which followed the defeat of Waldemar the Great at Bornhöved in 1227, and which proved to be of such advantage to the Baltic colonies of Germany, came to an end during the times of King Eric Menved (1285-1319). Not only did Denmark resume her earlier plans of expansion, but the counts of Holstein and the margraves of Brandenburg also aspired to a share in the "*Dominium maris Baltici*." For five hundred years dominion over the Baltic was contested from two different points of view; from the mercantile—

as in the case of the Hanseatic League—and from the financial-political. To occupy the harbours, coasts, and seaports, to open them to commerce or to close them, as expediency demanded, and to be paid for doing it, were the objects held in view by all princes, great and small, who dwelt on the Baltic or who were

Denmark's Rule on the Baltic

endeavouring to advance towards its shores. It was with such an end in mind that Count Gerhard of Plön built a tower at the mouth of the Trave in defiance of Lübeck, just as Waldemar II had already done; Count Gerhard also occupied the region of commercial roads between Hamburg and Lübeck in 1306, in order to rob the merchants by compelling them to pay him for the escorts which he forced upon them.

During the same period the Ascanian line of Brandenburg once more, as in 1283, advanced against the Lusatian cities and the Pomeranian princes, who immediately looked to Denmark for help. The lords of Mecklenburg and Pomerania could not do otherwise than acknowledge the suzerainty of Denmark; Rostock, Greifswald, and Stralsund became as good as Danish cities. And when in 1307 Lübeck also became subject to the protectorate of King Eric for ten years, and even arranged an annual tribute, it looked very much as if the Baltic states were to become entirely alienated from the Holy Roman Empire.

But Eric was a very incapable ruler, and unable to retain his new territories. The Baltic towns freed themselves from the dominion of Denmark, and got a high price for their return to their former lords. After the death of Eric the whole of Denmark was under German influence. The new king, Christopher II., was expelled from the country, and Count Gerhard von Rendsburg of Holstein, called by his countrymen "*de grote Ghert*," and by the Danes "*the bald-pated count*," became regent in the minority

Denmark the Prize of Germany

of his ward Waldemar III. At that time Southern Jütland, or Schleswig, was already united to Holstein. When Christopher II. attempted to regain his kingdom, and was once more repulsed, Gerhard the Great called to his aid the nobility of North Germany, who thereupon took possession of Denmark as a welcome prize. The Danish entanglements, however, were not favoured by the Hanse towns. When Magnus, King

of Sweden and Norway, who had ill-treated them in Bergen, occupied Schonen, Halland, and Blekingen, adjacent to Denmark, they feared that the fishing-stations would be rendered inaccessible to them; nevertheless both Easterlings and Westerlings received a confirmation of their old rights and privileges in the towns and fishing-villages of Southern Sweden in 1336. Lübeck, whose star had in 1310 seemed about to set, was again, a decade later, playing the leading part in all negotiations with the northern rulers and the German lords.

"De grote Ghert" was murdered at Randers in 1340 when at the height of his power; and to this day the Danes sing the praises of his assassin, Niels Ebbenson, as the avenger of their nation and their deliverer from the ignominy of foreign rule. Christopher's youngest son, Waldemar IV., Atterdag, now took possession of the kingdom, supported by the Lusatian group, which also aided him in expelling the Holstein nobility and in forcing the counts of Schauenburg back across the Eider. Waldemar regained possession of Zealand and Fünen, and successfully withstood the Emperor Charles IV. when, after conquering Brandenburg, he revived the Baltic schemes of the Ascanian margraves.

The princes of Mecklenburg were once more compelled to acknowledge the feudal supremacy of Denmark, in spite of the fact that the emperor had made them dukes and looked upon them as vassals of the empire. Only the distant province of Esthonia was, on payment of a sum of money, resigned by Waldemar to the Teutonic Knights. No further prospects were open to the Danes on the continental side of the Baltic; it would have been difficult to gain any ground against the power of the emperor and the Teutonic Order. On the other hand, opportunities for reconquest and for the

The Restored Kingdom of Waldemar acquisition of new territories were offered to the Danes on the breaking out of dissensions in the realm of King Magnus of Sweden and Norway. Leagued with North German princes, Waldemar regained Schonen, Halland, and Blekingen in 1360. The kingdom of Gorm the Old and Waldemar the Great was again restored to its former power. To the horror of the Lusatian towns, who had shortly before concluded a treaty with

Waldemar Atterdag, the king turned against Oeland in 1361, conquered Bornholm, set sail for Gotland, and before any steps could be taken in its defence captured this most important island.

Defeated before their city by his fierce knights, the citizens of Wisby opened the gates to the victor; Waldemar, however, preferred to consider the city as taken by storm, and refused to enter it except through a breach knocked in the wall by his retainers, that so he might have the right to exact enforced contributions from the burghers. As for the fabulous wealth of Wisby, an old song has it that the Gotlanders measured gold by the hundredweight, that precious stones were playthings, that the women span with golden distaffs, and that the pigs were given to drink out of silver troughs. The last especially seem to have fired the imaginations of the Danish iron-sides who followed Waldemar on his plundering expedition. The king of the Danes and Wends henceforth styled himself king of the Goths or Gotlanders also. But the prosperity of Gotland had vanished, never

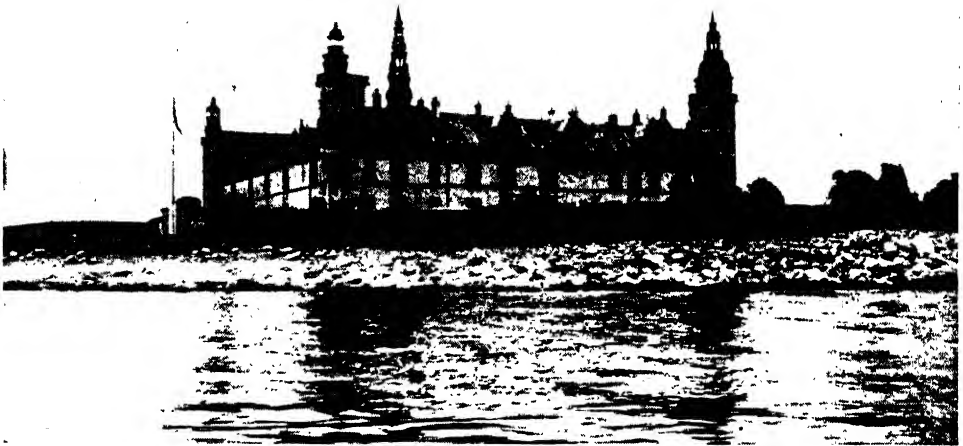
Vanished Prosperity of Gotland to return. However, it is quite certain that Wisby could not have continued to maintain itself as a centre of trade even under more favourable circumstances, for the towns of Livonia—Riga, for example—had already begun to show far greater powers of development.

The conquest of Schonen and Gotland was a severe blow to the Easterlings, and by no means a matter of indifference to many a western city. Envoys from the various Lusatian and Prussian towns assembled at Greifswald resolved on a trade embargo against Denmark, and agreed to the raising of a war tax. In addition to the cities, the kings and princes of the countries of the Baltic coast were also roused to action by the conquests of Waldemar. Thus, six weeks after the capture of Wisby an alliance was entered into by the majority of the German towns, by the kings of Sweden and Norway, and the counts of Holstein, in order "to re-establish the balance of power between the Baltic nations, and to strengthen the position of the Hanse towns in Schonen. In order to allow for the possibilities of conquest, they pledged the entire southern coast of Sweden, together with the castles of Helsingborg, Skanör, and Falsterbo, to the kings." The Hanseatic fleet first

RISE OF THE HANSEATIC LEAGUE

turned toward Helsingborg. In the summer of 1362 it put to sea alone, before the allied princes had completed their preparations, and suffered a crushing defeat. The burgomaster of Lübeck, John Wittenborg, who had been in command, atoned for his ill-fortune on the scaffold. Soon the kings came to an understanding among themselves. Waldemar's daughter Margaret married Haakon of Norway, and thus the first step was taken towards the union of the northern kingdoms; even the cities of the Low Countries entered into a special treaty with Waldemar. The defeated and isolated Easterlings were obliged to agree to an unfavourable armistice and conditions of peace. The league was practically

sentatives of Lübeck, Rostock, Stralsund, Wismar, Kulm, Thorn, Elbing, Kampen, Elborg, Hardwick, Amsterdam, and Briel instituted the celebrated Cologne Confederation of November 11th, 1367, in the name of the Lusatian, Prussian, Livonian, Zuyder Zee, and Dutch cities. No mention of the participation of Rhenish-Westphalian, Frisian, Lower Saxon, or Brandenburg towns has come down to us. At the Cologne assembly a military expedition was arranged for the next year, the size of contingents as well as the amounts of contributions to the cost of the war were determined, and every city agreed to the imposition of a war tax. In February, 1368, the Lusatian cities concluded a two



THE HELSINGBORG CASTLE OF THE HANSEATIC LEAGUE

The great combination of towns, chiefly for the purposes of trade, known as the Hanseatic League, found in Denmark a serious rival on the sea, and eventually war broke out between that country and the league. Victory rested with the traders, and by the Treaty of Stralsund, in 1370, Denmark was brought into subjection to the league, and the important Castle of Helsingborg was one of the strongholds which then passed into its possession.

dissolved on the Peace of Helsingborg, in 1365; each city wished to procure some special advantage for itself, yet none received any definite promises from Waldemar, not to speak of tangible concessions.

The impulse towards a fresh alliance against Denmark arose in the Prussian towns, which could not dispense with the passage through the Sound, and had a close community of interest with the cities of the Zuyder Zee region, of which the centre was Kampen in Oberyssel. The allied cities of Prussia and the Netherlands now entered into negotiations with the Lusatian group. A general convention was arranged to take place in Cologne in the late autumn of 1367. Here the repre-

years' alliance with the princes of Sweden, Mecklenburg, and Holstein, who were opponents of Waldemar, and also a league for one year with the cities of Prussia and the Netherlands.

In the year 1368 the allies captured Copenhagen and the strongholds of Jütland and Schonen, with the exception of Helsingborg, which held out against them until the autumn of 1369. A blockade, through which the English and Flemings also were excluded from Norway, compelled Haakon to negotiate for peace; and since the movement against Mecklenburg planned by Waldemar had also failed to attain its hoped-for result, the Danish Council of State entered into negotiations with the

confederation in 1369, Lübeck representing the cities. Peace was declared in 1370, at a convention in Stralsund. This consisted of two series of agreements—one economic and commercial, and the other political. "In respect to the first, the Hansa obtained practically all the demands that had constantly been made, now by one city, now by

Conditions of the Peace of Stralsund

another, during the last half-century"—free-trade throughout the whole of Denmark, freedom from strand law, their own jurisdiction over the fishing-depots, and reductions in duties. To the political changes that resulted from the Peace of Stralsund belong the pledging to the league of the most important castles of Schonen and those situated on the Sound—Falsterbo, Skanör, Malmö, and Helsingborg—together with the payment of two-thirds of the revenues accruing to them during a period of fifteen years. Waldemar was to recognise the peace as binding until Michaelmas, 1371, by affixing his great seal. In case of his abdication or death, no king was to succeed to the throne of Denmark without the approval of the Hansa.

Although the princes allied with the Hansa were not satisfied with the terms of peace arranged by the towns on their own responsibility, they were unable to continue the war unassisted, and so they too came to terms with Denmark at Stockholm in 1371. Waldemar IV. delayed the ratification of the Stralsund negotiations to the last moment, and finally sealed the treaty only with the small seal, obtaining further concessions in addition. The management of the pledged castles in Schonen was a source of many difficulties to the league, the division of the revenues especially causing many disputes. When Waldemar died, in 1385, and was succeeded by his grandson Olaf, son of his younger daughter Margaret and Haakon of Norway, who was crowned without the formal assent of the Hansa, a final settle-

Waldemar's Grandson on the Throne

ment of Hanseatic affairs seemed probable. However, Olaf refused to confirm the Stralsund peace with the great seal until the Hansa had relinquished their claims to the right of ratifying the Danish succession. Negotiations of a like nature to those of Korsör took place in Kallundborg. Haakon of Norway confirmed all the privileges which had ever been granted in his kingdom to the Hansa, and, in addition, granted all Hanseatic vessels the right to

enter the ports of Norway flying their own flags, which they were not required to lower until landing.

The Treaties of Stralsund and Korsör secured the rights of the Hanse towns in Denmark for many generations, and, with the exception of the pledging of the castles on the Sound, which was only for fifteen years, were on the whole faithfully preserved until the outbreak of the Thirty Years War. The negotiations at Kallundborg had also ended in satisfactory terms with Norway, and now for the first time the depot at Bergen began to prosper. The foundations of the rights of the Hansa were now so firmly fixed that the league tried to procure monopolies for its members in accordance with the general aims and purposes of all privileged classes and places in the Middle Ages, who looked upon the acquisition of monopolies as the final object at which they ought to aim. So long as the Leaguers held the castles on the Sound this policy was feasible; but when the castles were restored, monopoly was no longer possible. Still the Hansa by the application of

Union of Norway and Sweden

vigorous effort won in open competition the predominant position in the Baltic trade. All the Hansa cities had not joined in the Cologne Confederation, but only those whose trading interests were involved. The Peace of Stralsund in appearance confirmed the rights of the leaguers. But of the two pledges given for securing these rights, one, the right of the Hansa to ratify succession to the Danish throne, was only once exercised, and the other, the occupation of the castles, proved of no value, as the cost of upkeep and of policing the sea absorbed all the revenues available from the occupation.

As the league did not oppose Olaf's succession, his able mother Margaret confirmed the Danish privileges of the Hansa. But when Olaf succeeded Haakon of Norway, in 1380, and united both crowns, he declined to confirm the privileges of the Hansa in Norway. Five years later, when the castles reverted to Denmark, the Hansa was reduced to its former position as a purely commercial association, and although negotiations went on for years, the Hansa failed to better its status or to augment its rights. At Olaf's death, in 1387, Margaret played with the cities, cajoling and promising, but doing nothing to renew their privileges.

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COMMERCE
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V

ERA OF HANSEATIC ASCENDANCY TO THE DECLINE OF THE GERMAN SEAPORTS

IN Bruges from an early date German merchants had settled and opened factories. These factories obeyed the mother cities from which they had sprung. From 1360 to 1380 disputes arose, but the supremacy of the mother cities was finally admitted in Bruges as elsewhere. The rights of the Hansa remained in full force and effect up to 1560, when the markets of Bruges were removed to Antwerp. The success of the Hansa was due to strong measures adopted in 1358, and continued for a couple of years. An embargo was laid on trade and the markets were temporarily removed to Dordrecht. This drastic policy secured for the Hanseatic traders the right of free settlement in all Flanders. Slight differences arose again in 1388, and finally, in 1392, the Germans in Bruges were firmly placed in possession of all the trading rights for which they had contended, and all subjects of the empire

**England's
Kings Friendly
to the Hansa**

were made participators in these rights when settled in Flanders for purposes of trade. In England also, the position of the Hansa at the end of the fourteenth century was becoming increasingly difficult; but here, too, the German cities succeeded in warding off all dangers. The three Edwards were friendly to foreigners, and granted them complete freedom in both wholesale and retail trade throughout the entire kingdom, even in the wool and metal industries. Richard II. also confirmed the rights and privileges of the Hansa shortly after his accession. But during the reign of this weak sovereign the national hostility to the commercial dominion of foreigners, which until that time had been held in abeyance, arose in full force. The House of Commons, as the representative of the people, induced the king to suspend all the privileges of the Hansa until the latter had cleared itself of various charges preferred against it. This was the beginning of a long struggle, frequently interrupted, but

invariably resumed in order, on the part of the rising native trade, to free itself from the commercial ascendancy of foreigners, especially members of the Hanseatic League. Although at first a battle for the markets of England, it soon became

**Great Trade
Victory
for England** a struggle for admission to all the Northern European markets, a privilege that the Hanseatics would gladly enough

have kept to themselves alone. The English first demanded entrance to the Norwegian and Danish centres of trade, and then to the Hanse towns themselves. The struggle lasted until nearly the end of the Elizabethan Age, and closed about 1600 with the complete victory of England.

During the reign of Richard II. a protracted dispute arose on account of the position taken by the Hansa in respect to all foreigners in Norway and Schonen after the conclusion of the Peace of Stralsund. The English merchants did not submit like the other non-German peoples. Now, as before, they sailed boldly into the Baltic and obtained whatever goods they required without the assistance of the Hanseatic, especially the Lübeck, middlemen. The hostile attitude of the Baltic towns was answered by the already mentioned temporary suspension of Hanseatic privileges in England. In addition, the English demanded an equality of rights in all towns and districts of the Hansa. The Germans received the usual confirmation of their privileges towards the end of the year 1380, without having granted full reciprocity to the English. The dispute

**Free Trade
with Baltic
Seaports** that followed, made all the more acute through seizures and embargoes, lasted until 1388. From this time forth the

English enjoyed free trade with the Baltic seaports. Their merchants organised according to Hanseatic models, and elected an alderman whose duty was to adjust differences and to represent the interests of his countrymen in all their dealings

with foreigners. Although bickering still continued between Englishmen and Germans, even after the agreement of 1388, the position of the latter in England remained unaltered. The first of the Lancastrian kings, Henry IV., confirmed the charters of the Hanseatics on their agreeing to an increase in certain customs duties, a

The Growing Sea-power of England

procedure indispensable to the well-being of the government. The chief feature of Hanscatic-English relations did not lie in the recognition of former privileges, but in the fact that the league was compelled to grant free play to the growing sea-power of England, even while the latter was only beginning to develop.

Towards the end of the fourteenth century the Baltic was finally freed from the plague of pirates brought down upon it by the war of the Swedish succession. Long after Albert had been set free and Stockholm handed over to the Hansa as a pledge, the "Vitalienbrüder" had continued their marauding expeditions, still remaining in the service of the House of Mecklenburg, which had not yet abandoned all hopes of regaining possession of the Swedish crown. However, the Vitalienbrüder removed their headquarters to Wisby, although the greater part of Gotland continued under the dominion of Margaret. They also found places of refuge in the Gulfs of Finland and Bothnia, and even on the coast of Pomerania, but Rostock and Wismar closed their harbours to them. They were of the greatest injury to the associated German merchants. The situation suddenly became altered when the Teutonic Order brought Wisby and the rest of Gotland under its jurisdiction in 1398. Inasmuch as the Lusatian cities had just then completed their preparations for attacking the freebooters, and had agreed on the raising of a war tax, and since the queen of the three northern kingdoms had also taken steps against

Pirates in the North Sea

them, the Vitalienbrüder left their Baltic hiding-place for the North Sea, which they now made the scene of an activity that had absolutely no political motives whatever behind it.

The North Sea had always pirates of its own, who were chiefly of Frisian origin. During the Hundred Years War robberies perpetrated by French and English buccaneers frequently gave the Hansa grounds for complaint. But now the Vitalienbrüder,

in addition, disturbed the sphere of Western European maritime commerce from their new headquarters in Friesland. Once more the Hansa was obliged to unite its merchant vessels bound for the Netherlands into fleets of about twenty ships each, accompanied by convoy boats. Although the league vainly endeavoured to obtain the assistance of the cities of Flanders, a squadron despatched from Lübeck and Hamburg proved strong enough to defeat the Vitalienbrüder in the Ems, in April, 1400. Some of the freebooters fled to Norway, others sought refuge with the counts of Holland; but Hamburg continued her campaign against the pirates until, finally, the chief of the buccaneers, Klaus Störtebeker, was captured and executed—an often-sung event that has long been retained in the memory of a people otherwise forgetful enough in regard to historical occurrences.

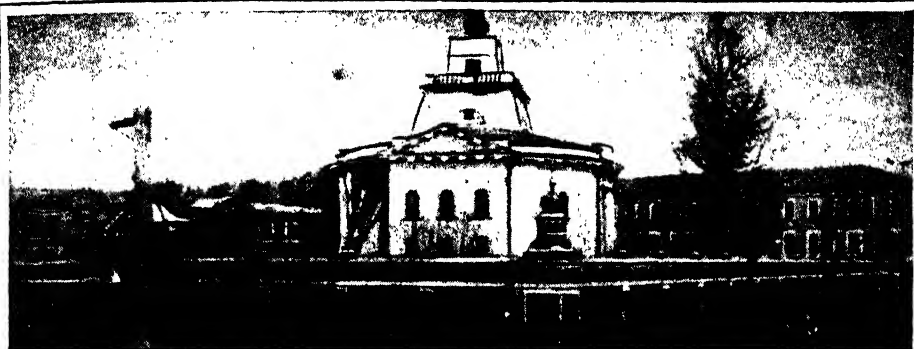
Nevertheless, piracy on the North Sea continued, and also the name of the Vitalienbrüder, who for many years enjoyed a second period of prosperity under the self-chosen designation *Likendeeler*, or "equal-sharers."

Aims of the Teutonic Order

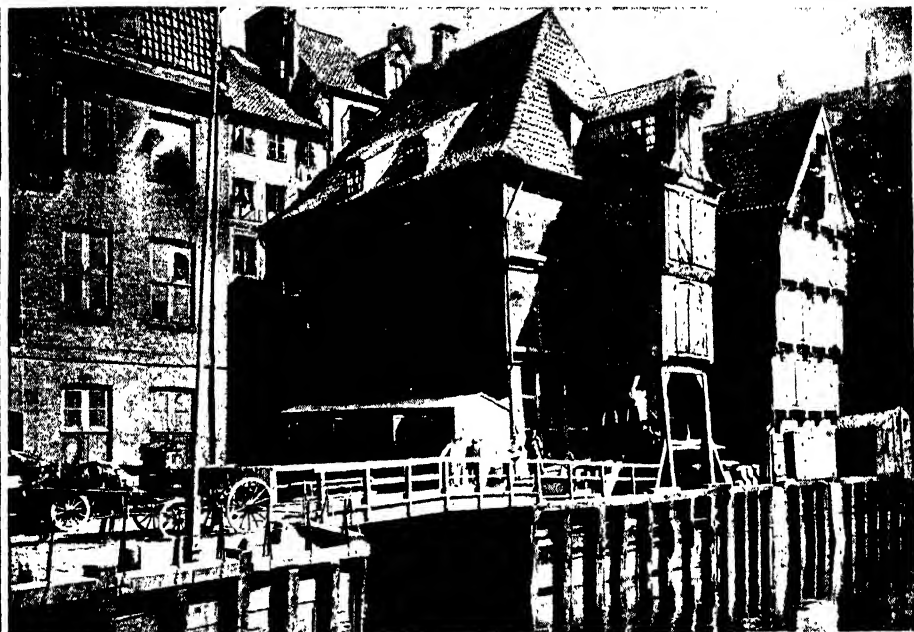
Gotland by the Teutonic Order was a source of great anxiety to the Hansa, for the order—with which the non-Prussian cities of the Baltic sought to stand upon as good terms as possible for the sake of their common interests—pursued its own special aims, and was a very untrustworthy ally; moreover, it opposed the union of the three northern kingdoms, and challenged Margaret of Denmark to battle for the political supremacy of the Baltic.

This caused the Hanse towns, hitherto neutral, considerable embarrassment. Should they take part in the struggle between the two powers, or should they, as formerly, let events take their course, in order to be in a position to offer their services as mediators when the right moment arrived? The Teutonic Order would not be turned from its design of occupying Gotland, and its commercial policy immediately proved dangerous to the Hansa.

The Prussian, and especially the Livonian, towns had always striven in vain for equal rights with Wisby and Lübeck in Novgorod. Now, as a result of an agreement with Lithuania, an independent commercial region previously open to the Prussian group alone of the Hanse cities was suddenly closed to them also; the



HANSEATIC WAREHOUSES AT NOVGOROD IN RUSSIA



THE LEAGUE IN GERMANY: SOME OF ITS OLD WAREHOUSES AT HAMBURG



HANSEATIC BUILDINGS IN THE ONCE FAMOUS COMMERCIAL CITY OF BRUGES
DEPOTS OF THE POWERFUL TRADE COMBINATION, THE HANSEATIC LEAGUE

founding of a depot in Kovno resulted in a competition which threatened to injure the trade of Novgorod and Pskoff, and in fact did so. The treaty concluded by the Grand Master of the Order and Witold, Grand Duke of Lithuania, on the Sallinwerder in 1398 ended the tedious struggles which for a long time had kept both powers in check. This treaty, so favourable to the Teutonic Order, was made by Lithuania because it was necessary for the latter to protect its rear in view of the impending struggle with Russia; and Prussia was quite willing to come to terms now that Lithuania had ceased to be a heathen land and the scene of uninterrupted religious wars.

Although the relations of the two powers soon became strained again, a fresh struggle culminating in the fall of the order, this had no lasting effects either on the independent trade carried on by the Prussian towns in Lithuania and Poland, or on the depot at Kovno. When the old connection between the Prussian Order and its cities was destroyed by the dissolution of the former, the latter did not seek for new relations with the other Baltic towns, but pursued their own course, which was entirely out of harmony with the Lusatian and general Hanseatic interests. The development of the federal character of the Hansa was over. The system of territorial groups of cities corresponding to the general development of the German nation proved fatal to the beginnings of a common league of German towns.

At the very time that the antagonism between the far-seeing commercial policy of the Teutonic Order and the narrower trade interests of the towns subject to it was in process of widening into a gulf that could not be bridged over, a new competitor for the "Dominium," or, rather, the Condominium, of the Baltic appeared, a pretender that barred the way

The Teutonic Order in Danger of the Order-state to the sea—Poland-Lithuania, finally united in 1401. This union was a greater source of danger to the Teutonic Order than was that of the three northern kingdoms. It was impossible for it to live with foes on both sides, so it made peace with the North, ceding the island of Gotland, which it had retained for nine years, to Eric, King of Norway, Sweden and Denmark, in return for a small sum

of money, in 1407. Previously, however, the order had obtained, in 1402, the "New Mark" of Brandenburg from Sigismund of Luxemburg in the form of a pledge, in order completely to bar the way of the Poles to the sea. Further events, such as the battle of Tannenberg in 1410, so ruinous to the order, have but little bearing on the present subject. The advance of the Western Slavs, who so often succeeded in bringing the eastern expansion of the Teutonic races to a halt—and, indeed, frequently regained extensive tracts of land from the latter—was also a constant source of injury to the Hanseatic League. Owing to their helplessness the cities were even unable to think of attacking Poland; but, on the other hand, they looked upon the catastrophe of Tannenberg as having been a desirable check to the ambitions of the order.

The ancient Greeks have told us with a shudder of sympathetic awe about the children of fortune who, lifted up by fate and tempted to evil by success, suddenly found themselves cast down into the depths of misery from the very zenith of prosperity. To these self-de-
Fate's Hand on the Germansstroying creatures, maddened by happiness, victims of the blind powers of chance, the German Hansa certainly did not belong. The gods did not abruptly thrust it into the abyss after the manner in which they treated the Teutonic Order; but they did not permit the league to expand or to attain to greatness—they hindered its progress systematically, as it were, and with a most conscientious attention to detail. Fate never permitted the Germans of the lowlands to develop their commercial activity beyond a certain point, either in respect to privileges or to area controlled.

Even Nature herself seems to have taken part in this general conspiracy against them: through an unlooked-for caprice she inflicted an injury on their trade from which the mercantile politicians of the Baltic towns, for all their wisdom, were never able to recover. The herrings, which, together with the codfish, are admirable types of the most stupid of gregarious animals, were, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, unfaithful to the regions which since the very earliest times they had been accustomed to visit for the purpose of spawning. Why the herrings temporarily deserted the basin of the

THE ERA OF HANSEATIC ASCENDANCY

Baltic Sea at the beginning of the fifteenth century, to return again and again—usually in “fish-periods,” lasting sixty years—is a question for which history has no answer. Although, in spite of its wanderings into other seas, the herring still remained a fish accustomed to spawn on the coasts, to be caught in nets, and to be salted, smoked, and dried, completely unconcerned as to the nationality of the fishermen, this was by no means a matter of indifference to the Easterlings, who were joined by competitors at the fisheries in the shape of the dwellers on the North Sea coasts, now that the herrings had turned to the waters of England, Scotland and Norway.

In addition to the fisheries, there were so many different interests to be guarded that during the fifteenth century the Hanse towns, either singly or in groups, frequently found themselves involved in the most difficult of conflicts. As a foundation for closer union, especially between neighbouring cities, there existed a common necessity for protecting the privileges of the municipalities and the welfare of the league against the ill-will and deeds of violence of the ruling princes.

Secessions from Hanseatic League

During the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the majority of the cities of North Germany, in addition to losing many of their rights of self-government, were compelled by their territorial sovereigns to renounce all participation in the Hanseatic League. The fate of complete dependence on the power of a reigning prince was first visited on the Brandenburg group under the house of Hohenzollern. But the Burgundian, Rhenish-Westphalian, Low Saxon, Pomeranian, and Prussian cities were also gradually subjected to the power of the rulers of their respective states. The latter were supported by the fundamental idea of solidarity, the victorious advance of which could not be withstood by the weakly organised political formations of the Middle Ages.

The attacks made by the ruling princes on municipal liberties were furthered not a little by dissensions which arose within the towns themselves. These conflicts were more serious in North Germany than elsewhere. Central and Southern Germany had already passed through the most dangerous phases of the crisis caused by the struggles of the guilds, when the same

troubles arose in the Hanse cities. Not only in respect to commerce and culture, but politically, the northern and southern portions of the Holy Roman Empire stood in sharp contrast to one another.

As in the rest of Europe, a patrician class had also developed in the North German cities, an oligarchy of the rich, who held municipal government fast in their own hands, and laid claim to an inherited, exclusive right to the management of all public affairs. As time went on, the upper class became more and more isolated from the lower ranks of the community. It transmitted its privileges by granting equal rights to its dependants; in other words, it became a distinct and separate estate. Members of this class were called “Junkers,” and exclusive assemblies and banquets were held in their residences, or “Junkerhöfen.”

The Patricians of the Hanse Towns

The patrician class of the Hanse towns had arisen from the families of wholesale dealers, and many of them still continued to carry on trade on a great scale. It was not the fact of their being merchants, however, that gave them social standing, but the possession of freehold property, or of fiefs, from which they took the name of “Rentner,” or capitalists. The ordinary merchants, who were accustomed to make annual journeys, often remaining abroad for years, formed a middle class that had no share in municipal offices, and exerted no influence on the general affairs of the city. The more wealthy of the craftsmen, the brewers, and the retail dealers in cloth, were also in the same position. The chief endeavour of this middle class was to obtain the right to take part in civil government. It was not difficult for them to stir up the masses, and to use the proletariat as a battering-ram in their struggles with the patricians.

The usual course taken by events in a Hanse town during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was that, as a result of rebellions on the part of the middle and lower classes, the councillors or aldermen were turned out of office, and various changes were introduced in the municipal constitution. Patrician reactions almost invariably followed, and the earlier form of government was then re-established, perhaps with some alterations. At the period of the Reformation the city democracies once more began to struggle for

Democracy's Struggle for the Mastery

the mastery, yet without being able to retain it for any length of time, for the Lutheran clergy were no less anti-democratic and reactionary than their Catholic predecessors. The old class antagonisms in the towns gradually ceased under the increasing pressure of the ruling princes and of the legislation established by them,

Horror of Class Quarrels

which now included all municipal affairs within its jurisdiction. Nevertheless, from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century troubles between the different classes continued to lead to very serious results. Hate, barbarity, and treachery, with their attendant murder, execution, mutilation, arson, robbery, and pillage, were the chief characteristics of the town life of the period.

Together with the desire for the protection of foreign trade, the tie that prevented the Hansa from falling to pieces until the second half of the sixteenth century was the endeavour of the patrician classes of the various cities to uphold constitutions favourable to their interests. Even Bremen, intractable as she had been, more than once expelled from the league, sought help from her sister cities when the patricians were banished in 1365. The Hansetag, or convention of 1366, decided that sentences passed in one town should be valid for all members of the league. Cologne, Brunswick, Stralsund, Anklam, and Dortmund were all visited by democratic revolutions during the fourteenth century; in Brunswick the guilds obtained the upper hand, in spite of temporary expulsion from the Hansa and trade embargoes. Also Lübeck, the chief city of the league, was compelled to employ force in suppressing a movement among the guilds in 1380.

As a rule, the guilds were supported by the reigning houses in all cities governed by hereditary princes. Tyranny, Caesarism, and legitimate unlimited monarchy are, in

Guilds

Supported by Princes

reality, democratic forces that assist in the destruction of privileged classes and professions. If the monarchical forms of government of the last few centuries have established themselves upon aristocracy of birth and the possession of landed property, it has been only in order that these qualities might be put to use, not because of any real necessity for them. Hanseatic policy during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries centred in the

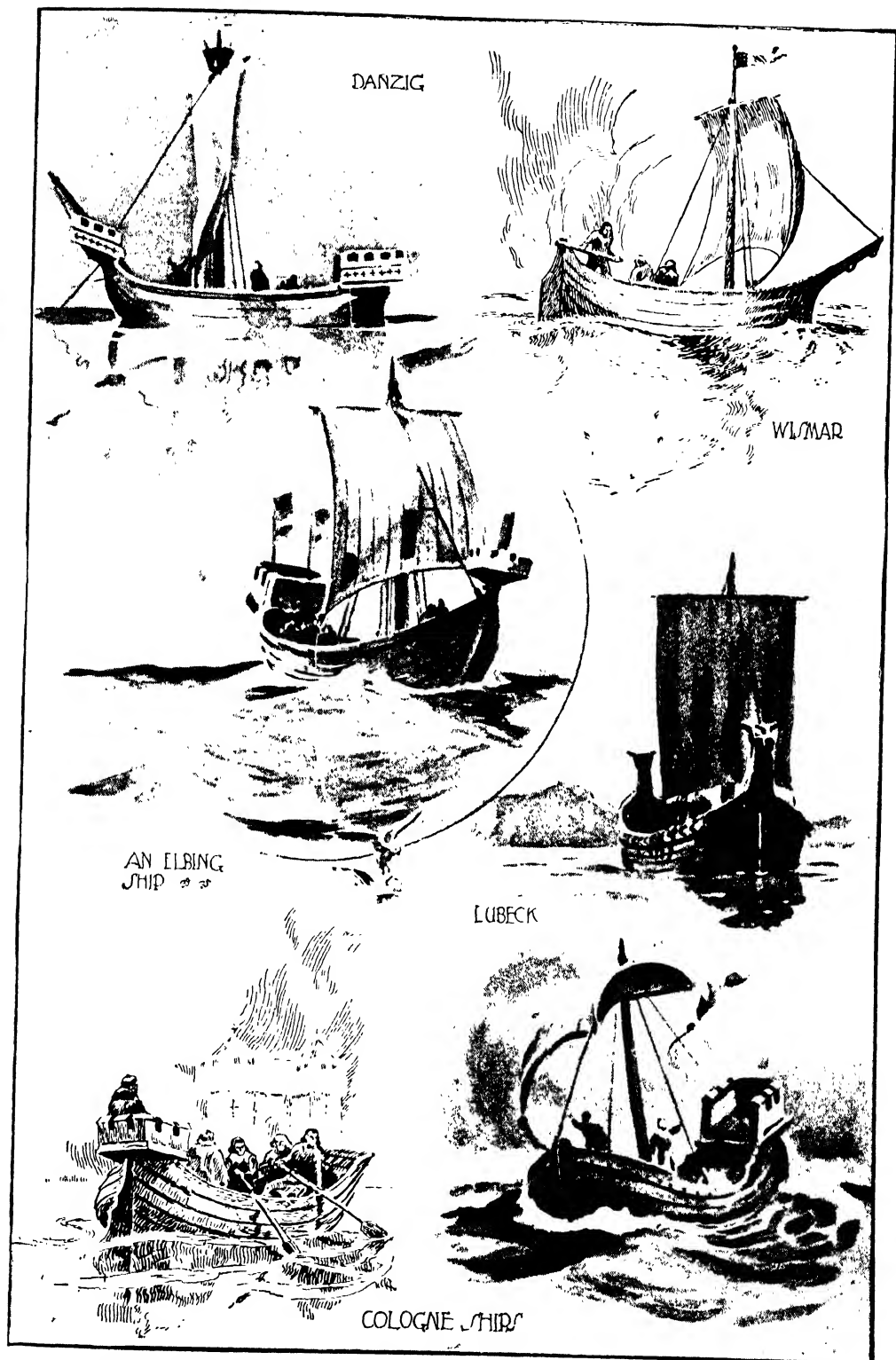
relations of the league with the Scandinavian kingdoms. In this case neutrality was of no service—the adoption of a definite position alone could secure protection and extension of commercial privileges; in fact, it did not lie beyond the bounds of possibility for the Hansa to determine the course of events through an active interference in political affairs.

Both in the Slavic east and in the Romano-Germanic west the league was for the most part forced to permit great political events to run their course. Its position was one of toleration; by actively interfering it would merely have vainly exhausted its insufficient powers of coercion. The attack of King Eric on Schleswig and on the dukes of Schauenburg compelled the citizens of Hamburg to take up arms in defence of their Holstein neighbours. The strange spectacle was presented of Hamburg and the Vitalienbrüder—who had been persuaded to join their forces against Denmark—fighting on the same side. Lübeck avoided the struggle from the very first, and finally was successful in bringing about peace. At

The Hansa's Policy of Defence

this time the Hansa again took up the policy of union which it had adopted during the wars of Waldemar; the Lübeck Confederation of 1418 was the first since that of Cologne in 1367. A large number of cities, in all forty-seven, became members of the new association. Inland towns were strongly represented, and many cities of the Netherlands also participated. A definite proportion was laid down for the provision of men and money, and it was decided that if any town of the confederation were attacked, it should receive assistance, first, from the four nearest cities of the association, later, from the eight nearest, and finally, if necessary, from the entire league. The confederation also introduced rules of arbitration, in case of disputes between members. These measures were directed chiefly against such princes as were hostile to the towns.

The confederation also adopted a very firm position against the democratic revolutionists. Agreements were also made as to commercial affairs; for example, the exportation of grain not purchased in Hanseatic ports was forbidden. This was a demonstration against the Dutch, who sought out unfrequented harbours and endeavoured to dispense with the intermediate carrying trade of the Hansa.



HANSE SHIPS OF THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

Affairs in the North kept the Hanse towns, especially the Lusatian group, constantly occupied. Lübeck was at first allied with King Eric VII., against whom Hamburg was already in arms. Then, through the obvious favour shown to the Hollanders, to whom he opened the Sound, Eric succeeded in alienating his former friends.

Favourites of Denmark Lübeck made war on him from 1426 until the Peace of Wordenbörd in 1435. Schleswig, the bone of contention, remained with the dukes of Schauenburg; Lübeck was enabled to lock up in her strong chest a new confirmation of the hundred years' old Hanseatic privileges. The relations of the Hansa to the Scandinavian kingdoms underwent no change when Eric was deposed in 1439 and succeeded by Christopher of Bavaria, but complaints of the favours bestowed upon the Westerlings by Denmark became more and more frequent.

After Christopher's death, in 1448, Christian I. of Oldenburg, the forefather of the present house of Denmark, ascended the Danish-Norwegian throne with the approval of the Hansa. Although Sweden had separated from the Union, and was now engaged in a seven years' war with the other two kingdoms, the Hansa took no part in the struggle, content with a fresh confirmation of their valuable rights and privileges. Nor did they interfere when, after the main line of Schauenburg had become extinct in 1460, Christian I. was invested with the title of Duke of Schleswig and Count of Holstein.

From this memorable year date the sufferings of the provinces beyond the Elbe, whose destinies were now united with those of Denmark. Although the Danish-Norwegian king showed no open hostility to the Hansa, Lübeck and Hamburg were at least sufficiently on their guard to increase the height of their walls and to strengthen their towers. In

English Hostility to the Hansa England, also, the league preserved its settlements and privileges during the fifteenth century, although relations frequently became strained, once, indeed, to the point of open war. The English merchants continued their endeavour to nationalise export and maritime trade, and to wrest it from the hands of foreigners; they founded a wool market at Calais, and their mariners appeared in waters over which the Hansa claimed to have

exclusive control. Scarcely able to make any headway in Norway, the lands of the Baltic—though the Wendish cities were practically inaccessible—offered them an asylum—also visited by the Hollanders—in Danzig. The metropolis of Prussian commerce had advanced in prosperity with the decline of the oppressive dominion of the Teutonic Order. Without breaking with Lübeck, the merchants of Danzig took their own course in regard to trade with Poland-Lithuania, Holland, and England. English merchants founded a depot on Hanseatic lines at Danzig in 1428, their rights being based on the treaties of reciprocity between England and the league. Nevertheless Lübeck, always ready to appeal to the law when her interests were threatened, was greatly displeased with the advance of the English into the Baltic regions, although she had little to fear from competition.

The commerce of England was not yet sufficiently developed for that. In fact, owing to the struggle with France and to the Wars of the Roses, England was in no condition to look after her commercial interests with any great care; the civil war gave the Hansa a welcome opportunity of mediating between the two parties, as well as of receiving payment from both for apparent services. During these days of king-making Lübeck boldly ventured to seize and to lay an embargo on English ships in the Sound.

Lübeck Seizes English Vessels A proceeding of this nature gave the English government occasion to take violent reprisals on the Easterlings dwelling in Great Britain in 1468. Thereupon one of the weakest points of the Hanseatic League came to light; the merchants of Cologne, who had always looked upon themselves as the rightful owners of the London depot and as having been deposed by the Easterlings, deserted their associates, established themselves as the sole owners of the Steelyard, and obtained documents attributing to them exclusive rights over the German guild hall in London.

In the meantime the Hansa had decided to expel Cologne from the league and to boycott English commerce. Since not only Henry VI. but Edward IV., on recovering the throne, confirmed the possession of the Steelyard to Cologne, the suspension from the league and the trade embargo continued in force; in fact, a systematic naval war

THE ERA OF HANSEATIC ASCENDANCY

such as the Hansa had never before waged against England, though it had against Denmark, began in 1472. In February, 1474, the Peace of Utrecht was concluded between the English king and the league. The negotiations were conducted by the municipal dignitaries of Lübeck, Hamburg, Bremen, Dortmund, Münster, Brunswick, Magdeburg, Danzig, Deventer, and Nimeguen. The league regained possession of the Steelyard and of the depots in Boston and Lynn, and their privileges again came into force. Cologne, abandoned by Edward IV., was readmitted to the league under humiliating conditions four years after the Peace of Utrecht.

Free trade with all the Hanseatic cities, "as it had been the custom one hundred years before," was granted to England; but for yet another hundred years complete reciprocity remained an open question that each Hanse town answered according to its own interests. It was not finally settled until the Tudor kingdom gained new strength, and then in a way that proved fatal to German active trade.

The Rich Prizes of War

The exasperation felt by Lübeck ever since the time of King Eric outlived the Peace of Wordenbörd, in 1435; and shortly after, in the year 1437, war broke out between the Easterlings and Westerlings. Each side captured the mercantile fleet of the other, but the Easterlings suffered the greatest injury, for their ships were the larger and their cargoes the more valuable. In 1441 Duke Philip the Good negotiated a truce, although the chief questions at issue remained undecided.

Even if war did not break out again, the connection between Easterlings and Westerlings was severed; moreover, the Hollanders, although no longer members of the league, could not be driven away from Baltic waters. The Hanse towns maintained their privileges in Flanders, especially in Bruges, during the fifteenth century; they employed their old means of coercion—threatening to remove their markets elsewhere—and always with success, against the merchants of Bruges, who were quite as desirous of obtaining a monopoly as they were themselves.

By the second half of the fifteenth century the city of Bruges was in a pronounced state of decline. Its harbours and canals became more and more choked up with sand; the city was already in-

capable of serving as the chief market for the trade between the Northern and Southern European spheres of commerce. The people of Bruges might have overcome their misfortunes to a certain degree by their own exertions; but nothing was done, owing to the political quarrels in which Bruges, accustomed to leadership, insisted on having a part. It occupied the most prominent position in the war that raged through the hereditary dominions of the house of Burgundy after the death of Charles the Bold, in 1477.

Bruges Falls from Power

The foreign merchants, from whose presence Bruges derived its greatness, emigrated in large numbers to Antwerp, a more favourably situated and quieter town. In spite of the horrors of war and pillage the Easterlings continued at their decaying depots in Bruges. They remained long after the other foreigners had gone; indeed, they were still at their offices when Antwerp surpassed Bruges as a commercial centre, and when the trade of Europe underwent a revolution such as it had never experienced before or since. For two generations the Hansatics continued obdurate, singing the while the litany of their inalienable rights, until, finally, they also emigrated to Antwerp, and, naturally enough, arrived too late. The history of the Hansa when at the summit of its power, from the second half of the fourteenth until the end of the fifteenth century, is cheerless and dull, and worthy of but little consideration. Nevertheless, the league prospered, remained in possession of its foreign rights and privileges, and at home continued to be a power in political and economic life.

Other cities and groups of cities showed themselves to be no less tenacious than Lübeck and its following of Lusatian towns in holding fast to their traditional claims and pretensions. Indeed, they still

Vanished Supremacy of Germany

maintained the supremacy in northern commerce, and possessed great influence in the northern kingdoms. But with the fundamental change in political affairs that took place within the Hanseatic sphere of influence during the fifteenth century, and produced still greater effects during the sixteenth, the German seaports, whether single or united, were no longer able to preserve their commercial supremacy.

RICHARD MAYR

GREAT DATES IN WESTERN EUROPE BEFORE THE REFORMATION

FRANCE, THE SPANISH PENINSULA, AND THE BRITISH ISLES		SCANDINAVIA, ITALY, THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, AND THE EAST	
A.D.		A.D.	
510	Clovis sole king of the Franks	500	Theoderic the Ostrogoth king of Italy
520	Scots from Ireland establish kingdom of Alban in Argyle	527	Justinian emperor at Byzantium
534	Burgundy absorbed by Franks	537	Belisarius, Justinian's general, in Italy
563	St. Columba at Iona. Spread of Keltic Chris- tianity	541-8	Contests between Belisarius and Totila the Goth
577	West Saxon victory at Deorham	552-87	Narses recovers Italy for the empire
588	Kingdom of Northumbria formed	568	Conquest of N. Italy by Lombards
597	Augustine introduces Roman Christianity in Kent	590	Gregory I. (the Great) Pope. Conversion of Lombards from Arianism
617	Edwin king of Northumbria	604	Death of Gregory the Great
630	Pippin the Elder, Austrasian Mayor of the Palace, dominates Merovingian monarchy	636	Rothari king of Lombards. Extension of Lom- bard dominion
633	Penda of Mercia champion of Paganism	643	Lombard legal code
655	Penda overthrown by Oswy of Northumbria	682	Grimwald king of Lombards
687	Pippin of Heristal ruler of Franks	689	Frisians subjugated by Pippin of Heristal
701	Rise of Wessex under Ine	718	Repulse of Saracens before Byzantium by Em- peror Leo the Isaurian
710	Saracens invade Spain	726	"Iconoclastic" decrees of Leo
711	Saracens overthrow Goths in Spain	727	Pope Gregory II. resists Iconoclasm
717	Charles Martel head of Franks	731	Gregory III. Pope: the last whose consecration received Eastern emperor's sanction
732	Charles defeats Saracens at Poitiers (Tours)	753	Lombards attack the papacy
735	Death of Venerable Bede	754	Pope Stephen appeals to King Pippin
747	Charles succeeded by Pippin "le Bref"	753	Pippin defeats the Lombards
752	Pippin king of the Franks; Carolingian dynasty	774	Charlemagne conquers and annexes Lombard kingdom
758	Offa king of Mercia	775-9	Conquest of Saxony by Charlemagne
768	Charlemagne king of the Franks	788	Conquest of Bavaria by Charlemagne
778	Charlemagne in Spain. Roncesvalles	796	Conquest of Avars by Charlemagne
789	First viking raid on England. Constantine I. king of the Picts (N. & E. Scotland)	800	Beginning of Western or Holy Roman Empire
800	Charlemagne crowned emperor at Rome		
802	Egbert king of Wessex	814	Louis the Pious succeeds Charlemagne
820	Northmen in Ireland	827	Saracens in Sicily
828	Egbert over-lord of all England	840	Partition of Carolingian Empire between sons of Louis the Pious. Lothair emperor
839	Ethelwulf succeeds Egbert. Increase of Danish raids	843	Treaty of Verdun. Lothair emperor, with central kingdom including Italy; Lewis the German takes the east; Charles, France
843	Charles the Bald king of West Franks. Be- ginning of French kingdom	848	Saracens in S. Italy
844	Pictish and Scottish kingdoms united under Kenneth McAlpin	855-75	Lewis II., son of Lothair, emperor
845	Northmen penetrate to Paris	860	Pope Nicholas I. publishes forged decretals
855	Danes winter in England for first time	869	Council of Constantinople
871	Alfred the Great king of Wessex	876	Lewis the German's kingdom divided among his sons, Carloman, Lewis, and Charles the Fat
875	Charles the Bald crowned emperor	878	Saracens complete conquest of Sicily
878	Alfred defeats Danes at Ethandune. Treaty of Wedmore	880	Lewis and Charles divide Carloman's kingdom
879	Louis III. French king	881	Charles the Fat becomes emperor
885	Charles the Fat elected king of West Franks	887	Charles deposed by Arnulf, son of Carloman
886	Al Mondhir emir of Cordova	891	Saracen invasion of Italy
888	Odo, Count of Paris, king of France	896	Arnulf crowned emperor at Rome
888	Charles the Simple king of France		
901	Edward the Elder king of Wessex	911	Death of Lewis the Child, last Carolingian king in Germany. Conrad of Franconia king
911	Cession of Normandy to Rollo the Northman	919	Henry I. (the Fowler) of Saxony king of Germany
921	Extension of Moorish conquests under Abdur Rahman III.	926	Hugh of Provence king of Italy
925	Edward king of all England	933	Henry the Fowler overthrows Hungarians
936	Louis IV. (d'Outremer) king of France. Ascend- ancy of Hugh the Great, Count of Paris	936	Otto I. (the Great) succeeds Henry I.
937	Athelstane's victory at Brunanburh	951	Otto makes himself king of Lombardy
959	Edgar the Peaceful king of England. Ascend- ancy of Dunstan	955	Final overthrow of Hungarians by Otto
966	Edgar grants Lothian to king of Scots as fief	961	Otto's second invasion of Italy
979	Ethelred the Redeless king of England	962	Otto I. crowned emperor by Pope John XII.
985	Extension of Moorish power under Almanzar	973	Otto II. king of Germany and Roman emperor
986	Louis V. last Carolingian king of French	982	Otto II. in Italy
987	Hugh Capet elected king of France. Capet dynasty	983	Otto III. king of Germany
991	Danes renew invasions of England	996	Gregory V. (Bruno) Pope. Otto III. crowned emperor
		999	Sylvester II. (Gerbert) Pope
1013	Sweyn of Denmark conquers England	1002	Henry II. of Bavaria king of Germany
1014	Canute the Great king of England and Denmark. Defeat of Northmen by Brian Boru at Clontarf	1014	Henry II. crowned emperor at Rome. Canute king of Denmark and England
1018	Cession of Lothian to king of Scots	1024	Conrad II. king of Germany; Franconian dynasty
1025	Death of Sancho the Great of Navarre	1027	Conrad II. crowned emperor at Rome
1042	Edward the Confessor recalled to English throne	1032	Burgundy united to empire
1055	Malcolm III. (Cannore) recovers Scottish throne	1039	Henry III. king of Germany
1066	Harold Godwinson king of England. Battles of Stamford Bridge and Hastings. William the Conqueror king of England	1040	Normans in Apulia
		1056	Henry IV. king of Germany
		1061	Alexander II. Pope. Ascendancy of Hildebrand

GREAT DATES IN WESTERN EUROPE BEFORE THE REFORMATION—II

THE PAPAL ASCENDANCY & THE CRUSADING ERA

FRANCE, THE SPANISH PENINSULA, AND THE BRITISH ISLES		SCANDINAVIA, ITALY, THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, AND THE EAST	
A.D.		A.D.	
1072	Malcolm III. of Scotland does homage to William	1073	Gregory VII. (Hildebrand) Pope
1075	Rebellion of Norman earls in England	1075	Beginning of investitures quarrel between Pope and Emperor
1085	Rise of Castile under Alfonso VI.	1077	Henry IV. "goes to Canossa"
1086	Domesday Book	1080	Election of imperial anti-Pope Clement
1087	William II. (Rufus) king of England	1084	Robert Guiscard sacks Rome
1090	Conquest of Andalusia by Almoravides	1088	Urban II. Pope
1093	Anselm archbishop; quarrel with William II.	1085	Council of Clermont
1094	The Cid Ruy Diaz in Valencia	1097-9	First Crusade
1100	Henry I. king of England		
1107	Alexander I. king of Scotland. Henry I. and Archbishop Anselm come to terms	1106	Henry V. succeeds Henry IV.
1108	Louis VI. (le Gros) king of France	1107	Renewal of investitures dispute with papacy
1124	David I. king of Scotland	1111	Henry V. crowned emperor; forces papal submission
1129	Geoffrey of Anjou marries Empress Maud, daughter of Henry I. of England	1115	German revolt against Henry V.
1135	Stephen of Blois king of England	1122	War of investitures ended by Diet of Worms
1137	Louis VII. king of France; acquires Aquitaine.	1125	Lothair III. emperor
1138	Battle of the Standard (Northallerton)	1127	Roger of Sicily in South Italy
1139	Portugal wins her independence	1130	Rival Popes elected. Papal schism
1145	Almohades overthrow Almoravides	1138	Conrad III. German king (Hohenstauffen)
1150	Union of Aragon and Catalonia	1139	Roger of Sicily king of Apulia
1152	Henry of Anjou marries Eleanor of Aquitaine	1142	Henry the Lion duke of Saxony
1154	Henry II. (Plantagenet) king of England	1147	Second Crusade. Bernard of Clairvaux
1159	War between Henry II. and Louis VII. Institution of Scutage in England	1152	Frederic I. (Barbarossa) German king
1164	Constitutions of Clarendon	1155	Frederic crowned emperor by Hadrian IV.
1165	William the Lion king of Scotland	1158	Frederic's war with Lombard cities begins
1170	Murder of Becket. Strongbow in Ireland	1159	Alexander III. Pope
1174	William captured at Alnwick. Treaty of Falaise.	1167	Lombard League formed
1180	Philip II. (Augustus) king of France	1176	Lombards defeat Frederic I. at Legnano
1189	Richard I. king of England. Treaty of Falaise abrogated	1181	Frederic overthrows Henry the Lion
1191	Richard in Palestine	1187	Capture of Jerusalem by Saladin
1194-9	Hubert Walter justiciar in England. Wars between Richard I. and Philip II.	1190	Third Crusade. Death of Frederic; Henry VI. emperor
1199	John king of England	1194	End of Norman kingdom of Sicily
		1194-9	Bohemia erected into a kingdom
		1198	Death of Henry VI. Rivalry of Guelf (Saxon) and Ghibelline (Hohenstauffen) factions. Innocent III. becomes Pope
1204	John loses Angevin provinces to Philip II.	1201	Innocent supports Otto IV. (Guelf)
1212	Moors defeated at Navas de Toloso	1209	Albigensian Crusade
1213	John submits to Innocent III.	1215	Frederic II. of Sicily (Hohenstauffen) crowned German king
1214	Alexander II. king of Scotland	1220	Frederic crowned Roman emperor
1215	Magna Charta	1227	Waldemar of Denmark defeated at Bornhoved. Frederic excommunicated
1216	Henry III. king of England	1229	Reconciliation of Frederic and Gregory IX.
1219	Hubert de Burgh justiciar in England	1239	Gregory again excommunicates Frederic
1226	(Saint) Louis IX. king of France; regency	1241	Alliance of Hamburg and Lubek initiates Hanseatic League. Mongol invasion checked at Leignitz
1230	Union of Castile and Leon		
1242	Unsuccessful expedition of Henry III. to Poitou	1250	Death of Frederic II. Rival German kings, Conrad and William of Holland
1248	First Crusading expedition of Louis IX.	1256	German interregnum for 17 years
1249	Alexander III. king of Scotland	1259	Long war between Venice and Genoa begins
1252	Alfonso the Wise king of Castile	1265	Charles of Anjou crowned king of Sicily. Birth of Dante
1258	Provisions of Oxford		
1263	Alexander III. defeats Norwegians at Largs	1268	Conradin, last Hohenstauffen, overthrown
1265	Simon de Montfort's parliament. Fall of Simon at Evesham	1273	Rudolf of Hapsburg German king
1270	Philip III. king of France	1282	Sicilian Vespers. Peter of Aragon proclaimed king of Sicily. Charles retains Naples
1272	Edward I. (on Crusade) king of England		
1275	Beginning of legislation of Edward I.	1291	Confederation of the Forest Cantons
1284	Conquest of Wales	1292	Adolf of Nassau German king
1285	Philip IV. (the Fair) king of France	1294	Boniface VIII. Pope
1286	The Maid of Norway succeeds Alexander III.	1296	Boniface publishes Bull "Clericis Laicos"; opposed in England and France. Continued war between the "Two Sicilies"
1292	John Balliol made king of Scotland at conference of Norham; does homage to Edward	1298	Albert I. of Austria (Hapsburg) crowned German king
1294	Edward I. at war with Philip IV.	1300	Boniface claims Scotland as papal fief
1295	Model parliament meets in England		
1296	Revolt and annexation of Scotland		
1297	Wallace heads Scottish revolt. Confirmatio Cartarum.		
1299	Scotland incorporated with England. Peace with France		
1301	England rejects papal claim on Scotland	1302	End of war of the two Sicilies. Pope issues Bull "Unam Sanctam"
1304	Scotland again subjugated	1303	Captivity and death of Boniface VIII.
1305	Wallace executed	1305	Clement V. Pope. Papacy transferred from Rome to Avignon. Babylonish captivity begins
1306	Robert I. (Bruce) crowned king of Scotland		
1307	Edward I. marches against Bruce, but dies		

GREAT DATES IN WESTERN EUROPE BEFORE THE REFORMATION—III

THE DECLINE OF THE PAPACY AND OF CHIVALRY

FRANCE, THE SPANISH PENINSULA, AND THE BRITISH ISLES		SCANDINAVIA, ITALY, THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, AND THE EAST	
A.D.		A.D.	
1307	Edward II. king of England	1307	Henry VII. of Luxemburg German king
1311	Lords Ordainers in England	1309	Teutonic Knights established at Marienburg
1312	Suppression of Order of Templars	1310	Charles Robert of Naples king of Hungary
1314	Independence of Scotland won at Bannockburn	1311	Venetian Council of Ten established
1315	Edward Bruce in Ireland	1313	German crown contested for eight years between Lewis IV. of Bavaria and Frederic of Austria
1327	Edward II. deposed; Edward III. king of England	1315	Swiss defeat Austrians at Morgarten
1328	Independence of Scotland confirmed by Treaty of Northampton. Accession of the house of Valois in France: Philip VI. king	1316	John XXII. Pope
1329	David I. succeeds Robert Bruce	1322	Lewis IV. overcomes Frederic at Muhlford
1333	Edward Balliol claims Scottish crown. Battle of Halidon Hill	1324	New contest between empire and papacy
1337	Edward III. claims French crown. Beginning of Hundred Years' War	1328	Lewis IV. in Italy
1338	Flemings, under James van Arteveld, league with Edward	1330	John of Bohemia in Italy
1340	French Fleet defeated at Sluys	1334	Benedict XII. Pope
1341	David I. restored in Scotland	1338	German Electors declare their independence of papal authority
1346	Battles of Crecy and Neville's Cross	1341	Struggle between Florence and Pisa
1347	Capture of Calais	1342	Clement VI. Pope
1348	Black Death	1347	Charles IV. of Luxemburg and Bohemia becomes German king. Rienzi's revolution at Rome. Lewis of Hungary at Naples
1350	John king of France	1348	Fall of Rienzi
1356	Battle of Poitiers	1352	Innocent VI. Pope
1358	Rising of Jacquerie	1354	End of war between Venice and Genoa
1360	Treaty of Breigny	1355	Charles IV. crowned in Rome
1364	Charles V. king of France	1356	The Golden Bull
1366	Statute of Kilkenny	1362	Urban V. Pope
1367	Pedro the Cruel obtains crown of Castile by aid of Black Prince	1369	Charles IV. withdraws from Italy
1369	Henry of Trastamare king of Castile	1371	Gregory XI. Pope
1371	Robert II. (Stewart) king of Scotland	1376	Wenzel king of the Romans. League of Swabian towns
1373	Disastrous march of John of Gaunt through France	1377	Gregory XI. at Rome. Babylonish Captivity ends. War of the Cities (Swabian League)
1375	English lose Aquitaine	1378	Wenzel German king. Election of rival Popes. Urban VI. and Clement VII., begins the Great Schism
1377	Wychffe supported by John of Gaunt. Richard II. king of England	1385	Gian Galeazzo Visconti master of Lombardy
1380	Charles VI. king of France	1386	Swiss defeat Austrians at Sempach
1381	Peasant revolt in England; Wat Tyler	1389	Diet forbids leagues of cities
1382	Revolt of Philip van Arteveld	1397	Scandinavian kingdoms united under Erik by Union of Calmar. Margaret of Denmark regent
1384	Flanders joined to Dukedom of Burgundy	1400	Rupert Count Palatine elected king of Romans in opposition to Wenzel
1390	Robert III. king of Scotland		
1396	Anglo-French truce		
1399	Henry IV. deposes Richard II.		
1400	Factions of Burgundy and Orleans in France begin		
1406	Regency of Albany in Scotland	1403	Council of Pisa elects a third Pope, Alexander V.
1411	Donald of the Isles overthrown at Harlaw		Rival Popes refuse to resign
1413	Henry V. king of England	1410	John XXIII. succeeds Alexander V.
1415	Agincourt	1411	Sigismund king of Romans
1420	Treaty of Troyes	1414	Council of Constance
1422	Henry VI. king of England. Bedford regent in France. Charles VII. claims French throne	1415	Martyrdom of Hus
1424	James I., released from England, reigns in Scotland	1417	Martin V. Pope. Great Schism ends
1429	Joan of Arc raises siege of Orleans	1419	Bohemian war begins, lasting 17 years
1435	Bedford dies; Anglo-Burgundian alliance ends	1431	Eugenius IV. Pope
1437	James II. king of Scotland	1434	Cosmo de Medici at Florence
1440	Henry "the Navigator" in Portugal	1438	Albert II. (Hapsburg) king of Romans. Henceforth empire remains with Hapsburgs
1453	English expelled from France, except Calais	1440	Frederic III. king of Romans
1455	First battle of War of the Roses (St. Albans)	1442	Gutenberg's printing press
1460	James III. king of Scotland	1447	Inheritance of Visconti in permanent dispute between Orleans and Sicily. Nicholas V. Pope
1461	Edward IV. of York king of England. Towton. Louis XI. king of France	1453	Fall of Constantinople
1467	Charles the Bold Duke of Burgundy	1458	Pius II. (Æneas Sylvius) Pope
1469	Isabella of Castile marries Ferdinand of Aragon	1469	Lorenzo de Medici at Florence
1471	Lancastrians crushed at Barnet and Tewkesbury	1471	Sixtus IV. Pope
1475	Treaty of Pecquigny	1477	Maximilian of Hapsburg marries Mary of Burgundy
1476	Caxton's printing press	1479	Lodovico Sforza (il Moro) at Milan
1477	Charles the Bold overthrown at Nancy	1480	Turks capture Otranto
1483	Charles VIII. king of France; Richard III. king of England; Inquisition under Torquemada in Spain	1485	Saxony divided between Ernestine and Albertine lines
1485	Henry VII. Tudor king of England	1489	Savonarola preaches at Florence
1488	James IV. king of Scotland	1491	Maximilian invades Hungary
1492	Fall of Granada	1492	Alexander VI. (Borgia) Pope
1493	Voyage of Columbus	1493	Maximilian succeeds Frederic III.
1495	Poyning's Law. Charles VIII. in Italy	1496	Philip of Burgundy (heir of Maximilian) marries Joanna of Castile
1498	Louis XII. of Orleans king of France. Vasco da Gama reaches India	1498	Savonarola put to death
1503	James IV. marries Margaret Tudor	1503	Julius II. Pope
1509	Henry VIII., king of England, marries Katharine of Aragon	1508	League of Cambrai against Venice



THE SOCIAL FABRIC OF THE MEDIÆVAL WORLD

AN HISTORICAL SURVEY OF FEUDALISM

By W. Romaine Paterson, M.A.

THE ORIGIN OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM

VIRGIL described that man as happy who is able to understand the causes of things. And certainly, unless the study of human history is to be the mere idle inspection of a panorama, we are required to make an effort to understand, at least in part, the mass of historical causes which lie behind the mass of historical effects. Social and political institutions did not shoot up in a night. If we wish to trace their genesis we are frequently compelled to look far beyond the particular geographical limits within which they seem to have first appeared. And our search for their origins is made more difficult by the fact that certain institutions, at least in their rudimentary forms, were the result of natural and spontaneous growth among communities which had never been in contact. Thus, for example, in numerous tribes which had never heard of each other we find the existence of the kingship and of slavery.

Human Society Alike in all Ages

Although, therefore, a conquering people may impose its institutions upon a conquered people, the latter may have already reached independently the same stage of social development. Such a fact means that when human beings came together for the purposes of peaceful intercourse, or when they met in the collision of war, the same kind of problems arose everywhere and received the same kind of solution. There has, indeed, been a remarkable uniformity in the structure of human society in all ages and among all peoples, and we find even in savage tribes the rude plan of a later and more elaborate building.

We are apt to suppose, for instance, that feudalism, which was the form into which society fell in Europe during the Middle Ages, was a purely European invention. Although, however, its maximum development did certainly occur in Europe during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, the germs of the system were already active, not only on European soil, long before the fall of the Roman Empire, but within the Asiatic

Feudalism an Ancient System

empires of Babylon and Assyria, and even among uncivilised tribes in all the continents.

We may accept as a rough definition of feudalism in its agrarian aspect the statement that it was a system of land tenure, whereby individuals were compelled to exploit the land for the benefit of their overlords, and were themselves exploited in the process. But this system, which became complicated and elaborated to an extraordinary degree in mediæval Europe, was already practised by the conquering peoples of antiquity, both in the West and in the Orient.

The basis of feudalism was serfdom. But the main source of serfdom, like the main source of slavery, lay in conquest, and those two forms of hereditary subjection existed simultaneously in ancient states, and even in communities which could not be called states at all. It was natural for a people who had subdued and annexed a neighbouring territory to annex as well the labour of the original inhabitants, who were thus allowed to remain upon the land on condition of surrendering the greater part of their produce. Both in Fiji and in the Sandwich Islands serfdom was

discovered to be an ancient institution. In Babylon and in Assyria there existed a great vassal population of agriculturalists who were sold with the soil, like the *glebæ adscripti* of Rome. The Babylonian temples, like the mediæval monasteries of Europe, owned serfs who tilled the lands dedicated to the gods, and in both cases the subjection was hereditary. We may even go so far as to say that in Assyria the feudal tenure of land was fully developed, since ownership or tenancy was accompanied by the obligation of military service. A number of bowmen were furnished according to the size of the estate, and when the estate was sold the same obligation was imposed upon the new proprietor. And, as in Europe, the serfs were never detached from an estate, since they were the implements of its exploitation.

The Ancient Basis of Feudalism

Moreover, it was mainly upon the agricultural serfs that the state laid claims for forced labour. The same system was introduced among European communities in antiquity. When the Dorians seized Laconia they compelled the *Perioeci*, who had probably been their forerunners in conquest, to till the domains of Sparta, the ruling city. In Messenia they reduced the Messenians to the condition of *helots*, who, while permitted to remain on the soil, were required to pay one half of the produce by way of tribute. A similar policy was carried out in all the colonies of the Roman Empire, and, indeed, "*coloni*" means rural slaves who were fixed to the domain: "*servi terræ glebæ inhærentes.*" Thus, the agrarian basis of feudalism was laid centuries before the word feudalism was known.

Serfdom, indeed, was established on an immense scale throughout the Roman Empire. In the Codes of Justinian and Theodosius there are numerous statutes which regulate the social condition and ordain the punishments of the serfs in places so remote from each other as Northern Africa, Thrace, and Palestine.

Serfdom in the Roman Empire

Thus, in the Codex Justinianus (xi. 48, 15) it is enacted by the emperor that serfs are to be regarded as integral parts of the domain which they cultivate, and that they are not to be removed from it "even for an instant"; "*quos (i.e., colonos) ita glebis inhære præcipimus, ut ne puncto quidem temporis amoveri.*"

In another passage it is expressly forbidden to sell the labourers apart from the land or the land apart from the labourers: "*quemadmodum originarios absque terra ita rusticos censitosque servos vendi omnifariam non licet*" (xi. 48, 7). Sales whereby the purchaser of a portion of land agreed to abandon his right over the serfs who had been working upon it are declared to be fraudulent.

In all such statutes we see already in operation the agricultural system which afterwards reigned in Europe during a thousand years, and was still flourishing in Russia in the nineteenth century. In the Code of Theodosius fugitive serfs are declared to be liable to the treatment of fugitive slaves: "*ipsos etiam colonos qui fugam meditantur in servilem condicionem ferro ligari conveniet*" (v. 17, 1). And, again, in the Code of Justinian provincial governors are warned that part of their duty consists in assisting landowners to recover the fugitive serfs of both sexes.

The future condition of the European peasantry of the Middle Ages is thus foreshadowed by the legislation of the Christian emperors of Rome. And yet in the eye of Roman law the serfs were not slaves. They owned property, although, indeed, it is true that without their master's consent they were forbidden to alienate it. Whereas there was no legal marriage between slaves, the marriage of serfs was countenanced by the state. Moreover, serfs received protection against the exactions of their masters, who, if guilty of criminal assault, were liable to be arraigned before a judge. If an estate were partitioned and sold it was declared illegal to separate the members of a single household of serfs.

And it is worth observing that this humane provision of later Roman law contrasts very favourably with the treatment of the negroes by their American masters, for in the case of modern Colonial slavery and serfdom, husband and wife, parents and children, brothers and sisters, were frequently separated, to be sold in different markets. Nevertheless, Roman serfdom entailed great misery upon its victims. Although it involved a social status superior to that of slavery, in the opinion of Savigny its results were often even more disastrous for the well-being of the individual. Manumission was infrequent, and generations of serfs were

THE ORIGIN OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM

kept chained to the soil. It was only if the serf had remained unclaimed by his master during thirty years that he could consider himself at last a freeman. On the other hand, he who had been a serf for thirty years without having petitioned for his liberty, was doomed to serfdom during the rest of his life. Although, too, the annual dues payable to the master were a fixed quantity regulated by statute, the dues payable indirectly to the state varied according to the state's needs.

The crushing weight of the imperial burden was, indeed, most severely felt by the agricultural population in their condition of semi-liberty and semi-servitude. The serf-owner was held responsible for the payment of the capitation tax on each of his men, and his exactions were often the result of pressure from the powers above him. But within his own boundaries the proprietor of a Roman villa exercised an authority no more despotic than that of the seigneur of a mediæval domain.

Now this colonial system, with serfdom as its basis, was fully developed by the Romans in Gaul during the 400 years which followed the victories of Cæsar. A

Rome's Civilising Influence

land which had been a wilderness, sparsely inhabited by wild Keltic clans, was gradually transformed by incessant labour into a fertile province, in which cities like Narbonne and Lyons arose. Municipal government was perfected on the Roman model, and by means of the great roads there was maintained an uninterrupted communication with the capital of the empire and the imperial court. Moreover, to this civilising influence of Roman administration the Church lent her aid. Missionaries who were afterwards canonised as saints were early at work evangelising Gaul. Paganism waned as the new faith waxed in power, and about the middle of the second century of our era there were bishops at Lyons, and, later, at Paris and Tours. Churches were built in the towns, and the bishops and their clergy did not stand aloof from civic life, but frequently filled the office of magistrates.

But this combined agency of secular and ecclesiastical authority was unconsciously preparing the province for other masters. For as Rome was falling, new nations were rising, and were already knocking at her gates. While the power was withering at the centre, the European frontiers of the empire were feeling

the pressure of those German tribes—Goths, Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Salian Franks, and Burgundians—whose appearance on the scene meant a new era not only for Europe, but for the world. Ancient Germany, from which the invaders came, comprised, besides the territory of the modern German Empire,

Founding of Mediæval France Denmark, Sweden and Norway, Finland, and a great part of Russia. But the tribes did not form a single people. Rather they were fragments of a single race, and though the groups shared the same original blood, and spoke dialects of the same language, they were frequently at war with each other. Besides, they were at different levels of culture. Their earlier intrusions on Roman ground do not concern us. But the seizure of Gaul in the fifth century A.D. by Burgundians, Visigoths and Franks marked not merely the final ruin of the Western Empire, but the founding of mediæval and feudalistic France. Raids had been followed by settlements on a great scale, and we discern among those formidable enemies of Rome a growing sense of the value of land.

Much had happened since Cæsar wrote about the Germans. Numerous successful winter expeditions across the frozen Rhine had brought them into closer contact with the power which they were to destroy, and they had had many a tempting glimpse of the fertile and smiling lands which lay south of their own dark forests. In Cæsar's age the Germans were acquainted with only the most primitive system of agriculture, and their wealth was measured not in terms of land, but in cattle. Some of the tribes were still nomadic. According to Cæsar and to Tacitus, however, among those tribes which were more or less settled on the soil there was an annual division of the land, and this fact indicates the continuance of a rude and simple form of tribal organisation. Tacitus,

Germans as Described by Tacitus

who was writing 150 years after Cæsar, tells us that the Germans of his own age had no cities, and that they abhorred contiguous dwellings. Their domestic architecture was of the meanest kind. Their houses, or, rather, their huts, were built of wattle or wood and clay, and were low roofed. Sometimes even such buildings as these were an impossible luxury, and the people chose caves for their homes. Certain of the tribes

on the Danube and the Rhine still clothed themselves in the skins of the wild beasts which fell to them in following the chase.

But rumours not only of the wealth but of the increasing weakness of Rome had reached these wild and virile nations. Their incursions had become bolder, and at length a feeble policy permitted permanent settlements of the strangers within imperial territory. That policy was dangerous, and finally it was fatal. But during the slow ebbing of the strength of Rome some of the barbarians, like the Visigoths in 412 A.D., became her allies. They actually helped to fight her battles, and in 450 A.D. the Visigoths joined forces with the legions, and overthrew Attila and his hordes at Chalons-sur-Marne. Conscious of their own military importance the newcomers began to annex unhindered more and more of Gallic territory. The Burgundians arrived between 406 A.D. and 413 A.D., and made their headquarters at Lyons. Between 412 A.D. and 450 A.D. the Visigoths spread themselves along the banks of the Rhine and the Loire, and founded their capital at Toulouse.

More formidable than either of those peoples were the Franks, who, between 481 A.D. and 500 A.D., conquered Northern Gaul. Paris became their centre, and in 486 A.D. their king, Clovis, defeated the last remnant of Roman power at Soissons. The Middle Ages had begun. But early in the sixth century the invaders were fighting against each other, and first the Burgundians, then the Visigoths fell before the victorious Franks, who mastered the whole territory of France—with the exception of Brittany—and gave it its modern name. Here and there the towns, with the bishops at their head, retained their ancient municipal government, and the Church began to convert the barbarians to Christianity, and to teach them some of the secrets of the imperial rule. But in the country districts the Roman organisation of Gaul was destroyed. Out of the debris, and as a result of a slow fusion between the social systems of the victors and the vanquished, feudalism arose.

The Church Converting the Barbarians

It is to some of the main features of feudalism that we shall give our attention in the following pages, because feudalism was the great social fact of the Middle Ages. And it is especially the feudalism

of France that we shall choose to study, because it was there that the system received the highest development.

At the outset it is well to grasp two important facts: (1) that what we might call the upper structure of feudalism—that is to say, the hierarchy of lords and overlords, vassals and under-vassals—was the creation of the Teutonic invaders of France; and (2) that what we might call the under-structure had already been firmly fixed on Gallic soil by the hands of the Romans, and even of the Gauls. We have already seen that in all the Roman provinces serfdom formed the basis of the agrarian system. But in Gaul itself the Romans had inherited the serfs and slaves who already existed in the country.

It is more than probable that the successive waves of conquest which swept over ancient Gaul made little change in the condition of the agricultural population. Kelts, Romans, and Teutons exploited in turn the mass of men who had been driven by conquest and by various economic causes to sell not only their labour, but their persons, to their superiors. At the moment of the departure of Roman power from Gaul, Gallic society had assumed the form into which every other ancient society fell. Although there were different grades among the freemen, and different grades among the bondmen, the variations may, in the one case, all be unified under the idea of liberty, and in the other under the ideas of slavery and serfdom. And it was the people at the bottom who felt most severely the violence and pillage of the invasions.

Not that the invaders were unacquainted with a servile class among their own ranks. Tacitus tells us that even free Germans sometimes sold themselves into slavery, and in his twenty-fifth chapter he allows us to see that serfdom was fully developed among them. The serfs, who, as we know from other sources, were called *lidi*, or *liti*, were an inseparable part of their lord's domain. "And," says Tacitus, "the owner requires from his slave, as from a serf, a certain amount of grain, cattle, and clothing." When we turn to the codes of law of such peoples as the ancient Saxons, the Salian Franks, the Ripuarians, and the Burgundians, we find various enactments dealing with this servile class. In their present form those laws were doubtless drawn up after the

Germans who Sold Themselves

THE ORIGIN OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM

conquest of Gaul. The laws of the Burgundians, for example, belong to the period between 448 A.D. and 530 A.D. Some of the codes even betray borrowings from the law of Rome. But all of them are, at least in part, a retention of immemorial custom among the various groups of the German tribes, and in this rude jurisprudence the position of the slaves is made clear. They are the absolute property of their masters. Thus in the *Lex Saxonum*, x. 1, it is stated that the owner is to be held responsible for whatever act his slave or his serf has committed if that act has been done by the master's order (*jubente domino*). The same enactment appears in the Thuringian law.

In the Riparian code we see that already a great gulf was fixed between the freeman and the serf, for whereas in the case of the murder of a serf the compensation was only 36 *solidi*, in the case of the murder of a freeman the compensation amounted to 200. Again, in the Burgundian laws provision is made for the case of fugitive slaves, and penalties are fixed for those persons who assist them

**Teutons
the Masters
of Gaul** to escape. These passages are sufficient to prove, therefore, that when the Teutonic invaders at last became masters of Gaul

they found nothing unfamiliar in the subjection of the agricultural population. It is true that their serfs appear to have enjoyed greater freedom than the corresponding class among the Gauls, and that sometimes they were recognised as genuine members of the community. And, according to one ancient Frankish authority, the servile class among the Saxons possessed as early as the eighth century a share of political power. But the serf remained a bondsman in relation to his lord, and he cultivated land which he could never own.

The problem which faced the conquerors was how to adjust their political institutions to the conditions which existed in Gaul, and, as we shall see, it was because a perfect adjustment was impossible that the feudal system gradually came into being. The Saxons had no kings until after the migration to England; but in tribes like the Franks there existed from ancient times a kingship which was both hereditary and elective in the sense that the nation chose the king from the members of a single family. They possessed also an aristocracy surrounding the king,

and in their public assemblies, as in the Homeric Agora, the freemen were called together to deliberate on the nation's affairs. "They choose their kings for reasons of birth," says Tacitus; "their generals for reasons of merit." The founder of the royal house had been a successful warrior. Military valour thus brought rank and privilege in its train, for the time came when, as Tacitus tells us, "land was divided according to rank."

**Marriage
Laws of
the Saxons** This means that the old tribal equality had disappeared, and there was already a sharp division of the classes. Among the Saxons, for instance, marriage was forbidden by law between the free and the serf, and violation of this statute was punishable by death. The early communism had given way before a caste system, in which marriage was permissible only between persons of the same rank.

According to Tacitus the chiefs received a contribution or present, which became a means of regular income. A privileged class was thus gradually evolved, and only a successful conquest on a large scale was needed in order to transform its members into great territorial sovereigns. In the earlier time the chief had rewarded his followers by presents of "war horses and the blood-stained lance of victory," and by feasts and entertainments, for there was as yet no land to divide. But in the *comitatus*, or groups of "braves" who attached themselves to every prominent leader, we see the forerunners of those mediæval vassals who lived upon their lord's domain and obeyed his summons to war.

Again, in the criminal jurisprudence of ancient Germany some of the feudal methods are likewise foreshadowed, for, as prescribed by Teutonic custom, half of the fine by means of which certain crimes were expiated was paid to the king, who, like the later mediæval seigneur, thus enjoyed a revenue from the administration of justice. We

**The Franks
on
Gallic Soil** have seen that according to Tacitus the ancient Germans had no towns, and this fact is important in the history of feudalism. For when they found themselves on Gallic soil the Franks instinctively turned from the Gallo-Roman cities. The centre of gravity was shifted from the towns to the country districts, and it was in the latter that the feudal régime was at first consolidated. In the

former the bishops continued to control municipal affairs, and in some cases the ancient civic organisations appear to have survived the conquest. No doubt the towns and villages formed part of the seigniorial lands, and later there arose important problems concerning the relations which existed between the inhabitants of the communes and the lords of the domain. But whereas during the Roman occupation of Gaul the towns had played a predominant part, during the mediæval period they became subordinate to a powerful territorial nobility. Entire towns with all their inhabitants, in fact, could form part of a fief. The origin of this territorial sovereignty is to be sought both in the grants of land which the king gave to his immediate followers and in the seizure of Gallic estates by those of his warriors who were strong enough to secure their own interests. Hence, two kinds of property in land came into existence.

An estate was either a *beneficium* (later a *feodum*)—that is to say, a portion of land presented by the king to a retainer in return for certain services—or it was an *alodium* or *alod*—that is to say, a freehold property held independently and claimed by right of prescription. The development of feudalism is marked by the tendency of the *alod* to become a *feodum*. In order, for instance, to secure the protection of a more powerful neighbour and to prevent his aggressions, the owner of a freehold was frequently compelled to become a vassal and to do homage. This act was termed “commendation.” Although he retained his ancient rights over his property, the original freeholder was now an inferior and took the oath of fealty to his superior. The conquered territory became thus split up into great areas which fell under the jurisdiction of separate sovereigns.

Divisions of the Frankish Kingdom The principle of partition was applied even to the entire kingdom, as if it had been a royal estate. Both in 511 A.D., at the death of Clovis, and in 561, at the death of Lothair, the Frankish kingdom was divided into four parts. During the Merovingian period, especially when the strong hand of Clovis was withdrawn, the conditions of land tenure were no doubt more or less chaotic. Estates frequently changed hands, and sometimes they were

granted by the crown only during the life of the recipient. Such gifts were called temporary benefices, or “*precaria*,” and they were recoverable by the crown. But all estates tended to become hereditary. The personal relation of the vassal to his lord was expressed and merged in the property, and that relation was continued between their respective heirs.

The word *feodum* or *fief* is not found before the ninth century (884 A.D.), but according to Du Cange it was synonymous with “*beneficium*.” Both words indicated the hereditary usufruct of an estate on condition of the faithful services of the vassal: “*ut ille et sui hæredes fideliter domino serviant*” (Du Cange *voc. Feodum*). And Du Cange tells us that at first fiefs were bestowed only upon families of noble blood. The word is supposed to be of Teutonic origin, and the old derivation from the Latin “*fides*” (fidelity) has been discarded. *Feodum*, or *fief*, is based on the Gothic “*faihu*,” Anglo-Saxon “*feoh*,” and means goods and property—originally property in cattle (*vieh*), and at last in land. We observe, therefore, that feudalism originated in a great struggle for the soil. He who

The Veiled Anarchy of Feudalism was landless was impotent. If he enjoyed neither absolute ownership nor usufruct he sank to a condition of servile dependence. On the other hand, the greater the estate, the greater the power of the owner, for he was lord not only of it but of all the men and women born upon it. When attacked by neighbours, his own immediate vassals and *their* vassals and serfs were compelled to flock to his aid.

The feudal system thus contained within itself all the elements of disruption, and, indeed, it involved a kind of veiled anarchy. It was the most pronounced and most successful form of militant individualism which the world has seen. As long as the central power was strong, as it was in the hands of Clovis or Charlemagne, the tendencies towards disintegration were restrained. The freemen still sat in the local assemblies, or “*mals*,” and administered the law. Provincial governors, called *Grafs*, were placed at the head of the jurisdiction of great districts, and were responsible to the crown.

Charlemagne, in order to identify the administration of justice with the throne, sent throughout his empire at regular

THE ORIGIN OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM

periods his magistrates, "scabini" or "échevins," to superintend the procedure of the local courts. He convoked at regular intervals those general assemblies, or "placita generalia," in which, by his deliberations with his viceregents and agents he legislated as an emperor conscious of imperial needs. And he thereby created a sense of imperial unity. Moreover, in order to recover complete sovereignty he enjoined an oath of fidelity to himself as emperor on the part of layman as well as of ecclesiastic. But in the Capitulary of the year 805 A.D. we already discover signs of that coming collision between feudalism and the monarchy which took place in the reigns of his feeble successors. "Let no one," says Charlemagne, "swear fidelity to any person except to us and to his lord for our behoof and for his lord's behoof."

Sooner or later a conflict for the allegiance of the vassals was inevitable, since men were thus called upon to serve two masters. And the attempt to extricate the throne from the growing entanglement of the feudal relations was successful only so long as Charlemagne remained its occupant.

The Success of Charlemagne In the reign of his successors the movement of decentralisation took place and was irresistible. The feudal seigniors became again independent, the crown became merely a shadow and an effigy, and the crown domain merely another great fief. The national unity had perished. There was no state, and its place was filled by a conglomeration of minor and rival sovereignties. In the words of Stubbs: "The disruption was due more to the abeyance of central attraction than to any centrifugal force existing in the provinces. But the result was the same; feudal government, a gradual system of jurisdiction based on land tenure in which every lord judged, taxed and commanded the class next below him, in which abject slavery formed the lowest and irresponsible tyranny the highest grade, in which private war, private coinage, private prisons, took the place of the imperial institution of government."

The view that the rise of the feudal sovereignties was due merely to the failure of the central power is perhaps exaggerated by Stubbs, who seems to neglect the fact that the centrifugal tendency was active from the beginning, and was never wholly curbed. Even in

ancient Germany, when there was still maintained a genuine co-operation between the tribe and its leaders, the restlessness and independence of the warriors found vent in perpetual expeditions. "If," says Tacitus, "their native state sinks into the stagnation of peace, many of the noble youths offer their services to other tribes which happen to be waging war because inaction is hateful to the race, and because renown is more easily won in the thick of danger, and because a great following is best maintained when war is afoot."

The nomadic and more restless stage was now over, and the leader was settled upon his domain, was building his castle, was founding a family, and was arming himself against his neighbour. Nothing less than a revolution had taken place. Whereas during Roman times each particular subject was, by means of the complex machinery of administration, brought into contact with the central authority, now that authority was wholly dispersed. The coinage of the state had ceased, and the lord of the domain struck his own currency, framed his own laws, and judged his own men. In a word, the characteristic of feudalism was the fusion of property and sovereignty. It was a double triumph of aristocracy, for it meant that, on the one hand, the people had been crushed, and, on the other, that the authority of the crown had been eclipsed and overthrown. Again, no genuine coalition was possible between the lords of the domain. Temporary confederations did take place, but they were soon dissolved.

The lands of Gaul were already partitioned during the Roman times among the great nobles, who were called *senatores* because their rank entitled them to membership of the Roman Senate. But the Teutonic conquerors had seized those great estates, together with the slaves and the serfs who were at work upon them. In some cases the domains were voluntarily shared between the strangers and the old proprietors; and in the laws of the Burgundians, for instance, the Roman and the Burgundian nobles are mentioned as forming a single class. Out of a fusion of the great families of the victors and the vanquished there arose the feudal aristocracy of mediæval France.



EMANCIPATION OF SERFS: A BARON ON HIS DEATHBED GRANTING FREEDOM TO HIS SERFS

From the painting by E. Arncliffe, R.A. By permission of the Corporation of Liverpool



THE CHAOS OF THE FEUDAL AGE RELATIONSHIPS OF LORDS AND VASSALS

WE shall now make an attempt to watch feudalism at work, and to seize some of the main features of the most intricate and bewildering social system which has ever been devised. But before we examine its vast understructure of serfdom, it will be well to consider the artificial fabric which was raised upon that basis. The origin of the contract which created a fief was purely personal and military. The Germanic invaders brought their own habits with them, and, as we have now seen, it was an ancient custom among them for a chief to make presents to his followers. At first each prominent leader was surrounded by a band of soldiers, who lived with him on the estates which he had seized, and he began to bestow upon these men the usufruct of certain portions of the domain. Doubtless the gradual increase of the numbers of such followers made it inconvenient to have

them in continual personal attendance, and separate establishments were allotted to them. In this fact lay the origin of the feudal tenure of land.

The fief was essentially the gift of a superior in return for certain services, and that gift was retained only as long as the services were rendered. But those gifts of land were not of equal value, and the obligations of service likewise differed. The more important men received a greater share, and were called upon to contribute military aid on a corresponding scale. Hence, at the beginning there were created inequalities among the possessors of fiefs. One vassal might enjoy the usufruct of an amount of land twenty times larger than that which fell to the share of another.

In the case of war, however, the former was required to summon a far greater number of men to his seigneur's aid. The difficulty of the study of feudalism consists in the multitude of relations which sprang up between superiors and

inferiors, and especially in the principle of sub-infeudation, which caused the usufruct of a given area of land to be held by various men at one and the same time.

A vassal could have vassals of his own. Moreover, the lord of a particular vassal

might even be the vassal of his vassal. That is to say, the vassal might own land outside the jurisdiction of his lord's domain, and the lord might become the vassal's tenant. In the one case the superior bestowed a fief on his inferior, in the other the inferior bestowed a fief upon his superior. When the feudal system had reached its maximum development every seigneur had a seigneur above him and every vassal a vassal below him.

In France the lower vassal was called *arrière-vassal*, and sometimes those holders of fiefs within fiefs were, owing to the complications of the system, ignorant of their real obligations. Here, for example, is a brief extract from a late feudal contract made in Burgundy, which displays the results of this multiple ownership: "Item, Hugote, sister of the said Isabel, holds from the said Isabel forty-six livres of land at Lusigny; the said Isabel holds them from the said William of Beligny; the said William holds them from the said Odet of Vanly, and the said Odet holds them from Monseigneur the Duke."

And let us remember that it was not merely land which could be thus held in fief, but every form of property, including men, women and children, taxes, and the right to hold an assize. When entering into any new obligations a vassal was always careful

to reserve that portion of his services which could already be commanded by another overlord.

Here, for instance, is a declaration made in the thirteenth century, and cited by Seignobos: "Estevenius of Coligny . . .

has entered into the service of the said duke, and has done homage. But he reserves the fealty by which he is already bound to the Lord of Coligny, the Abbot of Saint Oyan, the Count of Savoy, the Lord of Baugié, the Count of Auxerre, Regnard of Burgundy, and Henry of Paigné." Now this attempt to serve so

many masters often created a serious conflict of duties. If, for instance, the lords of a single vassal were at war, what was the vassal to do? If he assisted the one against the other, he became entangled in the quarrel, and might suffer reprisals at the hands of the seigneur whom he disavowed.

The jurists of the Middle Ages had considered the case, and had made provision for it. If we turn to the "Assizes of Jerusalem," which forms one of the most important of mediæval documents, we find a statute which is framed for the purpose of enlightening the perplexed vassal. "Se un home a plusiors seignors il peut sans meprendre de sa foi aider son premier seignor à qui il a fait homage devant les autres en toutes closes et en tous manières contre tous ses autres seignors, pour ce que il est devenu home des autres sauve sa loyauté et auci peut il aider à chascun des autres, san le premier et sauf cens à qui il a fait homage avant que à celui à qui il vodra aider, car à moi semble que se un seignor eust un home on plusiors qui fust on fussent homes d'autre seignor devant lui et li eust semons de li venir aider à deffendre sa terre contre ses ennemis mortels qui viennent pour lui devaster . . . celui home pour foi garder de mesprendre de sa foi devoit venir devant son seignor quant il seroit venus en champ et dire li en la presence des ses homes." (Assises. Ed. Thaumassiere. Ch. ccxxii.) The meaning of this somewhat obscure passage is that the vassal could promise different kinds

of aid to different seigneurs, and that "loyalty" might in one case, although not in another, imply military service.

And yet such a fact appears to be in contradiction with the strictest and most primitive form of feudal tenure. Brussel points out that there was a distinction between *foi* and *homage*, and that the one could exist without the other. It was possible, for instance, to hold a fief from a suzerain without having been born his

subject. And, conversely, although a man might be born within the domain of the suzerain, he might not hold a fief in that domain. In the latter case the subject did not owe either homage or the services which homage implied, but merely the oath of fidelity. The conflict of obligations, however, was often serious, especially during war, when every seigneur became anxious to press into his service as many men as possible. The "premier seignor" mentioned in the "Assizes of Jerusalem" is the one to whom homage had first been made, and his claims to the vassal's service were held to be predominant. In some cases it was specially stipulated that if war broke out the vassal should deliver up his fortress or castle to his superior.

If the vassal remained in the fortress, he was considered to be guilty of a hostile act. But if he quitted the fortress, he was not considered to be implicated in the war. "Se il demoure en la forteresse," says the ancient custom of Burgundy. "il est de la guerre." All such provisions imply that originally the feudal compact was a compact between a military superior

The Price of Feudal Allegiance

and his soldier, and in the earlier period the relations between the two were simple, and strictly personal. Owing, however, to the principle of sub-infeudation, and to the principle of hereditary, the territorial organisation of feudalism became gradually more complicated. The instinct of property had become powerfully developed. Whereas in ancient Germany it had been easy for a young warrior to withdraw his allegiance from a particular chief, it was now more difficult for the vassal to transfer his fealty from one lord to another. For the price of the exchange was the forfeiture of his fief. If the vassal renounced his service, he and his heirs lost everything. This fact proves that the fief originated in a close personal relation between the grantor and the grantee. When the grantee died, his heir before entering upon the inheritance was required to take the same oath of fealty.

An elaborate ceremony preceded the bestowal of every fief. First of all, the vassal did homage to his lord, and the word "homage" is deeply significant. For *homagium* is derived from the Latin *homo*, and it meant that the vassal had become his lord's "man." The act of homage was performed in the

THE CHAOS OF THE FEUDAL AGE

presence of witnesses. The vassal, with head uncovered, came before his lord, to whom he swore fidelity and loyalty. Having removed his sword-belt and his sword, he made the following declaration on bended knee: "From this day henceforward, I become your liege man in life and limb, and promise my loyalty in return for the lands which I receive from you." Then came the oath of fidelity. The vassal, having placed his right hand upon a book, said: "My lord, I will be loyal and faithful to you on account of the lands which I hold, and will fulfil the obligations and the services which I owe on the terms assigned. So help me God and the saints!"

Du Cange, from whom we take these words, tells us in his exposition under the word "fidelitas" that when taking the oath of fidelity the vassal did not kneel, and was not required to make so humble a reverence as in the act of homage. Whereas, too, homage was done to the lord in person, the declaration of fealty might be made to the lord's proxy, a steward or a bailiff. The symbol

Edward II. as Liege man to the King of France of possession, a piece of turf or the branch of a tree, was then handed to the vassal, and the investiture was

complete. Thus we see that the old personal relation which bound the Teutonic soldier to his chief persisted, at least in theory, throughout the feudal age. And even when the vassal enjoyed high rank, even if he were a prince or a king, the act of homage was no less compulsory. Thus Edward II. of England as Duke of Aquitaine did homage in 1329 to Philip of Valois, and became liege man (*homme-liege*) of the King of France.

An important part of the investiture consisted in the *aveu*, or statement, of the inventory of the fief. It was necessary for the seigneur to know exactly what he was giving, and for the vassal to know what he was receiving. Any attempt on the part of the latter to deny that he had received this or that portion of the fief was considered to be a crime, which was punished by forfeiture of the entire domain, for, says the Ancient Custom of Burgundy, no greater disloyalty is possible (*que plus grand desléauté ne peut estre*). The vassal was forbidden to alter or to diminish his fief in any way, or to alienate it, except on payment of an indemnity to the seigneur.

The following may be taken as a typical inventory of a fief of the fourteenth century in France, and the case is especially interesting because the fief in question was originally not a fief at all, but a freehold which had been formally surrendered by the proprietor to the Duke of Burgundy, and had then been recovered in order to be held under the ducal suzerainty: "Philip of Loiges, Knight, hereby makes known to all whom it may concern

A Typical Inventory of a Fief that henceforward he holds as *liege man* of the Duke all the property hereinafter mentioned which forms his own heritage, and was hitherto freehold and not fief nor liable to service of any kind: to wit, the tower, the house, the enclosure, and the fortress of La Palu, the trenches, and all the enclosure round about. Item, all the men, their allotments and their houses in the towns of La Palu and Croisey, all the said men being subject to the villein tax and to the jurisdiction which fixes the greater and the smaller fines and to mortmain, each of the said men paying eighteen livres tournois (*i.e.*, the livre containing twenty sous) of rent. . . . Item, the jurisdiction high and low over the towns and all over the above-mentioned property, to wit, all the woods and arable land. Item, the ponds, the mill, and dove-cot of the said house of La Palu together with all rights and appurtenances thereof. . . ." It was by such instruments that the rights of property, including the right of disposing of the lives and fortunes of villeins and serfs were secured throughout the Middle Ages.

A formidable array of duties faced the man who had accepted a fief and had become a liege. And, although to-day we may not have much sympathy with the feudal spirit, we ought to recognise that it often expressed itself in many chivalrous ways, and that it evoked some of the best qualities of human nature. In the "Assizes of Jerusalem" the sternest demand is made upon the devotion of the vassal to his protecting lord. He is expected to be unwearied in the service, and to be willing at any moment to sacrifice, not only his personal comfort, but his life in fulfilment of his duty. He is to offer himself as hostage, to go to prison, and to face death on his seigneur's behalf. If in battle the seigneur's horse has been killed under him, the vassal is required to

surrender his own horse and to fight on foot. The duration of the military service in a particular war varied according to the extent and value of the fief. In some cases it was sixty, in others forty, and in others twenty days. Sometimes the vassal served alone, but oftener he was compelled to bring along with him a contingent

The Vassal's Debt to his Lord

of his own sub-vassals to swell his lord's ranks. The retention of the fief was conditional upon the fulfilment of these military obligations, and just as the villein paid rent in taxes and in produce, so the vassal liquidated his debt to his lord by service in the field.

Seignobos even suggests that at least in two points the vassal and the villein resembled each other. For each enjoyed, not the absolute ownership of the land, but only its tenancy, and in both cases service was the price of the usufruct. Whereas, however, the villein exploited the land in the interests of the seigneur, the vassal defended it. The latter, in fact, was, in the strict meaning of the feudal relation, a soldier and companion-in-arms. But his duties were not confined to war. He was obliged to attend his suzerain's court, and to offer advice on matters of policy and the execution of justice. Lastly, the vassal was frequently expected to offer material aid, *auvilia*, to his seigneur. Some of these aids were voluntary, but others were specified on the bestowal of the fief, and comprised (1) a ransom when the sovereign had been captured in war; (2) a contribution when the seigneur's eldest son was received into the order of chivalry; and (3) a gift towards the dowry of the seigneur's eldest daughter.

It will thus be seen that the possession of a fief was no mere sinecure, and, indeed, the vassals suffered frequently from the exactions of their overlords. As we shall see later, the real weight of the entire system pressed most heavily on the

Sovereigns Who Were Vassals

villeins and serfs, but it would be wrong to minimise the serious obligations of the holders of fiefs. Sovereigns within their own domain, they had sovereigns above them, whose authority was likewise arbitrary. The threat of forfeiture (*forisfactura*) was often made a means of oppression. The suzerain was tempted to multiply the cases for which forfeiture was the penalty, and generally to extend the sources of his revenue. When a vassal

died his heir paid a kind of entrance fee (*relevium*), which was a tax on the entry into possession, and the amount varied according to the suzerain's demands. It is true that in most of the provinces of France the tax was waived when the succession to the fief fell directly from father to son. In such cases, according to Brussel, the heir owed nothing except the formal declaration of allegiance and the military duties which that declaration implied (*le fils succédant au fief du père n'y doit que la bouche et les mains*). But when the heir belonged to a collateral issue the tax was payable, and it was heavy. Again, the suzerain possessed the right of choosing a husband for the heiress of any fief. In the event of a refusal on the woman's part, she was compelled to pay a fine to the seigneur, while in the event of acceptance an equal amount was paid by the husband.

The reason for such a regulation is easily understood when we remember that the usufruct of every fief implied military service. Since a woman was incapable of rendering that service, it was in the seigneur's interest to provide her with a husband who could undertake the duty. According to the "Assizes of Jerusalem," the lady of the fief was offered her choice of one of three barons. One other important source of income for the seigneur remains to be mentioned. If the heir to a fief was a minor, the seigneur became his guardian, administered the fief during the ward's minority, and disposed of the revenue. We may add that the reasons for sub-infeudation and for the great multiplication of fiefs were both military and economic.

It was obviously to the advantage of the seigneur to have as many fiefs as possible, since every fief brought money as well as men. This process of sub-infeudation really weakened the feudal system from within since the alienation of the usufruct of the land involved the alienation of the rights which the land carried with it. When the real danger of the policy began to be perceived, many of the seigneurs attempted to attract vassals to their banners by paying them not in land, but in money; and thus they created mercenary troops.

But this device was a later invention, and was foreign to the ancient spirit of feudalism. Brussel tells us that there were three classes of vassals, which he enumerates

THE CHAOS OF THE FEUDAL AGE

under the following heads: (1) *Homo*; (2) *plenum hominem*; and (3) *ligius*. In the first case vassalage involved the three great kinds of feudal service, which we have already mentioned—that is to say, service in the host (*servitium*); counsel in the court of the seigneur (*fiducia*); and assistance in the administration of the law of the domain (*justitia*). The expression “*plenum hominem*” implied that the vassal was not bound to undertake any particular service, military or civil, but that in case of war he was bound to remain neutral. The vassal-liege, on the other hand, was

in need of securing continued service during a prolonged war, for an army composed of men who could withdraw after forty days' service in the field was obviously a weak and dangerous instrument. We may take the following as a typical feudal summons to battle by a seigneur to his vassal: “Hugo, Seigneur of Genley, to his friend and vassal, William Bandot, greeting. I hereby command you with all my authority to be present on Friday, eight days after Easter, at Chalon, and to be on horseback, well mounted, and well-apparelled in order to aid me in the



THE CEREMONY OF CONFERRING KNIGHTHOOD IN MEDIÆVAL TIMES

required to serve at his own expense in any war in which his seigneur took part, whereas the ordinary vassal was not bound to fight after the fortieth day from the date of the assembling of the army. In some cases the vassal might be represented by proxy in the fighting line, but generally only when the war was one in which the seigneur was indirectly involved.

About the end of the thirteenth century the seigneurs began to transform their vassals into *hommes lieges* by attaching special gifts to the fiefs (*in augmentum feodi*). This policy was dictated by the

greatest struggle which I have yet faced, and so conduct yourself as to win my goodwill. I commend you to God. Given under my seal at Genley this Easter Day.” The date is 1325 A.D. The seigneur, however, was not always certain of obtaining his men, and in the present case the vassal was absent in Flanders. Sometimes the vassals suffered great losses in their seigneur's wars, and in certain cases they were indemnified. One, Guy de Rochefort, for instance, in the service of the French king was taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers in 1356 A.D., and he

received (pour mes dommaiges de la bataille de Poitiers ou je fus pris) 600 florins. But the men who followed their seigneurs to the wars were not always vassals in the strict sense. For a feudal castle attracted needy adventurers, who were willing, in return for maintenance, to place their services at the disposal of rich and powerful leaders. Men who had lost their inheritance, or whose fief had been forfeited, became retainers, and entered into relations with the feudal nobles somewhat similar to those in which the ancient Roman client stood to his patron. Simonet, for instance, cites the following case from the archives of Burgundy: In 1368 a certain Jehans d'Arc, a knight, surrendered his heritage to another knight, Hugo de Pontailier. The latter promised to lodge and to board the said Jehans, to clothe him, to provide him with a horse and a servant, and generally to minister to his needs. In return, Jehans d'Arc for himself and for his heirs assigns his property of whatever kind, both present and future, to Hugo de Pontailier. This kind of contract was either the result of bankruptcy or of *force majeure*, and although apparently it might be annulled, the vassal was generally too deeply mortgaged to be able to extricate himself.

Other documents belonging to the same period prove that powerful suzerains often succeeded in compelling weaker vassals to lend support beyond the limit fixed by the feudal contract. In an era when war formed the chief pastime of the governing classes, a seigneur could command the services of his followers in the prosecution of the most unjust aggressions on the territory of his neighbours. Frequently the extortion of a ransom was the motive which lay behind feudal pillage, and private war was kindled merely for the purpose of filling the coffers of a needy seigneur. The efforts of Saint Louis and other French

French Nobles Who Defied Their Kings kings, such as Philip the Fair, to abolish these raids were attended with little success.

The nobles of Burgundy, for example, protested against the royal interference, and maintained their right to declare war whenever it pleased them. So that even as late as 1315 and 1367 the kings of France found themselves impotent to restrain a custom which formed both the strength and the weakness of the feudal system. And if the kings were

unable to prevent the outbreak of war among the nobles, neither were the nobles always capable of keeping the peace between their vassals.

In the fourteenth century it was still possible for one petty seigneur to imprison another and liberate him only on the payment of an enormous ransom. A certain Simon Buguet, in the year 1364, seized the person of one Jean de Rougemont, seigneur of Thil-Châtel, in Burgundy, and threw him first into one dungeon and then into another. Deliverance was promised on a payment of a ransom equivalent to 40,000 francs of modern French currency. The conditions were that in default of payment the prisoner should surrender himself at the fortress of Chifferne. The protocol informs us, however, that, owing to the dangers of the roads, which swarmed with armed robbers, Jean de Rougement decided to pay the money at an intermediate station, and to abandon the journey to Chifferne.

Such a document presents a vivid picture of the daily perils encountered under the feudal regime. If justice existed, it was wild justice, and might was right. If a vassal became too powerful it was in the interest of his suzerain not to thwart, but to conciliate him. And not only individuals, but also entire communities were in danger at the hands of roving bandits. Whole villages were required to ransom themselves in order to escape being burned.

The Wild Justice of Feudalism In November, 1435, the inhabitants of the village of Etalante, in Châtillon, were required to deliver up to some armed men who had come from Langres a silver pyx belonging to a church at Dijon in order to save the village from being set in flames (pour racheter le feu que les ennemies de Langres voulaient bouter en ladite ville). Such were the conditions of life in the feudal period, when society had ceased to form any genuine unity, when the central authority was impotent, and when power was in the hands of a few irresponsible territorial sovereigns.

According to one of the most important monuments of mediæval jurisprudence, St. Louis of France even acquiesced in the legality of a system which involved treason to the throne. In his "Etablissements" there is a striking passage, in which is admitted the right of a seigneur to summon his vassal to fight against the

THE CHAOS OF THE FEUDAL AGE

king, and on the refusal of the vassal his fief is declared to be justly forfeited. Such a passage indicates that the feudal system involved permanent sedition and a prolonged usurpation of the power of the crown.

It is true that modern research is inclined to deny that the code known as the "Etablissements of St. Louis" was drawn up by that king. Montesquieu called it "an amphibious code," meaning that it was a mixture of French jurisprudence and Roman law. Parts of it, according to Viollet, are based on the customs of Anjou, and other parts on the customs of Orléans and Paris. But no one denies that it gathers up the theory and practice of the thirteenth century; and in the passages in which the king, while forbidding private war between his own vassals and within his own domain, is made to recognise the seigneur's right of resistance even towards the crown, we catch a glimpse of the chaos of the feudal age.

It is important to remember that it was not only on account of a gift of land that a vassal owed service to his lord. For fiefs were of various kinds, and sometimes they consisted even of immaterial things, such as the right of dispensing justice within a given area. Du Cange defines a fief as a thing given to one person by another in such a way that the property of the thing remains with the giver, and that the usufruct passes to the receiver and his heirs. Before the eleventh century the conception of that form of tenure had become widely extended, and, as Du Cange says, everything was given in fief, "*saeculis xi et xii omnia in feudum concedebantur*." Among other things, he enumerates the administration of justice in the forests, which was termed "gruerie," the right of hunting, of conducting merchants to and from the markets, of collecting tolls and customs dues, of weaving, of changing money at the fairs, of grinding corn, gathering honey and making wine. In a word, industry and justice themselves had become fiefs, and we may add that human beings were included in the same category.

We can understand the complications of mediæval life when we hear that not only a domain, but the men and women upon it, might belong to two or more proprietors. In a Burgundian protocol of the year 1378 we read that one seigneur sold and ceded

to another the ownership of "half a serf," and that the price was forty francs in gold. Thus men might hold joint property in the labour of a single serf. Again, the revenue from the administration of justice within a particular area was frequently shared by two or more persons who co-owned it in fief. A struggle

sometimes took place for the possession of the person accused of crime, and the adjustment of the shares in the fine became a new source of dispute. We shall not be wrong if we say that the dominant characteristic of the feudal administration was the destruction of social unity and harmony for the sake of individual and egoistic interests.

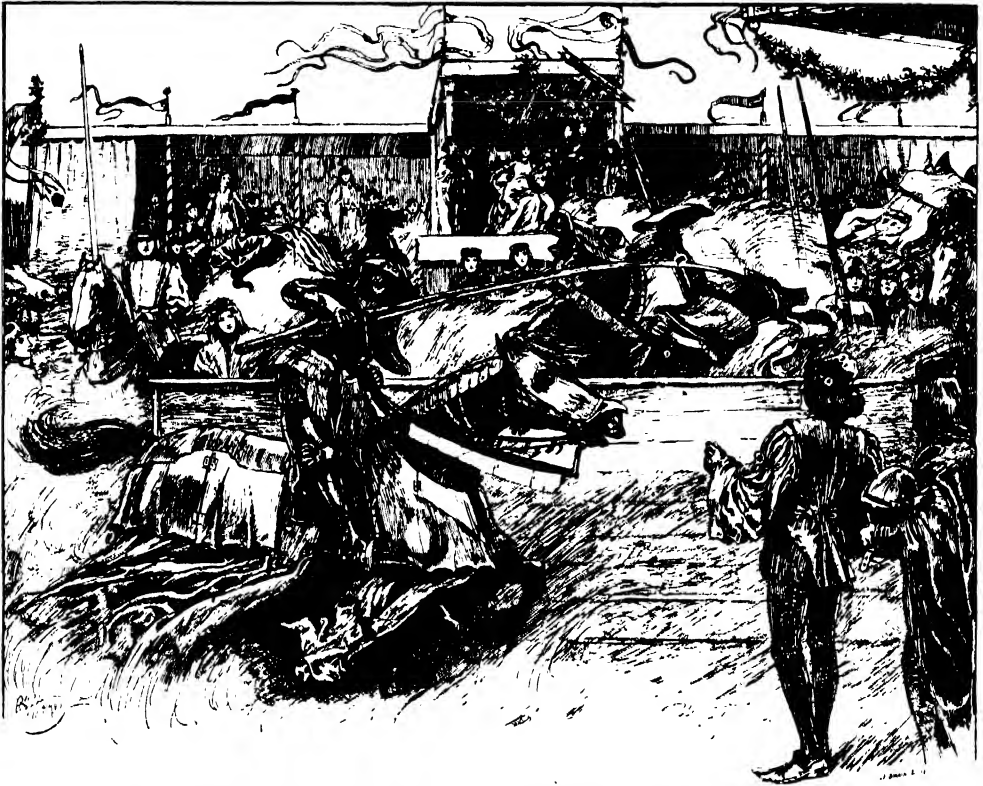
Let us now ask, what guarantee feudalism offered even to the seigneur and the vassal for the maintenance of their respective rights? Vassalage was so minutely subdivided that we may well wonder to whom a vassal in the sixth degree, for instance, could appeal when his rights were invaded either by an equal or by a superior. Guizot points out that the word "compatriot" did not exist in the Middle Ages, and the fact is significant. For the word compatriot implies the idea of a social order, in the maintenance of which all the members are interested. The vassals were called "peers," from which our word peers is derived; but there was no genuine co-operation among these co-vassals. The social equilibrium which was maintained within a given domain was highly unstable. The vassals did not co-operate in order to carry out any genuine social purpose, and again the seigneurs did not co-operate in order to maintain any genuine balance of power among themselves.

A fundamental antagonism lay hidden amid all the feudal relations. The seigneur was often as suspicious of the vassal's fidelity as the vassal was of the seigneur's claims and arrogated power. The real character of feudalism is expressed in this isolation of the various members of the feudal hierarchy. And it was an isolation which provoked suspicion, quarrels and reprisals. How did the seigneur maintain order within his own territory? In the modern world the public peace is guaranteed by the action of an executive which in the punishment of crime expresses the will

Vassals and their Rights

Complications of Mediæval Life

Feudalism's Real Character



THE SPORTS AND PASTIMES OF MEDIÆVAL ENGLAND—A JOUST

of the nation. But feudalism did not create nations at all. It created only groups of arbitrary sovereignties, and in each case the will of the territorial sovereign was the nominal fountain of justice. It was the sovereign who appointed his baillis, or bailiffs, for the trial of causes within his own domain.

But along with the institution of bailiffs there existed throughout the feudal regime a judicial system both more ancient and more in accordance with the feudal spirit. We have said that the vassals were *peers*, or equals. When, therefore, a dispute occurred between any two of them the seigneur was petitioned to convoke all his other vassals in his court in order that they might pronounce their decision upon the case. For equals could be judged and sentenced only by equals. Numerous mediæval documents prove that, for instance, a count was judged only by men of his own class. Even in cases where the bailiff presided as representative of the suzerain, he was only the mouthpiece of the majority. In the event of a dispute between a seigneur and his vassal regard-

ing some matter connected with the fief which the latter held from the former, the case was heard in the seigneur's court in presence of the vassal's equals. If, on the other hand, the dispute had no reference to the fief the vassal was entitled to have his claims heard not in the seigneur's court but in the court of the seigneur's seigneur. Hence, in a duchy like Burgundy, a case of this kind might be carried from court to court until it arrived before the Duke as supreme suzerain. Beaumanoir, who was the greatest jurist of the Middle Ages, tells us that the appeal was required to be made in such a way that no intermediate court was passed over, otherwise the case was vitiated in point of law (*il apel doivent estre fet en montant de degré en degré, sans nul seigneur trespasser*).

It often happened that in the litigation between vassals of equal rank the claimant or the defendant, although tried by his peers, refused to accept the judgment. Sometimes the refusal was justified, for the majority in the court might be made up of the vassal's personal enemies, while his own friends might be absent. Recourse



AN ENGLISH TOURNAMENT IN THE PALMY DAYS OF FEUDALISM

was had, therefore, to a more summary method of bringing the dispute to an end. What is known as the judicial combat was simply the feudal private war reduced to a duel, and it was deeply characteristic of an age in which there existed no central administration of justice. The disputants took the law into their own hands. Right was declared to be on the side of the victor, and the vanquished paid a fine to the seigneur of the domain.

In Beaumanoir we find many details of the formal and legal procedure necessary in arranging a judicial combat. He gives the formula in which an appellant should demand satisfaction for the murder of a kinsman. In the event of denial on the part of the accused the claimant undertook to prove the truth either by hazarding his own life in a duel (*prouver mon cors contre le sien*) or by sending a proxy for the same purpose (*ou par homme qui fere le puist et doie pour moi*). The accused was required to say, before he had left the seigneur's presence, whether he intended to answer the summons. Permission to fight by proxy was granted for various reasons, such as ill-health or advanced age. When the combatants

were well born (*gentils hommes* or *chevaliers*) the duel was fought on horseback, and those weapons which were allowed or disallowed were carefully specified. Men of lowly birth (*hommes de poustè*) fought on foot. In the arrangements for a duel between a man of rank and a man of base condition it is interesting to notice a touch of chivalry. If, says Beaumanoir, a knight calls out a villein, who, of course, did not own a horse, the knight was compelled to fight likewise on foot; for, adds the great jurist, it would be a cruel thing if in such a case the man of birth had the advantage of a horse and of armour. On the other hand, if a villein summoned a knight to a duel the affair was different. The knight, who had not sought the quarrel, retained the privilege of his rank, and fought on horseback.

The penetrating influence and the complete triumph of feudalism are made strikingly manifest by the fact that even the Gallic Church was gradually drawn within its orbit. We have already mentioned that the Church possessed considerable power in Gaul long before the date of the Teutonic invasions. Each bishop was supreme in his diocese. His authority

over his clergy actually foreshadowed the authority of the feudal lord, and, indeed, it would not be too much to say that the Church was tending towards a kind of feudalism of her own. At any rate, it was by an easy gradation that the bishops transformed themselves into territorial sovereigns on the feudal model.

Militant Days of the Church The transition had even become imperative, for during the chaos which followed the death of Charlemagne the Church found it necessary to protect herself in the midst of an aggressive and militant society. It was only by fighting the world with the world's own weapons that the bishops, canons, and abbots were able to take their place in the ranks of the feudal nobles. Great gifts in land had been bestowed upon the Church by the Christian emperors and by the Christianised barbarian kings, and the Church knew how to guard jealously those donations. Often the territory over which a bishop ruled was so extensive that it formed a small state. The domains of a single abbey sometimes included entire towns.

It is profoundly interesting to notice that at first the Church was content to fight her feudal enemies only with spiritual weapons. It was by means of excommunication that she sought to terrorise those who attempted to invade her territory or to pillage her sacred buildings. But already, in the ninth century she began to arm herself with the temporal sword, and she paid special defenders, *advocati*, to fight her battles. In other words, she summoned mercenary troops to her aid, and sometimes powerful seigneurs were

in her pay. But the bishop was likewise a seigneur. Long before the tenth century he had vassals of his own, and he began to increase their number, and gradually imposed upon them the

customary feudal obligation of military service. Like a lay sovereign he administered justice within his own domain, and frequently he even in person led his vassals to war.

Moreover, in the exploitation of her own fiefs, the Church imitated and reproduced the entire feudal system. The villeins and the serfs enjoyed as little liberty within ecclesiastical territory as within the lands of the feudal seigneur. According to a decree of a council held at Orléans in the seventh century, all the lands, vineyards, and slaves of each diocese were the property of the bishop *ex officio*. By another council, held at Seville, the serfs who belonged to the Church were, like the serfs who belonged to the lay proprietor, forbidden to leave the place in which they had been born. And many documents prove that in the exercise of their authority the bishops, no less than the secular sovereigns, were guilty of oppression.

The Church Captured by the World Numerous were the complaints against flagrant exactions. The Council of Toledo in 633 denounced a tyranny whereby even the monks were, at the commands of the bishops, reduced to abject slavery. Episcopal avarice had ruined the parishes; villeins and serfs were overwhelmed by arbitrary taxation; and in having put on the armour of feudalism the Church had put off the armour of God. A great historian says that even as early as the eighth

century the disorder which raged in lay society raged also in ecclesiastical society. And as the bishops became more deeply entangled in feudalism it was difficult to distinguish them from their secular rivals. This loss of the spiritual hege-

mony of the Church is perhaps the most tragic fact in feudal history. She who had set out to capture the world had failed in her great mission, and had, instead, been captured by the world.



THE MEDIÆVAL CEREMONY OF BLESSING THE FLEET

THE SOCIAL
FABRIC
OF THE
MEDIÆVAL
WORLD



AN
HISTORICAL
SURVEY OF
FEUDALISM III
W. R.
PATERSON

THE FLOURISHING OF FEUDALISM AND ENGLAND'S SHARE IN THE SYSTEM

LET us now turn to consider the fortunes of the class whose labour formed the economic basis of the ecclesiastical as well as of the secular power, and was indispensable for the maintenance of the entire fabric of feudalism. For if villein and serf had not been at work upon the soil during many generations, all the great and dazzling enterprises of the feudal age, its chivalry, its Crusades, its jousts and tournaments, and even its architecture never would have existed. Although mediæval wealth was also expressed in certain manufactures carried on in the towns, nevertheless the main economic source of the period lay in the cultivation of the soil by a class who, strictly speaking, did not enter into the feudal relation at all. The feudal relation which bound a vassal to his lord was the result of a contract between them, but there was no contract between a vassal and his serf. In the latter case the relation

The Origin of Serfdom

was expressed merely, on the one hand, by power, and, on the other, by subjection. Those writers, therefore, are correct who point out that serfdom was not the creation of European feudalism. Its origin was far older, and, as we saw, it may be traced to the domainal rights enjoyed by all ancient landowners. Serfdom formed only the natural and convenient basis upon which the feudal superstructure was reared. The basis itself was immemorial. Even though feudalism had never developed its own peculiar character, the agricultural population of Europe would have been composed of serfs during many centuries after the fall of the Roman Empire.

So far as the Frankish kingdom was concerned, the condition of its industrial class remained essentially what it had been during the Roman occupation of Gaul. But if we look beyond mediæval France, if we look at mediæval England, for instance, we shall find the same system at work. The Saxons brought with them to England serfs and slaves. Among the Angles the

wergild, or atonement in money for the murder of a slave, was only one-twentieth of that for the *adaling*, or well-born. Long before the Norman Conquest the Anglo-Saxon social system in England had been developed along feudal lines. The community was divided into men

Feudalism Before the Conquest

who possessed land and men who possessed none, and the landless were outside the pale of the law. Thus it was necessary for the man who had no land to seek the protection of some more powerful person who could represent him in the law courts. The price of that protection was servitude.

Since it was the possession of land that bought the privilege of membership of the community, even a man of noble blood, if landless, was required to acknowledge the nominal suzerainty of another lord. The laws of Athelstan, like the Capitularies of Carolingian kings, agree in reducing the landless to a state of absolute dependence. Minute social subdivisions existed among the Anglo-Saxons, and there was even a hierarchy among the landless. But the lowest level was occupied by the *thcow*, or slave, whether of British or of German origin.

Again, in ancient England as in ancient Rome the debtor was reduced to slavery, and was never liberated until the debt had been paid. Moreover, slavery and serfdom were hereditary. The earliest English laws make it clear that slave and serf were like cattle, the absolute property of their masters. Their master was responsible for their offences just as he was responsible

British Serfs Bought and Sold

for the damage done by his cattle. The British serf had no social status, no legal rights. His services might be claimed and left unrewarded, and his emancipation depended wholly upon his master's will. The serf might be bought and sold and pawned like any other common chattel, and the master's right of possession in him was a right not only of use but of abuse.

Now, feudalism never reached in England the proportions which it reached in France, and yet the condition of the early English serf seems to have been worse than that of the mediæval serf of France. In other words, although feudalism could not have existed without serfdom, serfdom might have existed, and did exist, apart from an elaborate feudalism. The word

Who were the Villeins? "villein," which we use as a generic term for the feudal and mediæval peasant, was neither mediæval nor feudal in its origin. Villein is only the corrupt form of the Latin *villanus*, the serf who was attached to and undetachable from the Roman *villa*—a word which meant not a house in our modern sense, but a landed property. It was the Roman *villa* which became in France the unit of feudalism as an agrarian system, and the scene of a prolonged exploitation of servile agricultural labour. The word villein began to be applied before the end of the tenth century to the entire peasant population.

Beaumanoir, who wrote in the thirteenth century, when feudalism had reached its most complex development, tells us that serfdom ("servitudes de cors," as he calls it) had a manifold origin. We have already glanced at its general causes, but to these Beaumanoir adds some special causes which lay at the root of the system as it appeared in France. If, for example, the subject of a territorial lord disobeyed without good cause his summons to military service, the punishment was serfdom, and it was a punishment which was visited on the children as well as on the fathers.

When the feudal lords were warring against the tottering Carolingian monarchy, they were in need of soldiers; and if the feudal tie, which at that era was only beginning to be strong, was found insufficient to create a following, the lords by compulsion pressed new men into their service. In the second place, Beaumanoir declares

Serfs in the Church that serfdom often originated in the piety and devotion of the serf. Sometimes voluntarily, sometimes involuntarily, and as a result either of suggestion or of pressure, a man was constrained to deliver himself and his heirs and his property to the Church.

An act, therefore, which in certain cases had its motive in religious feeling, was responsible for the servitude of whole generations. A third origin of serfdom was traced

to poverty and bankruptcy. A freeman who had lost his estate came to a seigneur, and said: "If you support me with the necessities of life, I will become your serf" (*vostres homs de cors*). In some cases this demand for protection was the result of oppression by another seigneur. A still more striking cause of serfdom, and one which indicates the extraordinary difference between modern and mediæval modes of thought and life, is to be found in the fact that a man who was not free by birth became the serf of a lord if it could be proved that he had resided within the lord's territory for a year and a day.

Any person, male or female, who was unable to trace his or her free descent became the serf of the seigneur in whose domain he or she had chosen to dwell. There were some exceptions to this rule—as, for example, in Clermont. But the custom was widespread, and was very characteristic of feudalism. If within a year and a day the lord reclaimed his serf, the latter was surrendered. But if the lord neglected to assert his right, the serf became the property of the seigneur into whose

The Tight Bonds of Serfdom domain he had passed. It was possible for a serf, with his master's consent, to purchase freedom by the performance of some special labour or the payment in produce or otherwise of some special tax. If, however, the seigneur immediately above the seigneur of the serf refused to agree to the proposal, the emancipation could not take place. On the other hand, if a serf who had won freedom both for himself and his family passed back into serfdom, his children remained free. The word "free," however, is in this case ambiguous. The villein was free only in the sense that whereas the serf proper never knew how much would be required of him, the villein paid, either in labour or in produce, a tax definitely stipulated.

While it was possible for the serf to raise himself in the social scale, the conditions were frequently harsh and the obstacles were often insurmountable. If, indeed, a female serf purchased her franchise, the children born after that event were likewise free. Those, however, who were born while their mother was still a serf remained in servitude. Even in the case of the villein the ties which bound him to his lord could be broken only by death (*car li critage qui sont tenu en vilenage, si comme a ostises, a cens a rentes ou a champars ne se puent*

THE FLOURISHING OF FEUDALISM

desavouer). In the event of disavowal on the part of the vassal, the penalty was confiscation. There can be no doubt, however, that the condition of the agricultural population was far from uniform. There were, in fact, as Beaumanoir tells us, many different kinds of serfs with as many different kinds of fortune. In some cases the authority of the owner was so arbitrary that he had the power of life and death; he could imprison his serf whenever it pleased him, and he was responsible to no one. But in other cases the serf enjoyed greater independence, and was treated more humanely (*plus debonairement*). As long as he paid his rent in labour and taxes, the seigneur could make no further demands upon him.

If a serf disavowed his seigneur, the latter had the right to prosecute him in the court of the new seigneur whose protection the serf had sought. When the serf was able to give satisfactory proofs of free descent, the seigneur prosecuting him lost the case. If, for instance, the alleged serf could prove that his mother was a free woman, he won his claim, for the status of the mother regulated the whole question. Even though the mother and the grandmother had been serfs, but had been manumitted by anyone legally capable of bestowing manumission, the offspring could thereby establish the claim to freedom. On the other hand, the son of a knight and a female serf remained in the same social condition as his mother.

There was a curious exception, however, in the case of bastards. If a man could prove that he was born before the marriage of his mother (who had been a serf) to a baron, the alleged serf was then quit of servitude. Lastly, if a man who was being pursued by his former owner as a fugitive serf could make good his declaration that he had been in holy orders during ten years without any attempt on his master's part to reclaim him, the case for the master was held to be disproved. In all instances, however, in which serfs became free villeins it was necessary, as we have already seen, to obtain the consent not merely of their immediate owner, but also of the seigneur from whom that owner held them in fief. According to feudal custom a vassal was forbidden to diminish his fief. But since the fief consisted of human beings as well as of the land upon which they worked, to grant freedom to a

serf was to alienate part of the property of the seigneur. Hence his consent was required before any proposed change of status of the serfs could be made. Let us not suppose that it was always, or even frequently, a humanitarian motive which lay behind the somewhat paltry amelioration of the serf's fortunes which such changes involved. The serf purchased the permission to enter the ranks of the free villeins.

In other words, he who had been arbitrarily exploited was required to buy the privilege of being exploited in a less arbitrary way. We may feel sure that the men who at the end of the fourteenth century figure as *hommes francs* were the descendants of men who had been serfs. The change was due to the fact that some of their forefathers had slowly and painfully purchased an entrance into those higher ranks of vassalage which, however, still remained far below the ranks of freedom.

We can afford to make only brief mention of some of the methods of the mediæval exploitation of the peasantry. The rights of the villein tenant were limited to a part of the produce of the soil which he cultivated, and it was the best part of that produce which was reserved for the seigneur. If the villein ceases to deliver the yearly dues, the tenancy ceases, and the land goes back to the owner. The right of the usufruct, however, is transmissible from the villein to his heirs, and remains permanent in a single family as long as the obligations are fulfilled. Nay, the villein is even legally entitled to sell the usufruct against the proprietor's will.

From a business point of view, it mattered little to the proprietor whether this or that tenant was at work on the soil so long as the harvest was forthcoming. What feudal law and custom assured to the seigneur was a perpetual income from the land, and the serfs were only his agricultural implements. Some of the villeins paid revenue only on account of the land, but, in addition, the majority were subjected to a capitation tax, which was a guarantee against the arbitrary assessment by which the serfs proper were afflicted.

The capitation tax was invariable in its amount in a given district, and it was payable either individually or collectively. Sometimes entire villages

and towns were laid under contribution. Whenever we find a case in which the taxation of the individual varied according to the arbitrary demands of the seigneur, we may conclude that the individual in question was a serf of the lowest and most helpless class. "Messire le Duc," says the Ancient Custom of Burgundy, "s'il volait les porrait tailler ou faire tailler moins et plus haut et bas à sa volonté." Every serf was thus assessed at the will of the suzerain. And there were some special vexations to which the majority of the serfs were exposed. Among these, mention should be made of "mainmorte" and "formariage." The serf who was subjected to mortmain was legally incapable of making a testament. If he died childless, his property, which consisted mainly in his right to cultivate a certain portion of land, returned to the seigneur.

Still more formidable was the custom termed "formariage," whereby a serf was forbidden to marry a woman belonging to another domain. The ancient code of custom in Burgundy, for instance, declares that the penalty for such a marriage was the forfeiture of all that the serf possessed. An alternative was, indeed, offered; but it was of the most repulsive kind.

There is evidence that the serfs made great efforts to extricate themselves from these indignities. The chief desire of their lives was to obtain a charter of freedom, which, however, was never a genuine charter, since it did not deliver them from taxation, which, although less arbitrary, was still oppressive. Often high prices were paid before the serf won immunity from the seigneur's right of "formariage." And yet after the immunity had been gained, the villein was by no means free. The seigneur's agents met him at every point, and revenue of other kinds continued to be extracted from his labour. It is important to

A System of Intolerable Tyranny remember that the fortunes of the villein were not merely the result of heredity. By birth he might be immune from mortmain and formariage, but if he settled on a domain in which those customs were in vigour, he immediately became subject to them. Originally, indeed, it was impossible for the villein to change domicile. The seigneur had the right to recovery (*droit de poursuite*). Later the fugitive villein, if

unclaimed within a year and a day, could offer his service to another lord, supposing he was fortunate enough to find one. Since, however, he thereby lost all that he had possessed under his former seigneur, it must have been an intolerable tyranny which compelled him to take to flight.

As Seignobos points out, the real strength of the seigneur's position lay in the fact that the villein was helpless apart from the field which he and his forefathers had cultivated. To be a vagabond was to be in danger of being seized as a criminal. There was no certainty of obtaining the right to cultivate a piece of land in another domain, since all the domains were already parcelled out. Hence it was not necessary to chain the mediæval serf to the soil, or to place him under surveillance. Serfdom was better than famine, and it was because these were his sole alternatives that the serf, with rare exceptions, chose the former both for himself and for his children. Among the archives of Burgundy there are documents which prove that sometimes a serf after long wanderings returned in despair to the place from which despair had driven him.

Serfdom Preferred to Famine The administration of a feudal domain involved both labour and anxiety on the part of the steward or agent who was set over it. For it was seldom that the seigneur came into direct contact with his villeins or serfs.

In each of the three great economic divisions of feudalism in France—the *châtellenie*, the *poté*, and the *prévôté*, the revenues were collected by men appointed for that purpose by the seigneur. The *châtellenie* comprised all the lands grouped round a *château*, and in time of danger the inhabitants took shelter within the seigneur's fortified walls. The *poté* (Latin: "*potestas*") was a domain belonging to a church, and sometimes it implied an entire district, which, inclusive of towns, acknowledged the suzerainty of a bishop. The *prévôté* embraced the territory—generally a city which was administered by a *prévôt* (Latin: "*præpositus*"); that is to say, an agent to whom the proprietor of the city had delegated his authority. These formed the great social groups of the feudal age until the fourteenth century, and the condition of the serfs was uniform in all three. In each of them the methods of exploiting the land and its tillers were the same. The

THE FLOURISHING OF FEUDALISM

change from imperial to feudal rule had indeed brought some amelioration of the fortunes of the subject class, and yet, if we look deeply enough, we are struck not by the fact of progress but rather by the fact of stagnation. When, for example, we read the formulæ of Marculf for the sale of male and female serfs we seem to be witnessing transactions in the slave markets of Greece and Rome.

In mediæval practice as well as in mediæval theory, the peasants were mere accessories of the domain, and were subjected to detailed exploitation. Had Aristotle and Varro seen these men at work, they would have called them "animated implements." The Roman "villicus" who drilled his master's slaves was represented by the mediæval major, who taxed and over-taxed his master's serfs and villeins. Often this superintendent belonged to the same class as the men over whom he ruled, and his position was far from enviable. For he was personally responsible for the regular payment of dues, which, owing to destitution and to bad harvests, sometimes could not be paid at all. **The Great Castles of the Feudal Age** Simmonet even suggests that the burdens which pressed upon the seigneur's steward were heavier than those which pressed upon the serfs, for the revenues which he could not extract from the tenants were extracted from himself.

In spite of all such facts it would be idle to deny the impressiveness of some of the aspects of feudal life, and it is not surprising that the human imagination has been fascinated, for instance, by the great portcullised castles which were built in that dim, troubled era. For those castles with their broad moats, their donjons, their prisons and their embattled towers, were structures whose significance lay in the strange anarchy in the midst of which they arose. When the seigneur's domain was attacked, it was the château which became the storm centre. Within its walls men and women and children with their cattle took refuge, and the villeins were called upon to mount guard (*faire le guet*).

The inferior nobles, if they did not possess châteaux, nevertheless built for themselves fortified houses often capable of withstanding a prolonged siege. Even the Church guarded her property by imitating the defensive methods of feudal war, and she built fortifications to ensure the safety

of her own domains. And in times of peace the château and the church and the embattled tower played a part of no less importance, since each was the visible centre of the life which had grown up within its shadow.

The great innovation which feudalism introduced in the cultivation of the soil consisted in the allotment of usufructs in the domain. **What the Seigneurs Claimed** In the Gallo-Roman Empire the proprietor of a villa housed and fed his slaves on his own land, and used for his own purposes the produce which their labour had wrung from the earth. But the feudal lord subdivided his land. The portion which he reserved for himself surrounded the château, and in extent it was comparatively small. The usufruct of the remainder was parcelled out among the serfs and villeins. Hence the mediæval landowner was relieved of the necessity of exploiting all his land. His policy was far shrewder. Although his domain suffered a kind of partition which was unknown in the Roman villa, this dismemberment really involved a financial gain. It was not the land, but only its usufruct which the seigneur alienated. He no longer needed to feed, clothe, and house his serfs, and yet he enjoyed a perpetual income from their labour and from special sources of taxation which feudalism invented.

What, then, were the sources of income of the feudal seigneur? We have already seen that when a fief was sold by one vassal to another, or when it passed from father to son, an indemnity was claimed by the overlord. Whereas, however, such gains were intermittent, the labour of the villeins and serfs of the domain brought a revenue which remained constant. That revenue may be divided into three parts, corresponding to the different sources: (1) rent, (2) monopolies, (3) fines. In the earlier period, when money was scarce, rent

Sources of the Seigneur's Income was paid in produce, such as wheat and hay, wine, wax, poultry, pigs, oxen, and sheep. When, too, the seigneur visited any outlying portion of his estate, his horses and dogs, and sometimes even his followers, were billeted upon the villeins. Again, rent was paid by *corvées*, that is to say, by forced labour on the land immediately surrounding the castle. And *corvées* were of various kinds. Sometimes the villein was required to work in his

lord's fields or vineyards during a fixed number of days; in other cases the demand upon his services terminated only when the work had been completed. Besides, the seigneur could commandeer the villen's beasts of burden, carts, and agricultural implements. Rents payable in money were called "cens"—the feudal quit-rents—but these were paid, not by the serfs, but by the free villeins. We have already mentioned the capitation tax, or *taille*, which was of two kinds, arbitrary and fixed. But it had remained arbitrary at least until the end of the eleventh century. In some cases it had probably replaced the old dues which used to be paid in produce. When a peasant paid a tax which was invariable, it was a sign that he had risen in the social scale, for it meant that his assessment was the result of a contract between him and his superior. In certain rare instances the villen was able to purchase his redemption from the *corvées* and other obligations by payment of an amount equivalent to the value of his allotment.

In the second place, an important source of the seigneur's income consisted in monopolies in certain industries. The feudal theory was that not only the land, but everything that was upon it belonged to the seigneur. Any profits, therefore, whether direct or indirect, which accrued from the various enterprises carried on within his domain belonged to him. Hence the mills for grinding wheat and corn, the ovens for baking the bread, the market place, and the wine-press, were the property of the lord of the domain. Private mills, private ovens, private wine-presses were prohibited. If a villen wished to have his loaves fired, he was compelled to carry them to the seigneur's bakehouse, and to pay a tax for the firing of them. Simmonet has published some documents of the fifteenth century which prove that

at a place called Mailley, in Burgundy, certain men were punished for having cooked Christmas cakes in a private oven. It can be easily understood, therefore, that in an extensive and populated domain, in which mills, ovens, and wine-presses were in constant use, the seigneur enjoyed a considerable revenue. Moreover, the weights and measures set up in the market place likewise belonged to him, and he levied a tax each time they were

employed for the exchange of commodities. The rights of fishing, of hewing wood, and of drawing water, were also the seigneur's, and their hire formed part of his income.

Lastly, the administration of justice within the domain formed a prolific source of revenue. One of the greatest reproaches which the historian may legitimately make against feudalism is that under its régime the judicial administration ceased to be disinterested. In this respect mediævalism marked a serious retrogression. Whereas within the bounds of the Roman Empire, of which France had been a province, the execution of the law formed part of the public service, and was the guarantee of social order, within the feudal domain the administration of justice became a matter of private speculation. The actual word "justice" became degraded, for it meant merely the right to collect rents and to institute fines. No central authority interfered within a domain for the purpose of drawing up a list of crimes or devising a scale of penalties. For even although a central authority

had existed, it could not have abolished the seigneur's right to judge his men any more than it could have abolished his right to tax them. Both of these privileges had become immemorial, and they were conceived to be natural. At any rate, they were of the essence of feudalism.

There are documents which show that sometimes a seigneur possessed a third or a fourth part of the judicature of a particular village or town—that is to say, he shared to that amount in the profits of the administration. Those profits arose out of the fines, and hence the interests of those administrators and lessees of justice lay, not in public order, but in public disorder. The tendency was to increase the number of cases in which penalties might be inflicted.

There was a graduated scale of fines which corresponded to the three kinds of justice—*basse*, *moyenne*, and *haute*. In other words, the results of judicial administration were reckoned according to their economic value. The "highest justice" (*la haute justice*) was so called because the judge fixed the amount of the penalty, not according to custom, but according to his own will. The greater the crime, the greater the fine, and the greater the seigneur's advantage.



THE CLOSE OF THE FEUDAL AGE AND THE TRIUMPH OF MONARCHAL POWER

THE pressure of feudal taxation was felt not merely by individuals but by communities. When a town was included within the domain of a seigneur or within the diocese of a bishop, its inhabitants discharged the feudal dues collectively. It is not surprising, therefore, that it was in the towns that combined action towards relief from the more oppressive forms of seigniorial domination first took place. In the country districts the serfs were isolated and were as helpless and as incapable of combination as the slaves of antiquity. And yet even in the thirteenth century certain villages had already won concessions, whereby the villagers began to enjoy corporate privileges. The growth of the communes, however, was neither uniform nor rapid. It is true that the ordinances of the French kings from Louis the Stout to Charles the Fair are frequently concerned with the regulation of matters relating to communes. But the royal power, even if it had been willing, was too often powerless to effect reforms in towns which owed allegiance to suzerains of their own.

A Mediæval Rebellion that Failed

Corporate action was discouraged throughout the Middle Ages. In 1368 the inhabitants of Antilly in Burgundy united in opposition to their seigneur. They took an oath upon the New Testament "to help one another against all the world and to share a common purse." What happened? The seigneur put his forces in motion, the conspiracy failed, and the conspirators were compelled to pay an immense fine. If such things took place at the end of the fourteenth century, we can understand the difficulties of corporate action when, as in the preceding centuries, feudalism had thrown its entanglement closely round human society. It is true that the memory of the great Roman municipalities had not died out in France. Many of those municipalities, like Narbonne, Arles and Toulouse, were still in

existence between the eighth and the twelfth centuries. A fact, however, which from our present view is of still greater importance, is that communities which were wholly new and had never shared the tradition of the Gallo-Roman

The Seigneur's Methods of Money-making

cities slowly struggled into life, and although born of feudalism, were at last able to throw off the feudal bonds. Let us not mislead ourselves regarding the origin of all such movements. When we examine the charters granted to the village and the towns we find that the motive was invariably economic. Each commune paid an annual fine or "prestation" in return for its charter of liberties.

The seigneur granted privileges to the communes for reasons of good policy and not out of humanitarian motives. In many cases he reserved tolls and market dues, so that he owned a share in the commercial progress of the town. In the second charter granted to Dijon by Hugo, third Duke of Burgundy, in 1187, the yearly fine in return for certain concessions to the inhabitants amounted to 500 silver marks. According to Garnier's computation this sum was equivalent to 168,000 francs of the modern French currency.

Such transactions prove that the rate of social progress in mediæval times depended upon the needs of the governing class. Just as in antiquity the slave-master often found it more profitable to liberate his slave and live upon the new freedman's industry, so in the feudal age it was found that by easing the burdens which pressed upon individuals and communities alike there actually took place an increase of the seigneur's revenue.

Serfs under Intolerable Oppression

Some of the charters naively declare in their preambles that the motive which urged the grantor was merely one of self-interest. The oppression had become so intolerable that many of the serfs in

despair abandoned the domain to seek their fortunes elsewhere. Thus, a certain Marguerite de Saligny in 1379 offered concessions to her people on the ground that "our land has become depopulated and our revenues almost extinguished," because "many of our men and women have quitted our estate either by direct disavowal of their servitude or by marriage and have betaken themselves to other domains in which there is greater freedom."

Ravages of War and Plunder

Social amelioration, therefore, had to wait on economic ruin, and it was not until the feudal policy had been found to be disastrous that any attempt was made to lighten the burden of the serfs. Numerous documents prove that whole estates had become bankrupt. Fiefs which had once been flourishing were at last deserted by villeins, unable to withstand the exactions and tyrannies inseparable from the feudal administration. For when here and there a village or a town obtained relief, it acted as a centre of attraction for men fleeing from mortmain, formariage, and other arbitrary exactions.

Garnier in "La Recherche des Feux en Bourgogne" and Simmonet in "La Féodalité et le Servage en Bourgogne" have published archives from which we learn that entire districts had been devastated and the inhabitants decimated by war and plunder. In 1431 the inhabitants of Selongey and Sarry, in Avallon, addressed to the suzerain of Burgundy a petition which is a vivid picture of the miseries which had been accumulating during the long night of feudalism. The homesteads of Selongey had been reduced to the number of six, and this extinction of families was due chiefly to the tax on marriage, which had caused the young men to leave the domain in order to find wives elsewhere. Besides, a private war had been raging during three years in the neighbourhood, many of the men had been taken prisoners, and the payment of a high ransom had completed their ruin. The cattle had been driven off, even the goods which had been stored in the church as in an inviolable sanctuary had been seized, and in despair the owners had emigrated.

Despair Leads to Emigration

This is not an abnormal but only a normal picture of what was taking place throughout the feudal domains. And

when we find seigneurs crying aloud about the depopulation of their lands we know that the social misery had reached its most violent form. For we cannot believe that it was for any trivial vexation that the villeins abandoned homesteads which had been the possession of a single family during many generations.

In the opinion of Michelet, the strange and dark beliefs which grew up around Satanism and sorcery in the Middle Ages were the outcome of the social terrors of the time. The epidemics of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were probably in large measure due to the inhuman conditions of human life, to the hunger and anemia of generations which had been steadily starved from father to son. Both in its political, its social and its moral results feudalism ended in failure.

Although in their experiments in self-government the communes were in the end unsuccessful, their creation is one of the most important facts of European history. It was not merely that those cities played a great part in breaking the power of feudalism. They fostered industry and commerce, they educated their citizens in corporate activity, and they foreshadowed the liberties which modern democratic communities enjoy. The mere fact of incorporation constituted a triumph in the midst of feudal conditions, even in those cases in which the charter of liberties was incomplete. For it meant that a new kind of contract had been invented, a contract in which the contracting parties shared equal rights.

Each member of the commune took the oath of fidelity to its constitution, and whoever refused the oath was expelled. So intense became the desire for strong union that in some cases, as, for instance, in Verdun, he who was absent from the town beyond a year and a day forfeited his property. On the other hand, strangers were encouraged to take up their abode in the communes, and having sworn the oath they became entitled to all the privileges of membership. The basis of that oath was mutual aid, for all rights were accompanied by duties. The greater communes possessed their own militia, were permitted to fortify their walls, and to hold meetings for the discussion of public business. The

Breaking Feudalism's Power



FREEDOM FOR THE CITIZENS OF PARIS

From the painting of Louis VI granting the first charter to the citizens of Paris by J. P. Laurens

commune, in fact, was a resurrection of the old tribal system of equality, although it was not founded on blood relationship. The assembly was composed only of the citizens, and he who did not attend it when summoned by the town bell was liable to a fine. Mayors, magistrates and jurymen were elected by the people. In some towns, however, which had not obtained a full franchise the nominal head of the community was the prévôt, who still represented the seigneur. But to have abolished the seigneur's monopolies in mills, wine-presses and ovens, and to have secured a reduction in the feudal dues, and the right of being judged by one's fellow citizens, constituted a great victory over the feudal system.

Even in towns in which the seigneur continued to be represented by a prévôt, the scheme of taxation was devised by the people's elected officers. In a word, whereas the serf in the country districts

still remained the chattel of his master, the member of a commune was governed by laws which he had helped to make. It was thus only in the communes that political life survived during the Middle Ages. By means of their representatives the members signed treaties and declared war and issued their own coinage, and this collective activity brings them into relation with modern methods of government. Many historians have pointed out that no sooner were the communes established than they became the scene of internal dissensions. What happened to some of the cities of ancient Greece happened also to the mediæval towns. Mayors, jurymen, and magistrates, who had enjoyed power, were unwilling to surrender their offices, and sometimes the towns became the victims of an oligarchy. The

Greek History Repeated

ferment of the Italian republics troubled also many of the communes of France. Moreover, the overthrow or the restriction of the feudal suzerainty had not solved those great social and economic problems which reappear in every community, no matter by what name it is known. The members of the commune took the oath of mutual support, but that fact did not prevent the rich remaining rich, and the poor remaining poor. The result was that some cities offered scenes of anarchy and pillage which rivalled

even the licence of feudal maladministration. Political liberty perished, and a reign of terror ensued. But such disorder only invited attack by those powers which had always been jealous of the wealth and activity of the communes. The town of Laon, for instance, had suffered under the tyranny of the bishop, its titular head.

The Fall of the Communes After a period of struggle, which lasted almost twenty years, a charter was obtained from Louis the Stout in 1128.

By that charter some of the worst of the feudal exactions had been abolished, and the government of the city had been revolutionised in the interests of liberty.

But Laon was not yet ripe for even a modified form of self-government. Its sedition was taken advantage of by its bishop, who in 1190, by a transaction with the French king, Philip Augustus, succeeded in destroying the commune. In the following year, by a new arrangement with the king, the citizens regained their liberties, and kept them for about a hundred years. In 1294, however, the commune was again abolished, only to be re-established later. This alternation continued until far into the fourteenth century, and the history of the town, beset from within and from without, enables us to see how precarious were municipal liberties in the Middle Ages. Perhaps the most disheartening fact of all is that sometimes the towns themselves, owing to the misgovernment under which they laboured, petitioned for the suppression of their charters. Such a fact, however, by no means justifies the feudal administration. The fall of the communes towards the end of the thirteenth and at the beginning of the fourteenth century was not followed by a feudal reconstruction, for feudalism itself was falling before the rising power of the crown. If the communes failed it was not because feudalism had succeeded. And, indeed, the fact which should interest and surprise us is that

Nobles Stronger than the King men who had been so long misgoverned, and who had almost forgotten the sound of the word liberty, were nevertheless able, in the face of immense odds, to improvise a form of government whose fundamental principles were sound.

The close of the feudal age is marked by a recovery of the central control, which had been in abeyance since the death of Charlemagne. That recovery

was slow and gradual, but it was none the less steady. No doubt the heirs of Hugh Capet were as weak as the heirs of the great Charles; but Hugh Capet, although the founder of the new monarchy, was in reality only the head of the French barons. He founded a royal house, but during the reigns of his immediate successors the dukes of Normandy and of Aquitaine were far more powerful than the occupant of the throne.

The feudal system had so firmly established itself that, as we have already stated, the royal domain was likewise a fief, which required constant protection against powerful nobles. It was not until the reign of Philip Augustus (1180-1223) that by help of a vigorous policy the crown domain was not merely protected but enlarged. Henceforward, the monarchy was not content with a mere attitude of negation and defence, but, partly by war, partly by treaty, fresh territory was won, and with the increase of territory came increase of prestige. Philip Augustus, like our own Norman kings, set himself to ruin the great vassals. He

Vigorous Reign of Philip Augustus did not scruple to attack his own uncle, the Count of Flanders, from whom he took Picardy. Besides, Normandy, Brittany, Languedoc and Champagne were compelled to acknowledge his sovereignty. Whereas, too, in former reigns the king had deigned in obedience to feudal usage to do homage on account of any fief which he held from an inferior, Philip Augustus refused to perform that act. There could be no surer sign that the crown had already recaptured part of its ancient hegemony.

In the reign of Louis IX. (1226-1270) the royal authority was still further increased. Normandy was ceded by England, and towns like Chartres and Blois, Macon and Arles, were added to the kingdom. This process continued until the royal suzerainty was acknowledged throughout French territory. Just as in the great territorial divisions the seigneurs acknowledged a comte or duc as their suzerain, so those local suzerains one by one began to acknowledge the supreme sovereignty of the crown.

Thus the monarchy was one of the great enemies of feudalism in France as well as in England. The great difference in the two cases, however, is that whereas in England the triumph of the

THE CLOSE OF THE FEUDAL AGE

monarchy over feudalism came early, in France it came late. Before the absolutism of Louis XIV. was attained the throne had passed through a prolonged and often a humiliating struggle with the great feudal potentates.

But in England the evolution of events was different. It was owing to the action of the crown after the Norman Conquest that the growth of feudalism was checked. If, after the death of Charlemagne, France had possessed kings like William the Conqueror, Henry I., and Henry II., it is probable that in that country also feudalism, if not wholly arrested in its development, would have been at least controlled. In England there never took place after the Conquest that dismemberment of the land and of the central authority which characterised the feudal régime. This fact is all the more remarkable since before the Conquest the system of land tenure in England was as we have already stated, likewise approximating towards the feudal type. In Saxon England the right of judicature accompanied territorial possession, and the man who had land sat in judgment on the man who had none. Even the old public courts, called "Hundred Courts," became private assizes in which a local proprietor passed sentence on the people of the district.

Moreover, there is evidence in Domesday Book that in England, as on the Continent, owners of land—that is to say, occupiers of a freehold—were compelled either by poverty or by force majeure to place themselves under the protection of superior lords. In some form, therefore, vassalage had already been developed in England before the eleventh century, and the obligation of military service completed the feudal character of the relations between the greater and the smaller landed proprietors. The system was feudalism except in name. Hence, when the Conqueror and his followers arrived in England the English method of land tenure seemed by no means unfamiliar to them. But whereas in France the central power had perished, and feudalism had risen on the ruins, in England the king was still the lord of the national land. In his seizure of the kingship William determined to maintain the English tradition. That determination on the part of the

Conqueror and of his successors was not carried out except by means of a long struggle against the Norman barons. The royal policy consisted in pitting the force of nationalism against the force of feudalism, and in playing skilfully with both.

But the sufferings of the nation which the struggle involved were not in vain, for the king sided with the people, and a national, not a feudal, monarchy was founded. If we examine the coronation oaths of William the Conqueror and of Henry I. we shall find that both of those kings ascended the throne as kings of the whole nation. William declares that he will rule the entire people (*cunctum populum*) justly. Henry I. re-established the old provincial courts or shiremoots, which William had also favoured, and he confiscated the great baronial estates. By these and by many other acts forces which were hostile to feudalism were early brought into play, and thus caused the mediæval history of England to be widely divergent from the mediæval history of France.

The English king was not a feudal potentate struggling against his equals. The allegiance to a particular lord was not allowed to override or to diminish allegiance to the throne, and England was not an assemblage of independent fiefs, but a nation whose national self-consciousness was already in process of development. No doubt, in the end the French, like the English, monarchy was able to crush the minor feudal sovereignties and to take back into its own hands the reins and bridle of government. But the process was far slower, and the consummation came later by many centuries. Not that the English did not endure manifold miseries of their own, for the disruptive feudal tendencies frequently broke loose. But those miseries would have been still multiplied and magnified if, like France, England had become the scene of a fully developed system of feudal misgovernment. In the preceding paragraphs we have endeavoured to present only in very rude outline some of the main aspects of a social system which, during a long period, profoundly influenced European life. We have mentioned that the reappearance of the monarchy was a chief cause of the disappearance of French feudalism. The

unity of the kingdom which had been broken in fragments was reconstituted. But it is not merely in the action of external factors upon societies that the student of social progress is chiefly concerned. When he has appraised the relative importance of the monarchy and the communes as destructive agents working

France's Restored Monarchy

against feudalism, it remains for him to ask whether also the system did not contain within itself the reasons of its own failure. Human societies are highly complex organisms, and they are no sooner formed than they become the prey of many contradictory elements. The battles which they fight against each other are often less momentous than the struggles of all of them with moral and economic forces of their own creation. The accumulation of those forces is often secret and slow, and it is not until the end of a period that we are able to discover the extent and meaning of their activity.

In the foregoing sketch we have perhaps gathered together some facts sufficient in number and in character to enable us to understand why feudalism was incapable of creating a permanent form of human society. No man would dream of reviving it to-day. From a philosophic standpoint we should doubtless be prepared to say that, given the conditions of France from the fifth till the fifteenth century, feudalism was inevitable. But as we examine its internal organisation in the cold light of modern inquiry we are struck less by the system's virtues than by its vices. Boulainvilliers, who was writing in the seven-

Virtues and Vices of Feudalism

teenth century as a defender of feudalism, attributes its decline mainly to the administrative incapacity of the seigneurs and holders of fiefs. He points out that they were guilty of ignorance of their own feudal customs and laws. And he especially condemns them for having delegated to professional jurists the administration of justice in their territories. The people began to regard the lawyers as the chief depositories of authority, and to

consider as authentic and final legal decisions which were incompatible with the old feudal usage. But no one can accept to-day so superficial a diagnosis, for the causes of failure lay far deeper. Feudalism resulted in economic sterility and social paralysis, because the social and economic principles upon which it was based were unsound. No mere tinkering at its machinery could have saved it. Human society is an organism, but the vitality of an organism depends upon the harmonious co-operation of all its parts. If some members are nourished at the expense of others, the ultimate result will be the ruin of the whole body. And this fact is likewise true of the body politic. The process of exploitation can continue only so long as the material lasts. If the material happens to be human life, it, too, becomes at length exhausted.

We have seen that the great method of mediæval exploitation was serfdom. But

Collapse of a Great Structure

serfdom, like ancient slavery, did not pay its expenses. It has been shown that the fiefs became depopulated owing to the severity of feudal exactions. And the bankruptcy of the peasant was followed by the bankruptcy of the governing class. Numerous documents prove that impoverished nobles were compelled to mortgage their property. What is more interesting is that when the agrarian exploitation had ceased to be remunerative, the nobles, in defiance of feudal custom, which forbade them to engage in commerce, began to have transactions with the merchant class of those communes whose development feudalism had frustrated. This fact meant that the aristocracy had made wretched use of their immense opportunities on the land. They had strangled agriculture, and they had attempted to strangle commerce. There can be no wonder if this prolonged sapping of its own economic foundations brought about at last the collapse of a structure which even in its upper storeys was artificially built.

W. ROMAIN PATERSON





THE RENAISSANCE

ITS GREAT MEN AND THEIR ACHIEVEMENTS

BEING AN EPILOGUE TO THE STORY OF THE MIDDLE AGES

ITALY had already enjoyed a long period of development in culture at the time when the countries north of the Alps first became the scene of events bearing on the history of the world. The system of latifundia, or estate farming, under the later empire, had depopulated wide tracts and caused such general retrogression in civilisation that the Germanic invaders of the fifth and following centuries found almost primitive economic conditions prevailing there. The past was forgotten under the supremacy of the youthful Germanic nations. The old civilisation broke up. The remains of the ancient buildings were either wilfully demolished or fell to ruin from neglect. It was only after some centuries that, as the product of a great blending of nationalities, a new nation was formed, which, aided by a favourable economic development, was able to exhibit admirable results in the sphere of intellectual life.

In a country where the city of Rome, more than ever the intellectual centre of the whole world, daily recalled to men's minds the great past of more than fifteen hundred years, a past of which the mediæval mind formed a quite peculiar and inaccurate conception, the newly aroused intellectual interest could hardly occupy itself with any other object than the literary productions of the ancients. The most gifted intellects tried to understand

**Intellectual
Heroes
of Rome** the ancients, to breathe fresh life into them, and to emulate the old masters in their lives as well as in their writings. They did not, indeed, go much further than the attempt. Our later age must pass this verdict even on those intellectual heroes who thought themselves Romans in every respect. The laws of Justinian had in the last thirty years of the eleventh century been

intelligently readapted for practical purposes in Pavia. After the founding of the University of Bologna, in 1088, this town became the home of jurisprudence on the basis of the abstract law of Roman imperial times. The importance which

**An Era of
Politics and
Literature** was attached both there and in Milan to the Corpus Juris is clearly shown by the fact that the law enacted about 1152

by Frederic I. for the peace of the empire, as well as two books on feudalism (*libri feudorum*) from the time of Hugolinus de Presbyteris, were actually regarded as supplements to the Corpus Juris Civilis.

It seemed to the men of that time that such an idea would do more to ensure the observance of those modern laws than the mere proclamation, which otherwise must have sufficed. The scientific treatment of the Roman legal monuments was due to a directly felt practical need, the want of legal standards, which should correspond to the altered economic conditions consequent on more frequent means of communication, and which were actually supplied by the law of the Roman emperors. On the other hand, the eager study of the ancient Roman literature, which began with the end of the thirteenth century, is closely connected with political events.

The new conception of the state is an important factor in that intellectual movement which we are accustomed to designate "Renaissance." The romantic attempt of Rienzi to transform Rome into a republic after the ancient model, and to place himself at its head as tribune on May 20th, 1347, is only the fantastic realisation of the ancient conception of the state which he had found in the works of Livy and Cicero. The relations of the revived classical learning to politics are clearly shown by the fact that the enthusiastic

admirers of antiquity wrote history in a new and conspicuously different form from their mediæval predecessors. Albertino Mussato (1261-1329), when he wrote the history of his time, no longer started with the beginning of the world like a mediæval chronicler, but treated the political events of his century like a man who had himself taken part in political life and had a distinct prejudice in favour of the Emperor Henry VII. He evidently follows the style of the old Roman models, and their influence is still more apparent in his poems, particularly in his tragedies.

Even before Mussato, Brunetto Latini, a shrewd politician, familiar with the Latin writers, especially Ovid, had designated politics as absolutely the noblest and highest science, and thus proved that he had in a very marked degree risen above the Middle Ages. His practical grasp of political history is attested by a comparison which he drew up between England and France; but notwithstanding his familiarity with the ancients he wrote his own encyclopædic works in French, in order to be universally intelligible. He probably would have been forgotten by now had he not been the teacher of Dante (1265-1321), the man who first so absorbed the learning of antiquity that he created in its spirit works artistically complete and yet modern. These, being written in Italian,

not only made the ancient world accessible to the widest circles, but also, by the employment of the national language, contributed largely to the awakening of a national feeling. His guide through the pagan world was Virgil, the Roman who, in the development of his ideas, came nearest to Christianity.

Dante's general philosophic ideas, as



TITIAN'S GREAT PAINTING OF THE ASSUMPTION
Titian, who was born in 1477 and died in 1576, was the most famous painter of his age in Venice, and received commissions from the most distant parts of Europe. He lived a princely life, and vastly enriched the city with his art. He painted many "Assumptions," but although so much of his work was devoted to sacred subjects it is curiously lacking in soul, even when perfect in detail of colour and workmanship.

contained in the Divine Comedy, are therefore Christian as a whole, however much they may be in direct opposition to the prevailing theology of his day. He confronted the papal ambitions of Boniface VIII., and in his treatise in Latin, "De Monarchia," he insisted on the independent position of the Roman emperor by the side of the Pope. Although a republican by birth — Florence was his home — he advocated a powerful world sovereignty, with Italy naturally as centre. The personality of the Emperor Henry VII. may have been of considerable influence in thus shaping his thoughts.

Francesco Petrarca (1304-1374) possessed less political talent than

Dante. A member of a Florentine family, he had spent his youth in Avignon, and on April 8th, 1341, had been crowned as poet at Rome by King Robert of Naples. His Latin poems alone won him this distinction; but his writings, partly historical, partly philosophical—among others one on the best administration of the state, the



THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI, BY PAUL VERONESE

Paul Veronese, as his name implies, was a native of Verona, but most of his life was passed in Venice during the flourishing of its great school of painting. His work, which abounds in the public buildings of the famous city, is singularly pure while instinct with life and character. Some of his masterpieces are to be seen on the ceilings and frescoes of the buildings of his time, notably his "Triumph of Venice," which is probably unrivalled as a ceiling painting.

"Liber de Republica optime administranda"—are still more steeped in poetic feeling and display some slight knowledge of politics. As an admirer of Rome and the Latin language he was no petty imitator of the ancients, but a writer in Latin with a style of his own. In some respects he shows a distinct advance as compared with Dante. He stands out as a truly modern man in the midst of a still mediæval environment from the manner in which he, almost alone at that time, regards astrology as a fanciful illusion, and by the

form of his ideal attachment to Laura, whom he extols in his Italian poems.

Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375), the biographer of Dante and the friend of Petrarch, gives prominence far more than they do to a quite different idea which is part of the literary property of the age. He remorselessly attacks the Church and the clergy, notwithstanding outward piety and submission to the Pope. The corrupt morality of the priests is lashed with biting satire in his "Decameron," which has unjustly caused him to be reproached with



"THE MARRIAGE AT CANA": A PAINTING BY PAUL VERONESE, NOW IN THE LOUVRE



THE HOMAGE OF THE DOGE: BY THE GREAT VENETIAN, GIOVANNI BELLINI

Of the two Bellinis, Gentile and Giovanni, the younger was the greater artist, and his work is unexcelled by any painter of the Venetian school. The most perfect decorative art of the Renaissance is to be studied in Giovanni's pictures, which were chiefly painted as altar-pieces for the gorgeous churches of Venice. That reproduced above is to be seen in the Church of St. Peter Martyr at Murano, the ancient neighbour of Venice across the lagoon. Gentile Bellini travelled to the East, and resided for a time in Constantinople at the court of the Sultan, whose portrait he painted.

irreligion. He lacked the deeper political ability requisite to attack the secular position of the Pope, although, being often sent on diplomatic missions, he was certainly familiar with the politics of the day.

All sides of an individual intellectual life are embodied in these three men, who went in advance of their age, and yet were influenced by it. They themselves were imbued with the idea that a new era was opening, even if their environment had slowly and laboriously to arrive at a similar knowledge. The number of those who understood the Latin of the ancients was still comparatively

small. But this was soon changed. Coluccio Salutati (1331-1406), chancellor of the Florentine Republic, introduced the language of Cicero into the state documents, and the

Augustinian monk Luigi Marsili (1342-1394), filled with deep reverence for antiquity, was able to combine with his spiritual position vehement attacks on the papacy. Numerous scholars joined him, and Florence became the seat of the ancient learning in a new form. The writings of the Latins were still almost exclusively the subjects of study. Petrarch himself, with all his reverence for the Greek world, did



A MASTERPIECE BY GIOTTO OF FLORENCE

Giotto was one of the Florentine masters who made the fame of their city great throughout Europe. His influence on his contemporaries was even more marked than the beauty of his own work. In architecture his greatest achievement was the magnificent campanile, which stands close by the beautiful Cathedral of Florence.

THE RENAISSANCE

not master the Greek language. Boccaccio was one of the first who thoroughly understood it, and throughout the whole fourteenth century it was very difficult in Italy to obtain instruction in Greek. It was, therefore, an event when, in 1393, in order to escape the dangers which the siege of Constantinople by Bajazet brought with it, two Greek men of letters, Demetrius Cydnius and Manuel Chrysoloras, came to Venice. Young Florentines were to be taught by them, and in 1396 Chrysoloras was summoned to the

University of Florence as public teacher of Greek grammar and literature. He soon afterwards taught the new language in Pavia, Venice, and Rome. Then, in 1439, at the invitation of the Florentine council, the aged Gemisthus Plethon appeared in Italy, lectured first in public on the doctrines of Plato, and by so doing created a counterpoise to Aristotle, whose philosophy then dominated the schools. Platonic academies sprang up at Florence and Rome, and in both towns translators began to show a feverish energy. Polybius, Aristotle, Plutarch, Epicetus, Strabo, among others, were translated into Latin. Homer alone was as yet left untranslated. Latin and Greek towards the middle of the century stood as equals side by side, and were

equally favoured by the two centres. Florence and Rome. Cosimo de Medici (1389-1464) was the son of a Florentine

merchant. From 1429 onward he stood at the head of his native town, and after 1434 guided its fortunes permanently. An enthusiastic patron of all learning, with ample means at his disposal, he developed great energy in building. At the same time, being himself deeply erudite, and possessing a refined knowledge of the authors of ancient Rome, he

formed, by means of transcribers and translators, an absolutely unique library of manuscripts. Roberto di Rossi translated Aristotle, Lapo da Castiglionchio Plutarch. A complete circle of scholars assembled round Cosimo; the best known among them is Marsilio Ficino (1433-1499). Cosimo's grandson, Lorenzo the Magnificent, who died in 1492, was, like his grandfather, a patron of art. Of artistic and poetic nature himself, he became the Mæcenas to the artists and poets of his time. The library was further enlarged by him according to the plan of Cosimo; architecture, painting, sculpture, working in bronze, and even

music, flourished anew under his rule. The Archbishop of Bologna, Thomas Pasentucelli, was elected Pope on March 18th, 1477, and took the title of Nicholas V.



VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH ANGELS, BY BOTTICELLI
A painter of scriptural and allegorical subjects, Botticelli displayed great inventive genius, and all his work shows the minutest care. His colouring is noted for its brilliancy, and is often enriched with gold.



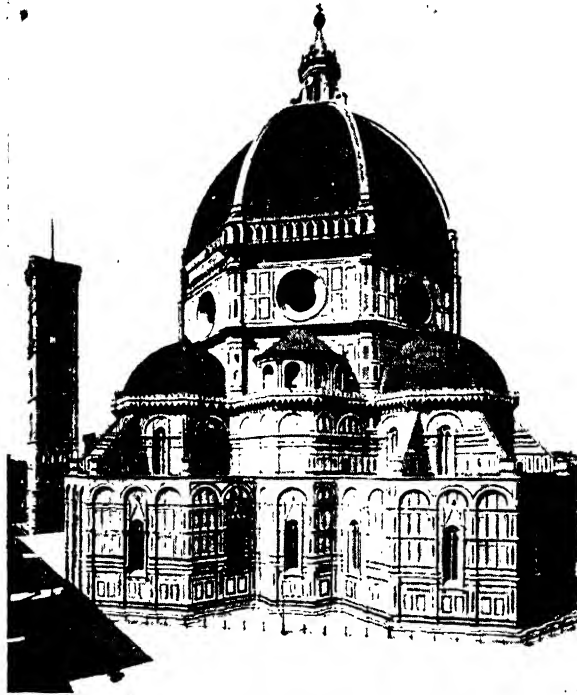
A BEAUTIFUL BAS-RELIEF BY GIOVANNI PISANO
A son of the famous Niccolò Pisano, Italian sculptor and architect, Giovanni Pisano, born at Pisa in 1240, was distinguished for his beautiful bas-relief work, an example of which is here shown. He built the first and most beautiful campo santo—cemetery—in Italy.

He had lived at Florence in the circle of Cosimo, and now, on his accession to the pontificate, he founded a similar scientific centre by the formation of a second library of manuscripts. He sent out collectors to travel and search for manuscripts of ancient writers, and raised his collection of books under the care of the librarian Giovanni Tortello to 5,000 volumes, of which Greek works formed no small part. Among the scholars whom Nicholas V. collected round him, Lorenzo Valla, who died in 1457, incontestably takes the first place. In the domain of historical criticism he stands supreme. Besides him, Maffeo Vegio, who died in 1458, an Augustinian monk well acquainted with antiquity, and Flavio Biondo (1388-1463), the author of a medieval universal history from the capture of Rome by the Goths to his own time, are worthy of record. This work shows great progress in method. Almost for the first time the events of the thousand years which were afterward called the Middle Ages are recorded by the side of ancient history. The efforts of Pope Nicholas were not appreciated by his successors. Calixtus III. (1455-1458) dispersed the library which had been collected with such pains. Pius II. (1458-1464), before his pontificate known as Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, was himself familiar with the classics, and was also a spirited and vigorous writer, but he had nothing to spare for other scholars. Paul II. (1464-1471) absolutely hated all science, and persecuted the Humanists, although he showed a wish to preserve old buildings. Sixtus IV. (1471-1484) was no

scholar: but under him the library and the archives were transferred to new and larger rooms, and placed under the competent direction of Bartolommeo Sacchi ("Platina"). Art found once more a vigorous patron in Julius II. (1503-1513), and literature in Leo X. (1513-1521).

Zeal for learning was not so prominent in the other states of Italy as in Florence, and intermittently at Rome. Even in Venice, where, owing to the general rich development, much might fairly have been expected, very little was done. Only spas-

modic efforts were made, and these often failed. Nevertheless, towards the end of the fifteenth century Aldus Manutius, the liberally educated printer and publisher, acquired his world-wide reputation there. Artistic life, on the contrary, was more flourishing in Venice than in any other city excepting Florence. At first, indeed, it was almost entirely carried on by the people of Murano in the pay of Venice, but soon, under Paduan influence, art flourished at Venice with almost unparalleled luxuriance. The Bellinis in rich

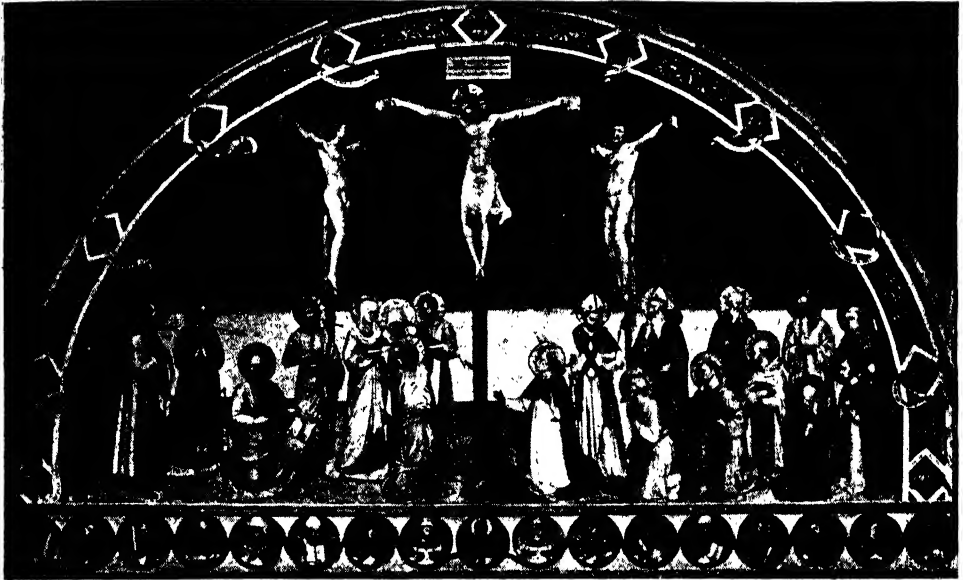


THE MARBLE CATHEDRAL OF FLORENCE

Set in a city of many splendours, the Cathedral of Florence stands out as the chief architectural feature. Built between 1296 and 1436, it is one of the largest churches in Italy, and its interior is adorned with sculptures by Michelangelo and other great Florentines. Giotto's campanile is also shown in the picture

and skilful colouring found still more splendid successors in Giorgione, who died in 1510, in Titian (1477-1576), and in Paul Veronese, who died in 1588. At the court of Ferrara lived Lodovico Ariosto (1474-1533), the poet of the "Orlando Furioso"; and at Naples Giovanni Pontano (1426-1503), an eager patron of mathematics and astronomy.

By "Renaissance" we understand primarily what the word literally signifies, the "new birth," that is, of the antique. The antique was the great model



"THE CRUCIFIXION": A NOTABLE PAINTING BY THE ARTIST MONK, FRA ANGELICO
 Fra Angelico was one of the most attractive characters in renaissance Florence. A monk of St. Mark's in the days when Savonarola was the head of the monastery, he devoted his life to painting, and few sights in Florence are more interesting than the series of beautiful paintings in the cells of St. Mark's from the brush of the gentle artist brother. He was known as Angelico because of his love for painting angels, and all his pictures, though weak in detail and draughtsmanship, and conforming to the oldest notions of design, have a rare and gentle beauty in colouring and in the features of his figures which gives to them a somewhat ethereal feeling that is peculiar to this artist.

which the supporters of the newly-awakened intellectual life followed, or zealously tried to follow: for in truth, to the observer who looks back the classical model seems to recede far into the distance as compared with the newly-discovered independence which forms the chief feature of all this age of culture. Thus the new conception kept the name "Renaissance," but the idea implied something quite different. The Renaissance owes to the antique an infinite abundance of incentives. Ancient works of art were collected, excavations were begun, ancient architecture was sketched and copied. The results of this continuous activity were applied to the new creations, but these were themselves of a quite different style from their models. It is not so important a fact that Niccolo Pisano, who died in 1280, adopted figures, and even groups of figures, from the remains of sculpture which existed at Pisa, giving them a

new and Christian meaning, as it is that he drew his love of the beautiful from the contemplation and study of the antique. The style of his reliefs is quite different from the art of the Roman sarcophagi, and on the whole he owes what is great and new in his work far more to himself and the newly-awakened feeling for the life around him than to any model. The slight connection that this new art has with the antique schools is seen best in the productions of his son, Giovanni, to whom the storm and stress around him and within him was everything and antique art was nothing.

Within certain limits Giotto (1266-1337) represents a similar stage of development in painting. If the art of the two Pisano's had been already spread throughout all Italy by pupils and fellow-craftsmen, this was still more the case with Giotto's art. The Italian painting of the fourteenth century may without exaggeration be termed



AN ANGEL BY ANGELICO

Giottesque; and the overpowering impression produced by this new art is due to its vigour, till then unprecedented, its inner truthfulness, which aims at the essential—in a word, its realism. The painting of the fourteenth century derived nothing from antiquity, because there were no remains of ancient pictures. To architecture, on the other hand, the Roman soil, although then much still lay buried, offered, in particular cases at any rate, a supply of good models. But even here the influence of the antique was far less than was once supposed. The problems had become quite different, and they were differently solved. Brunelleschi (1377-1446), the builder of the dome of the cathedral at Florence, who is called the first great architect of the Renaissance, has borrowed from the antique little more than the ornamentation and the shaping of the pillars and the entablature, certainly an important part of the edifice.

It is noteworthy that it was not in Rome, with her world of ancient relics, but in Florence, that the early Renaissance was chiefly developed. It is true that very many artists from the Tuscan capital came to Rome in order to copy the Roman remains, and a great Florentine, Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472), who worked far more outside his native city than in it, tried to excel the antique in ornamentation, especially in the shape of façades. But Padua, still more than Florence, became the chief centre of that revival of ancient art. Squarcione (1394-1474) had founded there an atelier, in which copies were made of originals collected from all sources, even, it is said, from Greece itself. This fact explains

the stiff sculpturesque style of the art of his pupil, the painter and etcher, Andrea Mantegna (1431-1506), who has also become known by his representations of ancient subjects, especially by his "Triumph of Cæsar." [See pages 2670 and 2671.] He carried his art from Padua to Mantua and Rome, while in Venice the Paduan spirit was seen in many works of Jacopo Bellini and his sons, who surpassed him in importance, Gentile and Giovanni. The remains of antique architecture,

which in many places lay buried under ruins, were not only studied by artists, but preserved. Indeed, they were often formed into collections of antiquities, while, strange to relate, a quite barbarian delight in destruction often simultaneously showed itself. Nicholas V., the enthusiastic patron of art and science, actually used for his new erections stones from the ruins of Roman architectural monuments, and commanded the Temple of Probus to be destroyed; yet under him the enlargement of the Capitol was begun, and much care was devoted to the preservation of old pavements and early Christian tombs. Pius II. took more decided steps for the preservation of Roman buildings. Even before his pontificate he cautioned persons against burning the ancient marble to obtain lime, and, as Pope, he issued—although, indeed, without much success—a rescript which threatened the most severe penalties for the further destruction of old buildings. Even Pope Paul II., the enemy of the Humanists (1464-1471), not only showed a refined appreciation for the ancient works of art, but was an indefatigably keen collector, who made his museum of Roman



THE ART OF LUCCA DELLA ROBBIA

In the great days of Florentine art, when the fame of the city as an art centre had spread throughout Europe, Lucca della Robbia invented a process of modelling in clay and hard-glazing the work, chiefly in white and blue, which had a finished effect, resembling porcelain. He and his family carried on for many years a brisk business in this pure and beautiful art, the secret of which was long preserved.

THE RENAISSANCE

antiquities noteworthy even by the side of that of the Medici. A rich native of Treviso had as early as 1335 founded in Venice a collection of medals, coins, bronzes, cut stones, and manuscripts. In the next century the town preserved her reputation and became the chief repository of ancient works of art.

The great personality with whom the history of Italian painting in the fifteenth century begins is Masaccio (1401-1428). The feature which distinguishes his most important work, the frescoes in the chapel of the Brancacci, from all earlier productions of painting is its absolute truthfulness. The realism already budding in Giotto had completely ripened in Masaccio. His thorough anatomical know-

ledge, his better developed perspective, the breadth of his compositions, and his distribution of masses, raised his art far beyond that of the previous century. The art of painting flourished in similar luxuriance throughout the whole fifteenth century. A contemporary of Masaccio is the Dominican Fra Giovanni Angelico (1387-1455), who, from the feeling manifest in his works, is almost more Gothic than a follower of the Renaissance, but nevertheless is in this sense typical of a whole group of artists. After him come Lippo Lippi, Lippino, Botticelli, Domenico Ghirlandajo, and the group of the painter-sculptors Pollajuoli, Verrochio, and Lorenzo di Credi, who decorated with their skill the altars and the great surfaces of the walls in the churches of Tuscany.

At the same time, however, amid the great tasks which architecture presented, plastic art had developed a luxuriance to which it had attained only in ancient Greece. The century opens with the competition for the bronze door of the baptistery. Lorenzo Ghiberti was the victor, but Donatello is the foremost plastic artist of the century. He is thoroughly original in every respect. Only in his very earliest works can any connection

with the older masters be traced. Then he cast aside all that was non-individual, and gave play only to his uncompromisingly realistic nature, which did not shrink even from what was ugly. He worked for different patrons in wood,

clay, stone, and brass. He created for Padua the bronze equestrian statue of Gattamelata, completed in 1453 [see page 3965]. After more than a thousand years a technically difficult task had once more been set, and had been performed artistically on the grandest scale.

An abundant stream of art flowed in the fifteenth century through every part of Italy. Towards the end of the century the foremost artists from Florence and Umbria

were summoned to Rome to decorate the Sistine Chapel. In Florence itself all art culminated in the three names Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo Buonarroti, and Raphael. Leonardo, who died in 1519, was a "universal man," like Goethe, a marvellously gifted nature — architect, sculptor, painter, engineer, physicist, and anatomist, a founder and discoverer in every department, and yet in every other respect a perfect human being, immensely strong, beautiful till extreme old age, famous as a musician and composer. In 1505 the Florentine Michelangelo (1475-1564) became his

rival. He too was painter, sculptor, and architect, and in addition a thoughtful philosophic poet. The chief scene of his activity was Rome, where the Popes of the time, being lovers of art, gave his creative imagination the right opportunities. In Raphael of Urbino, who died in 1520, the whole purpose was at last fulfilled which the painting of the fifteenth century had prepared. All the tones ring out full and true in his art.

The direction of all these efforts towards the revival of the classical antiquity implies for the men of that time an immense increase of knowledge and extension of the field of view within a comparatively short time. But scanned from the standpoint



A PAINTING BY MASACCIO

It is with Masaccio that the history of Italian painting in the fifteenth century begins. His most important work, the frescoes in the chapel of the Brancacci, is distinguished for its absolute truthfulness, while his broad genius raised his art far beyond that of the preceding century.

Ghiberti's Early Triumph

of the later development the value of the whole movement consists less in the knowledge actually transmitted than in the stimulus to intellectual freedom, in the promotion of individual thought, which should inevitably lead to a struggle against the spirit of scholasticism. By the side of Christian authority embodied in the papacy there appeared the completely different system of antiquity, and by the side of Aristotle stood Plato.

Features of the New Era

The question was how to reconcile two authorities which were completely opposed one to the other. From this resulted a struggle against authority generally, out of which individualism emerged in renewed strength. The restoration of the rights of the individual is the essential feature of the new era, which in the sixteenth century saw the religious revolution, in 1517, and the regeneration of the Catholic Church at Trent, in 1563.

Pope Boniface VIII. (1294-1303) had waged a bitter war with the French kingdom for the secular supremacy, and King Philip IV. (1285-1314), who was fortunate in his struggle for absolutism, had proved victorious, even if he could not carry the successor of St. Peter a captive into France. The brief reign of Benedict XI. (1303-1304) was not able to weaken the opposition, and at the new election, on June 5th, 1305, a Frenchman, the Archbishop of Bordeaux, Bertrand of Got, was raised to the papal throne as Clement V. Being entirely submissive to the influence of the French court, he removed the papal residence to French soil. For seventy years from 1306 Avignon, a town on the Rhone, was the permanent abode of the Vicar of Christ. This event was due entirely to political circumstances, but became of great importance for the civilisation of France and countries beyond. Up to Louis VIII (1223-1226), who, in consequence of the war with the Albi-

genses, acquired the Burgundian lands of Raymond VI. of Toulouse, France had been divided politically into two parts, which showed for centuries marked differences in the development of civilisation. In the south the idea of the Crusades had found from the very first a more favourable soil. The Provençal poetry, mostly lyrical, had flourished there, and had developed highly a language which was intelligible in the whole Romance world.

Southern France was the first country of the western world to have a literature of its own in the language of the people. Down to the days of Dante verse and prose even in Italy itself were subject entirely to this Provençal influence: even Brunetto Latini still employed the French language. Although the poetry of Southern France had fallen into decay after the Albigensian wars, which inflicted deep wounds on the land, yet an attempt was made in the fourteenth century—at Toulouse, in 1324, to inspire new life into it artificially by founding a prize for poets.

Meantime the epic of chivalry, at first in the Latin tongue, had been developed in Northern France, but after the time



THE APPEARANCE OF THE VIRGIN TO ST. BERNARD

Filippino Lippi, of whose work the above is very characteristic, was the son of the famous artist, Fra Filippo Lippi, and was born at Florence in 1457, dying in 1504. He painted many frescoes, notably those in the Strozzi Chapel, Florence.



THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI, BY GHIRLANDAJO

In the days of Lorenzo the Magnificent, Dominic Ghirlandajo was one of the foremost artists of Florence, noted for his powers as a teacher no less than for the mastery over composition and detail which such works as the "Adoration of the Magi" displayed. This beautiful example of decorative art is preserved in the Children's Hospital at Florence, for which it was originally painted.

of Philip II. (1180-1223) the national language seemed here also to have acquired the flexibility requisite for poetical productions. This stage, accordingly, was reached considerably earlier here than in Italy. In the South of France the relations with antiquity had never been lost to the same extent as on the other side of the Alps. Thus there could not be a violent awakening of ancient life such as was seen in the neighbouring country.

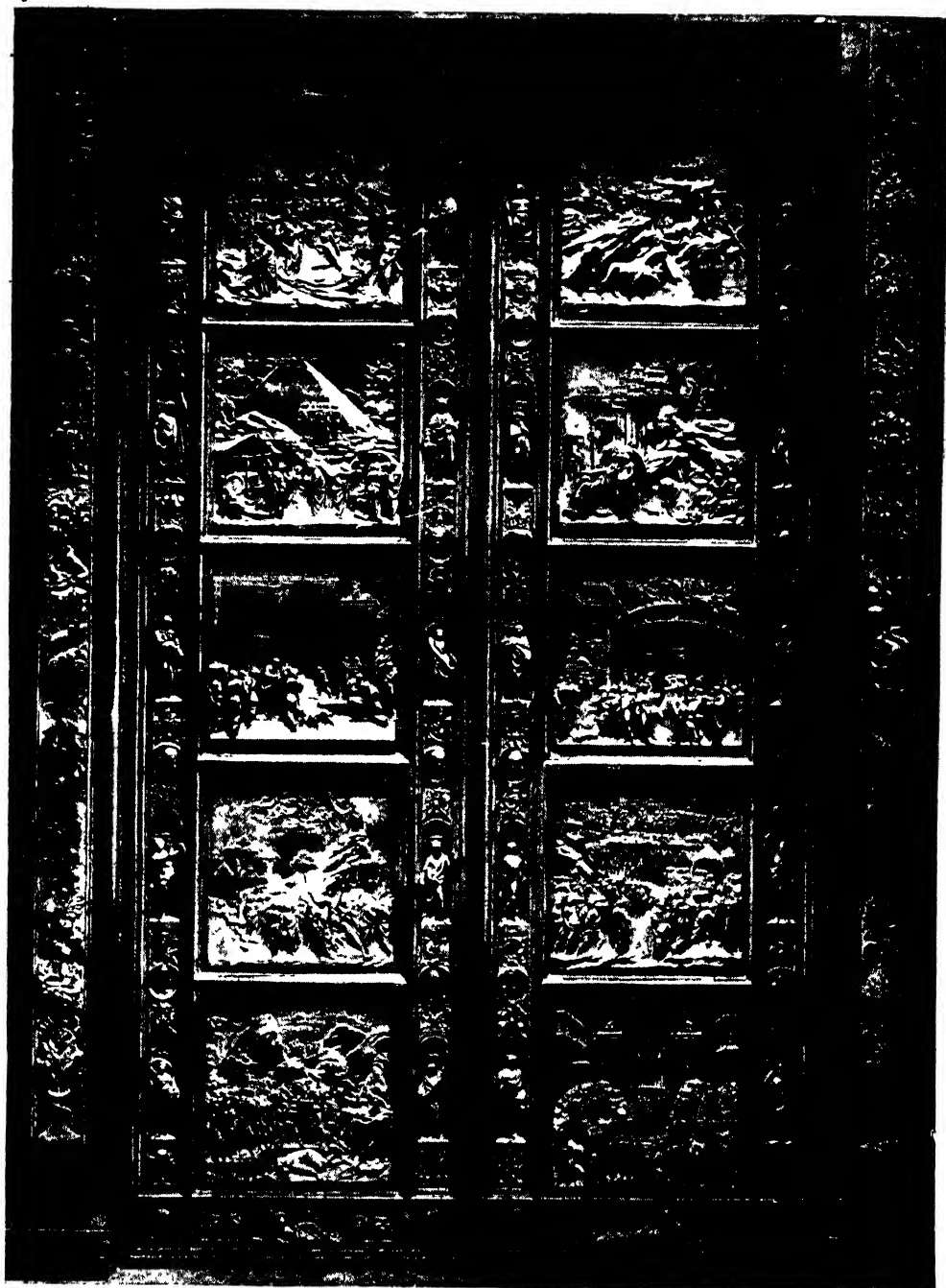
The awakening was peaceful and calm. The national literature soon produced admirable results, which were not so completely overshadowed by Virgil and Ovid. A more advanced national feeling hindered the outbreak of such fervid enthusiasm for a foreign culture. Even the political conditions there were not on the whole so confused that a republic on the model of antiquity was necessarily considered the ideal constitution. Politically, indeed, France was untouched by classic influences.

While Italy, even in the eleventh century, had possessed a seminary for science in the University of Bologna, and another in the twelfth century, in Salerno, and in the thirteenth century had added four others—Naples, Padua, Rome, and Ferrara—France could not indeed present an equal number, but possessed instead the recognised foremost theological faculty of the world in the University of Paris, dating from 1200. Thus, rather than any of the Italian universities, became the model for all future foundations of the sort in the West. Parisian teachers left their chairs in 1378 on account of the schism, and were instrumental in founding German universities in Heidelberg, Cologne, and Erfurt, while two other teaching bodies after the Paris model had already arisen—at Prague, in 1348, and at Vienna, in 1395. The movement in England had found expression in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

In the South of France the University of Toulouse was founded in 1228, and that at Montpellier in 1289. The latter began to contest with the Italian Salerno the reputation of being the most prominent school of medicine. The University at Lyons followed in 1300.

Such was the intellectual life of the environment into which the papacy was removed when it prepared to establish itself at Avignon, at a time when Rome, of all the more important towns of Italy, was perhaps the least affected by the spirit of the Florentines. During these momentous seventy years constant intercourse between Rome and Avignon was maintained. Several of the most enthusiastic admirers of antiquity, above all Petrarch, came to Avignon, but an independent literary renaissance was not developed at the papal court. Even the University of Paris appeared to be the citadel of

The Popes at Avignon



"THE GATES OF PARADISE": DOORS OF THE BAPTISTERY OF ST. JOHN AT FLORENCE

It would be difficult to tell any story which would so strikingly illustrate the devotion of the Florentines to their ideals of art as that of the making of the world-famous bronze gates of the Baptistery of St. John. Of course only the barest summary of the story can here be told. After a remarkable competition, the order for the making of these gates was given to the youthful Lorenzo Ghiberti, and just half a century was required for carrying out the entire work. During most of the time when the modelling had been sufficiently advanced for beginning the process of casting, Ghiberti had to work far into the night, and as in those days the streets of Florence were practically deserted after dark, the nobles keeping within their stout castle walls and the common folk being prevented from trafficking at night, Ghiberti and his workmen, by special licence, were allowed to carry their lanterns through the streets and to continue with their work on the gates, in which they never suffered any molestation, although the times were so unrestful. Michelangelo is said to have summed up his admiration of Ghiberti's work by exclaiming that the doors were fit to be the gates of Paradise.



LEONARDO DA VINCI'S FAMOUS PAINTING OF THE LAST SUPPER

The genius of Leonardo da Vinci did not run in one direction only, and while famous as a painter he busied himself in many other directions. Born at the castle of Vinci, near Empoli, in the Val d'Arno, about the year 1450, he gave evidence of extraordinary skill at a very early age, and he was sent as a pupil to Andrea Verrocchio. He died in 1519.

scholasticism, and too long opposed the efforts of the Humanists. Yet it was there that the beginnings of a renaissance had shown themselves even before Dante and Petrarch. But after the middle of the fourteenth century these efforts died away without having had any results comparable to those accomplished in Italy.

In art, however, Avignon, and Southern France as a whole, could seriously challenge comparison with Upper Italy. And the artistic development stands, at least partially, in direct connection with the study of the monuments of antiquity, which in this region are peculiarly numerous and imposing. This also, like the literary activity in the South, was the result of a more ample accumulation of wealth, which provided the

means of livelihood for many men who were not directly producers. Ecclesiastical and secular powers early vied in the construction of splendid buildings. and Gothic art developed here by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries its finest fruits. In the fourteenth century a decadence in the development of the style had already set

in. Its full decorative richness was, however, first developed in the fifteenth and at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The church of the Madeleine at Troyes, the cathedrals at Albi, Narbonne, and Toulouse, are buildings in this style, which is represented by numerous examples, especially in the southern district. At the same time castles and town fortifications, town halls, and private houses sprang up in motley variety.



A BEAUTIFUL EXAMPLE OF RAPHAEL'S ART

This celebrated picture is a fine illustration of Raphael's mastery of composition. Contemporary with giants in art, Raphael occupied a unique place among them, and rapidly rose to fame and fortune. A native of Urbino, a town in the Apennines, where he was born in 1483, he settled in Florence in 1504, and died on his birthday, April 6th, 1520.



JAN VAN EYCK'S MASTERPIECE: THE ADORATION OF THE LAMB

Standing out prominently among the great artists of the fifteenth century, the brothers Hubert and Jan van Eyck reflect in their paintings a wider circle of life than is to be found in the compositions of their predecessors. Jan, the younger and abler of the brothers, showed wonderful skill in fathoming and reproducing character. The crown of all his creations is the altar-piece at Ghent, which, not merely relatively, presents a masterpiece of painting for all times.

The Louvre, which Philip Augustus had built in the year 1204 outside the former boundaries of the city of Paris, was reconstructed by Charles V. on a more complete and splendid scale; the castle gradually gave way to the château.

At the same time there arose as the royal palace proper the Hôtel de Saint-Paul, an enormous pile, intended especially for holding festivities, which unfortunately, like the old Louvre, was destroyed in the sixteenth century. A splendid ecclesiastical counterpart to these products of secular art is the palace of the Popes at Avignon. The episcopal palaces at Beauvais, Angers, Auxerre, Narbonne and Albi had gradually taken on the appearance of fortresses as a consequence of wars and feuds. But the papal palace, whose pile still fills the spectator with wonder, was constructed as a fortress, so that it has with justice been described as the edifice which unites to the most conspicuous

extent beautiful outlines with strong defensive capabilities. When Clement V. (1305-1314) selected Avignon as his abode a spacious dwelling was first erected on a high rock rising above the Rhone; but Benedict XII. (1334-1342) had

it pulled down, and began in 1336 the building of the colossal fortress-like palace after the plans of Pierre Obrier. The northern part of the castle with four towers was finished under him; Clement VI. (1342-1352) built the main block, and his arms even now adorn a gateway. Innocent VI. (1352-1362) added another tower. Urban V. (1362-1370) the eastern façade and a seventh tower (the Angel's Tower); and under Benedict XIII., after 1304, the palace had to endure a siege. This gigantic pile, of eighteen thousand square yards,



MICHELANGELO'S "MOSES"

Michelangelo, the great Florentine, was the giant figure of his time in the world of art. His versatility was remarkable, for he excelled in painting, sculpture, and architecture. The decoration of the Sistine Chapel of the Vatican is his most notable achievement in painting.

was completed in less than sixty years, although at the same time the town fortifications, nearly three and a half miles long, had been constructed under

Clement VI., Innocent VI., and Urban V. Only French architects worked at it in the service of French Popes, and produced a work of genuinely French genius which has no parallel in the buildings of the fifteenth century.

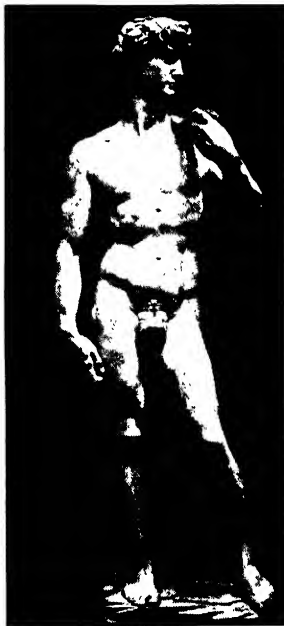
Before the beginning of the fourteenth century, art was flourishing in the Netherlands coincidentally with the revival of the prosperity of the towns and town industries. The wealth of artistic production even in the first third of the century is proved not only by such scanty relics of that age as are preserved, but more clearly by the circumstance that as early as 1337 the

painters and sculptors in Ghent had formed themselves into a guild, the first of the kind. Tournai, Bruges, Louvain soon followed the example set to them. The representatives of other semi-artistic crafts, as goldsmiths and carpet-weavers, joined the association of the painters and sculptors. In the last third of the century the artistic individuality of some masters stood prominently out, and their works



A MADONNA BY HOLBEIN

Famous throughout most of the countries of Europe for the exquisite finish and beauty of his paintings, Hans Holbein was in great request as a painter of portraits. He was born at Basle in 1498 and died in the year 1534.



TWO FAMOUS STATUES: DAVID AND ST. GEORGE

The first of these beautiful statues is the product of the wonderful genius of Michelangelo, while the other, St. George, is the work of Donatello, the most productive sculptor of the Renaissance. Everything of his, in marble or in bronze, is informed with life, character and movement.

showed many personal characteristics which forced their way through the restraints of mediævalism.

Modern art in the Netherlands really begins with the fifteenth century, and is illuminated by the brilliant names of the brothers Hubert, who died in 1426, and Jan van Eyck, who died in 1440. The invention of oil painting was formerly attributed to them, but incorrectly, as has been proved. But even if they had not only brought oil painting to very great perfection, as they actually did, but had really invented it, this would only constitute their smaller title to fame. Their greater claim rests on the fact

that they employed in their art every element of knowledge that was available to them, that their works are modern. An infinitely wider circle of life is reflected in them than in the compositions of their predecessors. The life around the mediæval painter was non-existent to him, or existed in a very limited sense. But the Van Eycks derived from it the most stirring impulses; they looked lovingly at every flower.

every piece of household furniture or clothing, every beam of sunlight, and reproduced with their brush all they saw. The landscape for them—and this point differentiates them from earlier artists—is no strange thing, no isolated phenomenon, but something which necessarily belongs to the general combination. The idea of aerial perspective was for the first time grasped by them; and Jan, the younger and more able of the two brothers, knew also how to disclose by his art the inner personality of a man. His portraits testify to this skill in fathoming and reproducing character.

Plastic art attained a high development in the Netherlands even earlier than painting. The masterpiece, the Moses Fountain, which, like the altar-piece at Ghent, far surpassed any previous results, was the work of a Flemish artist, Claus Sluter. It was built, not on the soil of the Netherlands, but in Dijon, where the dukes of Burgundy had their court, about 1399, and still forms one of the chief sights in the town. It stands almost isolated in the vividness of its conception and its impressive individuality, and shows quite clearly how that which is already artistically possible can remain for long years without imitation.

The art of the Netherlands in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is in its inmost nature German, and corresponds to the most advanced intellectual life which the age knows. For this reason hardly any noteworthy influence of the Renaissance on German art-life can be observed before 1500. The first considerable Renaissance building, the "Kiliansturm"

at Weinsberg, was begun only in 1513 and completed in 1519. Distinct traces of Italian influence in painting are first to be found in the elder Hans Holbein at Augsburg. They were first noticeable in North Germany shortly before 1550. Upper Germany, like the Netherlands, had created, unaided, an artist of its own in Martin Schongauer, who died in 1491, both painter and engraver and a forerunner of Dürer.

Albert Dürer (1471-1528) is the man in whom, as in a well-defined personality, a

great portion of the intellectual culture of the time is reflected. He had been educated to humanism, and was on very intimate terms with Willibald Pirckheimer. He had seen Italy, and received artistic impressions there, which influenced at least one period of his work.

The development in plastic art took a similar direction. Veit Stoss, who died in 1533, tried chiefly to represent his artistic ideal in wood, Adam Krafft, who died in 1507, in stone, and Peter Vischer, who died in 1529, who is

sometimes compared with Dürer but perhaps may be described as his counterpart, worked in brass. Vischer's most splendid creation is the monument of St. Sebaldus at Nürnberg. It was completed after thirteen years' work, in which five sons of Vischer shared. The empty tomb of the Emperor Maximilian in the royal church at Innsbruck [see page 3690], designed after the monarch's own ideas, occupied the foremost German brassfounders. The work was begun in 1509 but not completed until 1583.

ARMIN TILLE



THE ART OF ALBERT DURER

Albert Dürer, known as the "Raphael of Germany," was born at Nuremberg in 1471. As an artist he practised engraving both on wood and copper. The great series of woodcuts, illustrating the Apocalypse, printed complete in 1498, was his first large production. "The Four Apostles," in 1526, formed the absolute end of his work.

